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THE SPIRITUAL ALLEGORY OF THE FAERIE QUEENE, BOOK ONE

The first book of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* is a twofold allegory, political and spiritual. From one point of view, so resourceful was the poet, the episodes picture the outstanding events and characters of the English reformation,[1] and from another, the growth in grace, through experience and instruction, of a Christian gentleman. Interpreted in this last sense, the book is a pilgrim's progress, an allegory indeed that was not without its influence, it would seem, upon the more homely and more obvious and didactic *Pilgrim's Progress* of Bunyan. In this paper I attempt an interpretation of this spiritual allegory.

On its formal side, the allegory is indebted to the mediæval and Italian Renaissance romances, to the morality plays and the moral allegories of the earlier Tudor period, and to Aristotle's *Ethics*.

The setting is romantic, and the story follows the familiar procedure of romance, a knight engaged in the succor of a damsel of royal blood, in this case distressed because her parents have been shut up in a brazen castle for many years by a huge dragon. But, as Professor Greenlaw has pointed out, the book also follows closely the typical plot of the morality plays: "There is the betrayal of virtue through sin (Redcrosse, led astray by Duessa, falls into the hands of Orgoglio); the consequent despair and temptation to suicide (Despair tries to get Redcrosse to kill himself; Una saves the hero); the coming of rescue (Arthur); and then a period of purgation and training in preparation for salvation (the sojourn in the house of Cælia)."[2]

Moreover, as Dr. DeMoss has shown, in the development of Holiness, as in the development of the virtues treated in the other five books, Spenser actually follows, as he professes to do in the introductory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, the method employed by Aristotle in expounding the virtues. Thus, as in the *Ethics*, the virtue is represented as the mean between two

[1] See the author's *The Political and Ecclesiastical Allegory of the First Book of the Faerie Queene, University of Washington Publications in English*, 1911.

[2] *Studies in Philology* 14, 214.

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extremes—excessive or irrational holiness on the one hand and a deficiency of holiness on the other, it is contrasted with the opposite vices, and it conforms to the dictates of reason.

Excessive or irrational holiness—which of course defeats its own end and in the last analysis is not holiness at all—is represented by Corceca, the blind old hag who is ever mumbling her Aves and Paternosters, and by the Satyrs who are so undiscriminating that they even worship Una's ass. Inadequate holiness, on the other hand, is represented by the timid Dwarf who attends Una, by the Lion who succumbs to Sansloy (the Spirit of Lawlessness), by Fradubio (Brother Doubt), but primarily by the Red Crosse Knight himself in his earlier adventures before he has acquired, through experience and instruction, his spiritual majority. The heroes of the first and second books are subjected to a systematic course of training which ripens and strengthens them so that they emerge as ideal exponents of the virtues of Holiness and Temperance.[3]

The norm of Holiness is represented by the Red Crosse Knight, when fully disciplined; by Dame Cælia, who presides over the house of holiness; by her daughters, Fidelia, Speranza, and Clarissa; by Prince Arthur, who figures in the successive books as the resplendent apotheosis of all virtues, the Magnificence, or perhaps better, the Highmindedness of Aristotle, which Spenser, following his master, calls the perfection of all the other virtues.

The opposite of Holiness is represented by such characters as Archimago (Hypocrisy), Lucifera and Orgoglio (Material and Spiritual Pride), Sansfoy (Faithlessness), Sansloy (Lawlessness), Sansjoy (Joylessness) and the like.

That the Red Crosse Knight must follow the dictates of Reason if he is to attain holiness is consistently emphasized. Because he trusted to his emotions rather than to his reason, he was deceived into believing evil of Una—the beginning of all his troubles, he failed to pierce the deception of Duessa, even

[3] Strictly speaking, Sir Calidore, the Knight of Courtesie, is the only hero who is completely established in his virtues from the first, for Britomart and Artegall, the Knights of Chastity and Justice, mutually contribute to the full realization of one another in their respective virtues, and the establishment of Cambel and Triamond in the virtue of Friendship is covered in retrospective episodes.

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when Fradubio had made it very obvious, and was unprepared for the attack of Orgoglio. On the other hand, when he followed the dictates of reason he was proof against mishap.

On its spiritual side, the allegory is indebted to the idealism of Protestant Christianity, especially as defined in the *Institutes* of Calvin, and to the idealism of Plato and his Italian followers. As elsewhere shown, this first book, as an allegory of the religious life of man—his conversion, training, and growth in grace—, is in line with current theological principles.[4]

There has been much discussion, first and last, of Spenser's procedure in choosing holiness as the virtue of the initial book of his allegory. Some scholars, notably M. Jusserand, have argued therefrom that Spenser did not actually accept Aristotle as his guide, though professing to do so. How, say they, can we take Spenser seriously when he professes to be a disciple of Aristotle and then devotes his very first book to the exposition of a virtue distinctively Christian and altogether foreign to the Aristotelian ethics. Dr. De Moss ingeniously tries to find a reconciliation through identifying the Red Crosse Knight with Highmindedness. In this I cannot follow him.

Not to exhaust the question, the highminded man has a correct estimate of his own ability, is worthy of great deeds and knows himself to be worthy, whereas the Red Crosse Knight quite misjudges his own ability and thinks he can accomplish in his own strength what he is altogether unable to accomplish. Had it not been for Prince Arthur, Heavenly Grace, he would have lost his life. Only at the end of a severe course of training is he able to do what he thinks himself able to do. Indeed the discipline in humility to which he is subjected is very foreign to Greek thought.

Rather, I take it, Spenser recognizes holiness as holding the high place in the character of a Christian gentleman that Aristotle assigned to highmindedness in the character of a Greek. This is precisely the place assigned to it by Calvin. In the opening section of Book III, Chapter 6 of the *Institutes*, introductory to the detailed discussion of the life of a Christian, Calvin contrasts the "plainness and unadorned simplicity of the Scripture system of morals" with the affected "exquisite per-

[4] *Spenser and the Theology of Calvin, Modern Philology* 12, 1.

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spicacity of arrangement" of "mere philosophies" and proceeds to exalt holiness as the foundation of righteousness and as the bond of our union with God, in a word, as the basis of character. "(The Scripture) has numerous admirable methods of recommending righteousness. . . . With what better foundation can it begin than by reminding us that we must be holy, because 'God is holy' (Lev. 19:1; I Pet. 1:16)? For when we were scattered abroad like lost sheep, wandering through the labyrinth of the world, he brought us back again to his own fold. When mention is made of our union with God, let us remember that holiness must be the bond. . . . Wherefore he tells us that this is the end of our calling, the end to which we ought ever to have respect if we would answer the call of God."

But if the spirit of the allegory is primarily Christian, we must not overlook the fact that its mystic idealism is akin to that of Plato, and that the moral courage of its hero and the conception of life as moral warfare is Platonic as well as Christian.

We are now ready for a review of this allegory upon which, as we have seen, mediæval romances, morality plays, the Aristotelian ethics and Christian and Platonic idealism have all had an informing influence.

Were it not for the expository letter to Raleigh, we would miss that first glimpse of the hero of Book One which shows a clownish young rustic, through the armor of Christ suddenly transformed into the goodliest seeming man in all the courts of Faerie. Thus, says the poet, does the acceptance of Christ and the dedication of one's life to His service regenerate a man.

But turning to the poem itself, in the opening stanzas the hero appears a gentle knight, of a pleasing but grave countenance, and fearless withal. "Yet nothing did he dread" is a just tribute to his moral courage, for however fierce the enemies who subsequently assault him, he never shows fear.

At his side is Una, or Christian Truth, seated upon an ass, the symbol of humility, and attended by a lamb, the symbol of purity and innocence. Her face is heavily veiled, and the knight has never seen beneath this veil, for he does not behold Truth in the fulness of its beauty until he has long committed himself to its service.

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On first acquaintance Una is a rather disappointing character. Frail and dependent, she seems a sorry representative of Truth, which we would fain conceive as regal, self-sufficient, serenely enthroned in her own cloudless light, far removed from all passion and turmoil, remotely accessible alone, and revealing herself only now and again to a favored mortal, and then only in part. Spenser, we say, here displays his limitations, here shows how slender his grasp upon the best classical or Christian thought. Not so did the Greeks conceive of truth, and not so Dante. But Spenser offers his own best defence, for in the ***Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*** he pictures Truth as the throne of God and the divine Sapientia—the Logos in a feminine aspect—as the soveraine darling of the Deity:

> His seate is Truth, to which the faithfull trust,
> From whence proceed her beames so pure and bright
> That all about him sheddeth glorious light:
>
> Light, farre exceeding that bright blazing sparke
> Which darted is from Titans flaming head,
> That with his beames enlumineth the darke
> And dampish aire, whereby al things are red;
> Whose nature yet so much is marvelled
> Of Mortall wits, that it doth much amaze
> The greatest wisards which thereon do gaze.
>
> But that immortall light, which there doth shine,
> Is many thousand times more bright, more cleare,
> More excellent, more glorious, more divine,
> Through which to God all mortall actions here,
> And even the thoughts of men, do plaine appeare;
> For from th' Eternall Truth it doth proceed,
> Through heavenly virtue which her beames doe breed.
>
> With the great glorie of that wondrous light
> His throne is all encompassed around,
> And hid in his own brightnesse from the sight
> Of all that looke thereon with eyes unsound;
> And underneath his feet are to be found
> Thunder, and lightning, and tempestuous fyre,
> The instruments of his avenging yre.
>
> There in his bosome Sapience doth sit,
> The soveraine dearling of the Deity,
> Clad like a Queene in royall robes, most fit
> For so great powre and peerlesse majesty,
> And all with gemmes and jewels gorgeously

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Adornd, that brighter than the starres appeare,
And make her native brightnes seem more cleare.

And on her head a crowne of purest gold
Is set, in signe of highest soveraignty;
And in her hand a scepter she doth hold,
With which she rules the house of God on hy,
And menageth the ever-moving sky,
And in the same these lower creatures all
Subjected to her powre imperiall.

Both heaven and earth obey unto her will,
And all the creatures which they both containe;
For of her fulnesse which the world doth fill
They all partake, and do in state remaine
As their great Maker did at first ordaine,
Through observation of her high beheast,
By which they first were made, and still increast.

The fairnesse of her face no tongue can tell;
For she the daughter of all wemens race,
And Angels eke, in beautie doth excell,
Sparkled on her from Gods owne glorious face,
And more increast by her owne goodly grace,
That it doth farre exceed all humane thought,
Ne can on earth compared be to ought.[5]

Una, on the other hand, is a profoundly social conception, and a profoundly Christian and compassionate one. Truth is here conceived as having assumed the garments of human frailty, as making herself dependent upon the services of man, that, through his chivalric service in her behalf, man might grow in grace, might attain the full measure of Christian knightliness. When man has thus finally attained his spiritual stature, she reveals herself to him in her eternal aspect, transcendently and divinely beautiful. Una then appears as the daughter of God and Sapientia, her royal parents, for the purpose of the romance conceived as shut up in the castle by the dragon Sin, since sin controls the world until the spirit of Christ, operating through mankind, overpowers it. To Una the knight is at last wed, as the Christian, following the customary terminology, is made one forever with Christ:

Then forth he called that his daughter fayre,
The fairest Un', his only daughter deare,

[5] Cf. C. G. Osgood, *Spenser's Sapience, Studies in Philology* 14, 167.

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His Onely daughter and his only hayre;
Who forth proceeding with sad sober cheare,
As bright as doth the morning starre appeare
Out of the East, with flaming locks bedight,
To tell that dawning day is drawing neare,
And to the world does bring long-wished light;
So faire and fresh that Lady shewd herselfe in sight.

So faire and fresh, as freshest flowre in May;
For she had layd her mournefull stole aside,
And widow-like sad wimple throwne away,
Wherewith her heavenly beautie she did hide,
Whiles on her wearie journey she did ride;
And on her now a garment she did weare
All lily white, withoutten spot or pride,
That seemd like silke and silver woven neare;
But neither silke nor silver therein did appeare.

The blazing brightnesse of her beauties beame,
And glorious light of her sunshyny face,
To tell were as to strive against the streame:
My ragged rimes are all too rude and bace
Her heavenly lineaments for to enchace.
Ne wonder; for her own deare loved knight,
All were she daily with himselfe in place,
Did wonder much at her celestial sight:
Oft had he seene her faire, but never so faire dight.

In the first adventure of the Red Crosse Knight, the conflict with Error in the labyrinthine wood, a wood so dense that heaven's light nor any star can pierce, as in the *Inferno* a symbol of worldliness, the knight is victorious. Protected by the shield of faith and wielding the sword of the spirit, he is clearly the superior of his adversary. Having slain the monster, the knight then learns that falsehood is ultimately self-destructive, for the filthy brood of Error feed upon their fallen mother only to swell and burst.

But although the knight is proof against Falsehood when it practices no deceit and frankly shows itself in its naked ugliness, he is unprepared to cope with Falsehood when disguised with the cloak of honesty, and so he straightway falls an easy victim to the crafty Archimago who ingeniously deceives him into believing Una false and fickle. He has never seen the lovely countenance of Truth, he has only beheld her darkly veiled, and this is the reason for his ignorance and his credulity. He is of

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course sincere in his mistake, but the Christian must learn how well nigh fatal are mistakes of judgment in spiritual matters, must come to know the Truth by experience and by instruction ere he will be proof against the cunning forces of Evil. This experience and this instruction the knight subsequently gains, yet so as by fire.

The most puzzling character in the spiritual allegory as in the political, is the Dwarf, who attends Una, though lagging far behind,

> That lasie seemed, in being ever last,
> Or wearied with bearing of her bag
> Of needments at his backe.

He appears but seldom in the narrative: once when he brings the Red Crosse Knight his steed and flees with him from the hermitage of Archimago; again when he warns the knight to flee from the castle of Lucifera, having discovered the bodies of those slain by pride; and finally when he gathers up the armor of the knight after he has been imprisoned by Orgoglio, discovers Una, and conducts her and Prince Arthur to the castle of Orgoglio for the relief of the knight.

The Dwarf has traditionally been interpreted as Prudence. He cannot, however, represent prudence as that virtue was conceived by the Latin writers, a virtue on a par with temperance, fortitude, and justice, the golden mean between rashness on the one hand and timidity or irresolution on the other. The Dwarf is altogether too insignificant a character for such a rôle. He more nearly represents prudence as Plato interprets it, the habit of acting in accordance with enlightened self interest, a virtue distinctly inferior to the purifying and remedial virtues, and far inferior to that imitation of the divine nature which is the highest of moral activities. A happier denomination would be Common Sense, that measure of uninspired intelligence which is shared by all men in common, and which comes far short of Christian understanding. It is the wisdom of the natural man who lacks the moral courage and the spiritual stature of the militant Christian, that mind of the flesh which St. Paul contrasts with the mind of the spirit.

Blinded with rage, and guided by will rather than by reason, the Red Crosse Knight flees from the hermitage of Archimago. In this distraught state of mind, staggered by his cruel dis-

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appointment in Una, he might well be expected to renounce his faith, and the temptation to do so immediately assails him in the person of the Saracen knight, Sansfoy. But such is the instinctive loyalty of his nature that the knight at once recognizes Faithlessness as an enemy and opposes it victoriously. When he cleaves the helmet of his assailant, he declares his unwillingness to trust to a denial of faith for his salvation.

Yet that which faithlessness cannot accomplish when it appears in its own true nature, menacing and destructive, it is able to accomplish readily under disguise, for no sooner has the knight overcome Sansfoy than he falls under the spell of Duessa, or Faire Falsehood, who here masquerades as Faith (Fidessa). Indeed, so anxious is he to be true to his knightly vows and to succor the distressed, that he even pursues after her, betrayed by his own naive sincerity. Thus may the disheartened Christian overcome the temptation to adopt the frank negation of faith as his philosophy, only to be caught by an erroneous positive philosophy which has speciously insinuated itself into his thinking.

On this second day the Red Crosse Knight but repeats the experience of the initial day, overcoming an obvious foe but yielding to a foe in disguise. He is still a very green knight.

In fact, so lacking is the Red Crosse Knight in spiritual discernment that he does not pierce the disguise of Falsehood even when he learns of her evil doings from the lips of a former victim. For the knight and Duessa have proceeded but a little way when, chancing to pluck a bough from a tree beneath which they rest, he hears the sad story of Brother Doubt. This story and the consequent alarm of Duessa should have put the knight on his guard, but he is too simple to learn this very obvious lesson.

The allegory of Doubt is nicely conceived. The doubting soul is vacillating in thought and action—for Fradubio could not choose between his own lady and Duessa, and when he saw the witch in her native ugliness was too timid to escape her or resist,—and is therefore rendered mute and impotent. The tree in which he is imprisoned, a tree which all faithful pastors shun, is the opposite of the soul-nourishing tree of life, a characteristic symbol, and from this imprisonment there is no escape save through the waters of baptism, the "living well." Who,

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save Christ, can deliver us from the body of this death? As Sansfoy represents the opposite of faithfulness, in accordance with the Aristotelian method of expounding a virtue, so Fradubio represents insufficiency of faith.

Canto Three, through the allegory of Una and the Lion, shows how a glimpse of the Truth of Christianity can soften and win the fiercest nature, and how the native goodness and primitive courage of untutored man can serve the cause of Christ, opposing blind superstition (Corceca), and attacking those carnal and rapacious forces which feign allegiance to the Church but undermine it from within.[6] Yet because the simple children of the faith, typified by the Lion, are undisciplined and uninstructed, and governed primarily by their emotions rather than by reason, they often succomb to the spirit of lawlessness, even after they have made a beginning in the Christian life. The Lion thus presents, under a fresh aspect, insufficiency of faith, but an insufficiency grounded in undisciplined emotion rather than in doubt. Professor H. S. V. Jones makes the very happy suggestion that the Lion may stand for the Law of Nature, a suggestion with very rich possibilities.

With Canto Four the narrative returns to the Red Crosse Knight who, in the company of Duessa, comes upon the house of Pride, where Lucifera and her councillors, the six other deadly sins, are taking their pleasure, the centre of a great throng of vain worshippers. From the sins of lust, gluttony, avarice, sloth, anger, and envy the knight is immune, but as pride is the sin which most besets a man of spirit and of lordly nature, the hero is here subjected to the temptations of carnal pride, as in a later venture, to the much more severe temptation of spiritual pride. Although the knight makes humble obeisance before the throne of Lucifera, he does not feel himself one with the gay fickle crowd which surround her, and intuitively holds himself aloof:

> Yet the stout Faery mongst the middest crowd
> Thought all their glorie vaine in Knightly vow,
> And that great Princesse too exceeding prowd,
> That to strange Knight no better countenance allowd.

[6] This episode of Corceca, Abessa and Kirkrapin of course is more apposite to the political than to the spiritual allegory.

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But no sooner has the knight estranged himself from the "joyaunce vaine" of this company, no sooner has he shown that he is proof against their fickle and tinsel pleasures, than, in the person of Sansjoy, he is subjected to the counter temptation of morose and austere joylessness. This is a temptation fraught with much greater danger, for the idealist who has suffered disillusionment may turn in disgust from those pleasures of the flesh that offer themselves as a mocking substitute, but is sorely inclined to become cynical and atrabilious, grudgingly indifferent to all normal and healthy pleasures of life. But although the struggle is a hard one, the knight emerges victorious, even though Falsehood does her utmost to assist in his defeat.[7]

Sansjoy is then not the joylessness of the Puritan, not the abnegation of the religious ascetic who is faithless to this life, with all its legitimate pleasures, that he may be faithful to what he conceives to be a higher life, but the joylessness which finds nothing in life engaging and satisfying. Very properly he is conceived as the youngest brother of Sansfoy and the younger brother of Sansloy, since a logical progression is implied in this Pagan brotherhood: the absence of faith leads one to deny the validity of the restraining law both divine and human, and the end is a cold and embittered indifference. Very properly Sansjoy is banished to Pluto's realm, for the essence of the spiritual life is joy. Faith, obedience, joy, these, says Spenser, are attributes of the Christian life.

With Canto Six the narrative returns to Una, who has been led into a wild forest by Sansloy. In the breast of Sansloy anger has given place to lust, and he first tries to win fair Una by guile and, when this fails, to overcome her by force. In her dire extremity she cries aloud for help and attracts thereby

> A rudè, mishapen, monstrous rablement

of Satyrs, at whose approach Sansloy takes to flight. Among these simple folk Una dwells for a long time,

> During which time her gentle wit she plyes
> To teach them truth, which worship her in vaine,
> And made her th' Image of Idolatryes;
> But when their bootlesse zeale she did restrayne
> From her own worship, they her Asse would worship fayne.

[7] The Red Crosse Knight is not a melancholy Jaques, sated through self-indulgence, but a Hamlet, the victim, as he believes, of a misplaced faith.

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This bit of allegory is especially interesting as revealing certain aspects of Spenser's religio-social thinking. The proper champion of Christian truth is the Christian gentleman, educated, disciplined, and morally courageous, who brings the enlightened control of reason to his leadership. Deprived of such champions, Truth is in a perilous state. Then it is that the lawless elements in society, anti-Christian and anti-social, seek by subtle argument or by force to misconstrue the truths of Christianity, or the embodiment of Christianity, the Church, so that it will be made to serve their unlawful ends. In this extremity Christianity sometimes finds temporary protection in the humble children of earth. Yet their service to the Truth cannot be an abiding one, for they are capable only of superficial understanding and their attitude is an undiscriminating idolatry. It was in such soil as Spenser's thinking here furnishes that early Presbyterianism throve, for Prebyterianism postulated a theocracy in which ecclesiastical whigs would be the leaders in thought and in policy. The satyrs singing their "shepheards ryme" in honor of Una find their counterpart in the weavers droning their persistent psalms.

Among the satyrs is one, however, Sir Satyrane, who has liberated himself from his environment, and he is capable of learning "her discipline of faith and verity." Under his guidance she slips away from a community that could not satisfy her, that lost her forever, since

> In vaine he seekes that having cannot hold.

Anon Una and her new champion come upon Sansloy, and while the knights are engaged in deadly combat Una quietly departs.

In this canto the poet reveals much Calvinistic severity and something of the intolerance of an intellectual aristocrat.

In Canto Seven the Red Crosse Knight, who was last seen hastening from the House of Pride, is overtaken by Duessa, who finds him sitting by a fountain, spiritless, wearied, his armor laid aside. The fountain is itself symbolic of sloth, for the presiding nymph was one who had, through weariness, foregone the chase when hunting with Diana. Courting Duessa,

> Pourd out in lossnesse on the grassy ground,
> Both carelesse of his health, and of his fame,

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the knight is suddenly attacked by an hideous giant, Orgoglio, and after a feeble resistance is thrown into a remorseless dungeon. Duessa, for her part, offers herself to the giant as a mistress, is accepted, and is enthroned by him upon a monstrous seven-headed beast.

The Dwarf, meanwhile, escapes with the armor of the Knight, comes upon Una, and is guiding the distracted maiden to the castle of Orgoglio when they fall in with Heavenly Grace in the person of Prince Arthur, who calms Una by his goodly reason and offers his services.

In Canto Eight Prince Arthur slays the giant; cleaves one of the heads of the beast, who, aided by Duessa and her magic cup, the cup of abominations, had all but overcome the Squire of the Prince; liberates the Red Crosse Knight who was hoping for release only through death; and strips Duessa of her finery, revealing all her loathsomeness.

At the court of Lucifera we have already seen the Red Crosse Knight, in his own strength and unaided save by common sense, overcome the temptations of carnal pride, with their hollow gaiety, and the contrary temptation to turn from the pleasures of life with a morose and bitter spirit. Now, in the events of these last two cantos, we see him, lulled by a false philosophy and with no objective in life, his irksome armor laid aside, surrender to complacency and soft living his noble spirit, built for high emprise. Deceived as to his own power to resist temptation, and weakened in body, for the first time he yields to sensuality. Then it is that he is attacked by the most dreadful foe of mortality, spiritual pride. In the face of such a foe he is completely powerless, and he is saved only by the unlooked-for aid of that Heavenly Grace which intervenes at the difficult moment to save him whom God has chosen for His own. Then when this miracle of salvation has finally been performed, he sees falsehood in all its ugliness.[8]

The story of Arthur's lineage, with which the following canto opens, is introduced for the sake of the political allegory as a

[8] The beast is obviously introduced for the political and ecclesiastical allegory, and it would probably be a refinement too scrupulous to assign it any very precise spiritual meaning. It merely reflects, as I take it, the beastliness of spiritual pride.

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refined compliment to Queen Elizabeth, and would seem to play no part in the stricter spiritual allegory.

In the concluding part of the canto, the Red Crosse Knight undertakes to destroy Despair, through pity for the despairing Trevisan, but he makes the mistake of trying to reason with Despair, and is himself so sorely tempted by the plausible arguments of the cursed old man that he is saved only by Una's intervention. Weak and spent as he is from his late confinement, he is ill prepared for such endeavor.

The allegory is of course obvious. When the Christian is weak from conflict, when he has been shown his impotence, when he awakens to a sense of God's perfection and of his own imperfectness, he is wont to despair, to ask himself why add through longer life to that burden of sin which a just God must avenge. Then comes the reassurance that God is merciful as well as just, and that the elect are justified by faith:

> In heavenly mercies hast thou not a part?
> Why shouldst thou then despeire, that chosen art?
> Where justice growes, there grows eke greater grace,
> The which doth quench the brond of hellish smart,
> And that accurst hand-writing doth deface.

This characteristic bit of Calvinism with which Canto Nine closes, serves as a prelude to Canto Ten, in which the Knight is instructed at the house of Holiness, or Caelia, in theology. This instruction follows very closely the Calvinistic teaching. Spenser believed that it is not enough for the Christian gentleman to be saved; he must know the whole scheme of salvation and must be nurtured in the faith. Only then can he hope to be a spiritual leader.

To the House of Holiness Una conducts the Red Crosse Knight. Arrived there, they find the door locked, but it is opened by the porter, Humilitie, for, according to Calvin, who borrows the words of St. Chrysostom, "the foundation of our philosophy is humility":

"Consider, first, that there is no access to salvation unless all pride is laid aside and true humility embraced; secondly, that that humility is not a kind of moderation by which you yield to God some article of your right, . . . but that it is the unfeigned submission of a mind overwhelmed by a serious conviction of its want and misery."

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Entered within a spacious court, they are met by a franklin, Zeal, for, as Calvin recommends, "Let this, then, be the first step, to abandon ourselves, and devote the whole energy of our minds to the service of God."

Next they come to a hall and are received by Reverence, for "men are never duly touched and impressed with a conviction of their insignificance, until they have contrasted themselves with the majesty of God."

Next they are received by Cælia, who stands for the heavenly mysteries, as she is the Dame of the house and the mother of the Christian virtues. As they converse,

> Loe! two most goodly virgins came in place,
> Ylinked arme in arme in lovely wise.

In like manner Calvin associates faith and hope, inasmuch as, "Wherever this living faith exists, it must have the hope of eternal life as its inseparable companion."

Una now requests Fidelia to school her knight in heavenly learning and celestial discipline. Accordingly, Fidelia opens her book, that none untaught could read, and teaches of God, of grace, of justice, and of free-will—the very core of Calvinistic doctrine. The Knight is soon stricken with the consciousness of sin. That faith precedes repentance in point of time, and that repentance is induced by faith in point of experience, is likewise Calvin's teaching:

"That repentance not only always follows faith, but is produced by it, ought to be without controversy. . . . Those who think that repentance precedes faith instead of following from, or being produced by it, as the fruit by the tree, have never understood its nature."

The Knight, bowed by a sense of guilt, and fearful that he cannot escape, is comforted by Speranza. "The Lord often keeps us in suspense," says Calvin, "by delaying the fulfillment of his promises much longer than we could wish. Here the office of hope is to perform what the prophet enjoins, 'Though it tarry, wait for it.' "

Una reports the condition of her knight to Cælia who fetches the leech, Patience. Patience disciplines him by fasting and prayer, Penaunce and Remorse straiten him, and Repentaunce washes away his stain. So Calvin writes:

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"Moreover as hatred of sin, which is the beginning of repentance, first gives us access to the knowledge of Christ, who manifests himself to none but miserable and afflicted sinners, groaning, labouring, burdened, hungry and thirsty, pining away with grief and wretchedness, so if we would stand in Christ, we must aim at repentance, cultivate it during our whole lives, and continue it to the last."

Thus restored, the knight is presented to Charissa, who instructs him in love, righteousness, and "well to donne," and then consigns him to the tutelage of Mercy. Mercy in turn conducts him through the hospital of self-denial and good deeds. Finally he ascends the hill of Contemplation, where the ancient sage points out to him first the steep, long path leading to the heavenly city, and then the very city itself. These concluding episodes closely parallel chapters seven, eight, and nine of Book Three of the *Institutes*, the first two giving a summary of the Christian life as expressed in self-denial and bearing the cross, and the last treating of the office of meditation on the future life. The hospital of Mercy illustrates the divine command to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, bind up the broken-hearted, care for the widows and orphans. Calvin makes Mercy the handmaid of Charity and summarizes the principle of good deeds, amplified into many pages, in the following words:

"Let this, then, be our method of showing good-will and kindness, considering that, in regard to everything which God has bestowed upon us, and by which we can aid our neighbors, we are his stewards, and are bound to give account of our stewardship; moreover, that the only right mode of administration is that which is regulated by love."

The chapter on meditation is an exhortation to the faithful to fix their eyes upon the celestial life, and "by raising their mind to heaven, become superior to all that is in the world."[9]

Canto Eleven is occupied with the conflict which serves as a climax to the knight's exploits, a conflict upon which the poet has expended his best descriptive efforts. With full knowledge of the truth, taught by hard experience to rely upon heavenly grace, established by discipline both intellectual and moral, the

[9] This account of the knight's instruction is taken from my previous study, *Spenser and the Theology of Calvin*, *Modern Philology* 12, 13-15.

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knight is ready for the overthrow of the great dragon, Antichrist, which has long kept Una's parents from enjoying their kingdom. The conflict lasts into the third day, and although the knight wounds his adversary under the left wing on the first day so that he cannot fly, and on the second day cuts off the adversary's sting and the paw with which he seeks to render useless the shield of faith, he himself is so overpowered by the fire and smoke which the dragon breathes forth, that he is saved only by the refreshing waters of the well of life and by the balm of the tree of life, that is, by the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist. Thus does the Christian keep the faith and win the victory over sin, supported by the life-giving sacraments.

In the final canto the parents of Una are liberated, and her "aged Syre, the Lord of all that land," the "aged Queene," and the "sage and sober peres"— the patriarchs and apostles— throw laurel boughs at the feet of the knight. Then the King yields his daughter and his kingdom unto the knight, a symbol that the redeemed and spiritually enlightened man shall possess the truth and inherit the earth.

The last vain efforts of Archimago and Duessa to reclaim the Red Crosse Knight serve to emphasize the completeness of his victory, and to show how impotent are deception and falsehood when the Christian has entered into possession of the truth. There is, to be sure, a certain artistic appropriateness in introducing these characters in the closing scene, just as a dramatist summons his principal characters, the villains along with the hero and heroine, before the final curtain.

Such in fine was Spenser's conception of the training of a gentleman in that virtue which he regarded as the beginning of all excellence. His ideal gentleman, as he aimed to portray him through the successive books, would be a man in whom would be harmonized those virtues which the Greek philosophers recognized and the Christian virtues, but Spenser believed that one must seek first the kingdom of God. It is this emphasis, so creditable to England, which differentiates the *Faerie Queene* from that other outstanding Renaissance exposition of a gentleman, *The Courtier* of Castiglione. The *Faerie Queene* is a Reformation as well as a Renaissance document.

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THE SECRET MARK OF THE BEAST

A Study of Cryptic Character Portrayal in "Little Eyolf"

Professor Rubek, the central figure of Ibsen's Dramatic Epilogue, "When We Dead Awaken," is a sculptor of world-wide fame. Since the completion of his great symbolical group, "The Resurrection Day," an irrepressible sense of failure has made him confine himself to the less ambitious task of portrait sculpture. He has grown wealthy, executing the commissions of the plutocrats, but in seeming to cater to their wishes, he has secretly given rein to a satanic love of caricature—the negative complement to his idealism.

"They are no mere portrait-busts,"[1] the morbidly brooding sculptor tells his simple little wife. "There is something equivocal, something cryptic, lurking in and behind these busts—a secret something, that the people themselves cannot see . . . . I alone can see it. And it amuses me unspeakably.— On the surface I give them the 'striking likeness,' as they call it, that they all stand and gape in astonishment—but at bottom they are all respectable, pompous horse-faces, and self-opinionated donkey-muzzles, and lop-eared, low-browed dog-skulls, and fatted swine-snouts—and sometimes dull, brutal bull-fronts as well. ... And it is these double-faced works of art that our excellent plutocrats come and order of me. And pay for in all good faith—and in good round figures too—almost their weight in gold, as the saying goes." (XI, 337-9.)

"I alone can see it. And it amuses me unspeakably."—Is this merely Professor Rubek speaking, or is it Henrik Ibsen himself, withdrawing the curtain from one of the secret recesses of his soul? Did Ibsen himself indulge in the shaping of such double-faced portraits, human enough likenesses as they seemed, but revealing to his own diabolically keen scrutiny the treacherous leer or the rapacious grin or the dull vacant stare of the beasts of the wilderness, the stable and the kennel?

To summon the vast crew of human-all-too-human characters from Ibsen's modern plays as instances of such double-faced portraiture would be beside the point. The Torwalds, the Manders, the Gregers Werles, the Hjalmar Ekdals, the Krolls, the Bracks,— all range themselves without difficulty into

[1] The page references to Ibsen's works are based on the Scribner Copyright Edition in thirteen volumes. New York, 1911.

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the motley menagerie, for the discerning reader. They do not make good Ibsen-Rubek's boast: "I alone see it." No, if this boast is to be taken as a personal confession, it must mark Ibsen's glee over the fact that the master of satire has actually succeeded in deceiving the public as to his intentions. It must mean that he exults because he succeeded by the very subtelty of his art in leading the reader into a trap; that he gloats over the finesse with which he has contrived to conceal his own deepest secret reading of the characters of his creation.

I have in mind two genuine cases of such double-faced portraiture. The first, to be mentioned here only in passing, is Jørgen Tesman, the husband of Hedda Gabler. The second case concerns Ibsen's drama "Little Eyolf" and its central character, Alfred Allmers. No other play of Ibsen's has been so grossly misinterpreted, even by discerning critics. They have walked into a cunningly contrived trap, to Ibsen's grim amusement.

The prevailing view in regard to "Little Eyolf" is summarized by Roman Woerner in the following paragraph:

> Die Kritik konnte feststellen, Klein Eyolf zeige den Dichter in eine religiöse Ergriffenheit emporgehoben, die ohne Einschränkung bejaht, alle Übel der menschlichen Schwäche beimisst und auf die Überwindbarkeit dieser Schwäche hinweist. Das Drama ende nicht, wie die meisten andern, mit einem Fragezeichen, nicht mit einem tragischen Schluss oder einer Disharmonie, sondern mit einem versöhnenden Akkord aus höheren Sphären, in dem sich alle irdischen Missklänge zu voller und endgültiger Harmonie auflösen. (Henrik Ibsen, II, 288. Beck; München; 1912.)

Apart from minor reservations, Woerner shares this point of view. To be sure, he views the questionable hero, Alfred Allmers, with a critical eye. His keen scrutiny reveals some disconcerting points of similarity between Allmers and the notorious Hjalmar Ekdal of the "Wild Duck."

> Dem allem ungeachtet," he concludes, "ist es doch offenbar des Dichters Absicht, uns eine echte, nicht bloss scheinbare, nicht auf Selbsttäuschung beruhende grosse Wandlung in Allmers zu veranschaulichen. Eine Wandlung von geistigem Egoismus zu selbstloser Hingabe. (ibid. 298.)

He feels uneasy, it is true, in attempting to square Ibsen's presumable intention with the actual result.

> Die Abhängigkeit (Allmers') von ihrer Führung (Rita's), die Unselbständigkeit, drückt ihn doch wieder ein wenig herab, und gibt uns bis zuletzt ein sehr

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gemischtes Wohlgefallen an dem dünnbärtigen, dünnhaarigen Manne mit dem ernsten nachdenklichen Gesicht und den sanften Augen. (ibid. 301.)

Nevertheless, Ibsen's manner of treating Allmers' foibles reminds him of a parent's fond indulgence toward a favorite child.

Allmers, geboren aus des Dichters damals so starker "Sehnsucht nach dem Tode," wurde notwendig einer, der nie leben lernt und die Erde lieben und das Lachen dazu. Und wir dürfen vermuten, dass der Vater ein Wohlgefallen empfunden an seinem Sohne. Denn mit fühlbarer Milde und Liebe betrachtet er Schwächen, die er sonst streng beurteilt. Ja, er gibt mit bewegtem Gemüte seine Genehmigung zum lebensfeindlichen Kompromiss, zu einem "Selbstmordleben" für andre,—er wird zum "Prediger des langsamen Todes." (ibid. 306.)

Since Woerner, in the passages quoted, has expressed not merely his own but the prevailing critical opinion, his statement of the case may suffice. As we see, it is built on the assumption that Ibsen's intention obviously was to convey a serious message thru the personality of Alfred Allmers; and it implies the admission that, judged by the poet's intentions, the character portrait of Allmers is a partial failure. Now it is clear that we must not impute any 'intentions' to the poet which are at variance with the inherent drift of the play itself, unless there is unmistakable evidence of a rift between intention and execution. That question can not be settled, until we have probed to the bottom of Allmers' character. If we should find that all the words, actions and gestures attributed to Allmers can be viewed as the coherent expression of an individuality, whose inmost soul has lain exposed to the dramatist's scrutiny, then we are bound to infer that he has fully realized his intention. If, on the other hand, we find the character of Allmers to be essentially incongruous; if at times he is himself and at times merely the mouthpiece of the dramatist—then we are forced to draw a line between intention and realization.

A comparison of the finished play with its first draft *seems*, indeed, to point to such a discrepancy. A single example at this point. In the first draft Allmers, speaking of Eyolf, who is pictured not as a cripple but as something of a sissy, announces the change of his educational policy with the words: "I am going to make a regular open-air boy of him." (XII, 483). The Allmers of the final version says exactly the same words with

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reference to the crippled child. (XI, 43). In the latter case the remark is absurd, coming as it does on the heels of his announcement that his educational efforts will henceforth be directed to bringing the boy's desires into harmony with what lies attainable before him. (XI, 35). One's first thought is that Ibsen inadvertently copied the remark out of the original draft, unmindful of the changed circumstances. But is it not possible that he did so deliberately, that he *knew exactly what he was doing?* Assuming the latter, these words will have an entirely different ring. The same, as we shall see, is the case with a good many other phrases transferred bodily from the first draft to the play. Obviously, we must read the work of a soul-analyst like Ibsen with the assumption that he was familiar with his characters to the very rhythm of their breathing—until, or better, unless we find that this involves us in contradictions. We must let the play speak for itself and convey its own inherent meaning, if it have one. A comparison between the play and its first draft is indeed apt to throw a good deal of light on the dramatist's method, on the evolution of the dramatic plan and of the characters; but to use the first draft as a source of light in regard to the meaning of the characters as they stand fixed in the play, is inadmissible—unless they show traces of faulty mechanism.

I now ask the reader to follow me in a detailed analysis of the play as regards everything that will illuminate the character of Alfred Allmers, who is generally regarded, despite his evident weaknesses, as a mentally and morally superior type of person ("a type of what we may roughly call the 'free moral agent.' " William Archer's introd. XI, xi). In reality—as I shall try to show—he is only one of that very dangerous kind of charlatans who, in deceiving themselves, also contrive to deceive those who love them. A vain petulant child, humored and coddled by the two women whose lives revolve around his, he takes himself very seriously and has come to conceive of himself as a really profound thinker. He professes to view life only from the moral angle, and while he invariably indulges the impulses of his emotional self, this preoccupation with morality supplies him in all emergencies with fluent phrases and ready formulae with which to conceal his impulsive egotism from himself and others. I preface my analysis with this plain statement in order to lay down clearly in advance the conclusions to be derived from a

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multitude of specific instances, which will be taken up one by one. In order to avoid the cumbersome process of induction, I confess that I took Allmers quite seriously at the outset, and that the final note of peace thru renunciation, coming from his lips, had for me the ring of sincerity. But what troubled me from the first, aroused my suspicion upon repeated reading, and finally forced me to a radical reinterpretation, was the behavior of Allmers in the second act. One false note there follows another: insincere, exaggerated grief, petulance, hysteria, wilful self-deception, and brutality under the mask of moral indignation. The analysis here presented will follow the play consecutively; but I venture to suggest that the reader who may be tempted to dismiss my remarks on Act I as unwarranted will feel the force of the argument upon re-reading Act II with judicious detachment.

Act I

Let us begin by determining the facts of the situation at the opening of the play, on the day after Allmers' return from the mountains. It is well to get at once, in part at least, the significance of his trip.

1. Allmers had left home, restless, discontented with himself and with his family (33), because he made no headway on "the great, thick book about Human Responsibility." Returning home, he admits he had thought it would go so easily, when once he got away (11). In that he was disappointed. He was absent for seven weeks and came back immediately after the shock of losing his way in the wilds. As he tells Rita, in recounting this experience toward the close of the play, the decision to renounce his lifework in favor of devoting himself altogether to little Eyolf came to him only when he faced death. "That night sealed my resolution." (141).

What did he do during the interval of seven weeks? He says he spent his time thinking, and he remarks with an air of superior wisdom: "All the best that is in you goes into thinking. What you put on paper is worth very little" (12).

The student, who knows the great extent to which Ibsen gleaned the psychic raw material of his characters thru self-analysis, will at once discern in this remark a pessimistic utterance of Ibsen's own, having its roots in his conviction that his

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achievements were never adequate to his endeavors; ***and I do not for a moment doubt that the remark originally shaped itself in Ibsen's mind and was jotted down as a bit of personal confession.*** Moreover, the moment this fact is recognized, the character of Allmers will tend to establish itself in the mind of the reader as an emanation of Ibsen's self, as an imaginative projection of one of the poet's many possibilities of selfhood, like Solness, the master-builder, and Rubek, the sculptor, like Brand and Skule and Julian and a host of other character creations who are intuitively felt as spiritual kinsmen of Ibsen,—a fact which automatically elevates them above the other characters of the respective plays and makes our sympathies converge upon them. However, when subsequent events tend to show that our sympathies have been misplaced, when once our suspicions have been aroused as to Allmers' intellectual honesty, when once we have detected his inveterate habit of self-deceptive reconstruction of the facts in accordance with his wishes, then we will see in his solemn remark not a glint of wisdom but an evasion of the ugly fact that his ability had failed him. Then our answer as to what he did during those seven weeks will be: Chafing at his failure, he worked himself up into a fit of impotent frenzy, and his getting lost was but the culmination of a self-torture that must have brought him to the brink of madness. It was a crisis brought on by mental exhaustion. If this view of the case is borne out in the course of the analysis, then, it is evident that a *startling change of plan separates the finished play from Ibsen's original intention.*

2. After announcing that he has given up his life-work in favor of the boy, Allmers continues confidently, smiling and stroking the boy's hair: "But I can tell you, some one is coming after me who will do it better." (12). Obviously, he thinks of the boy as his successor. Yet, a little later in the course of the morning, he says to Rita and Asta: "Eyolf shall carry on my life-work—if he wants to. Or he shall choose one that is altogether his own. Perhaps that would be best. At all events, I shall let mine rest as it is" (36). Is not this a surprisingly quick change of front, coming from a man who has pondered over these matters and come to a decision, in the great solitude? Does it not fill us with uneasiness, as to the continuity of his purposes? Is this a serious thinker who is changing the course

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of his life, after mature reflection, or a volatile enthusiast who zig-zags along, yielding to the inspiration of fitful fancies?

3. To the boy's question, as to what he intends to do when the successor has come, Allmers replies: "(Seriously.) Then I will go to the mountains again—up to the peaks and the great waste places." (13). —Does he mean this literally, or symbolically? Who knows? No one would speak that way, in an intimate family circle, except a prophet,—or a fool with a much inflated sense of self-importance. The intonation is either one of sombre gravity or of vacuous pomposity. As yet we don't know Allmers well enough to decide which it is, but after we do, this incident will contribute a pronounced touch of color to our mental picture of him.

4. Now consider Allmers' announcement that he will make a regular open-air boy out of Eyolf. Before Allmers went on his trip, Eyolf, "poor little white-faced boy," (9) had been a slave to his books. His mother, tho she didn't love the child, had felt a deep pity for him (50) because she felt that Allmers wanted to make a prodigy of him by forcing his mental development (92). Also Asta, the boy's aunt, has become alarmed at the length of his lessons, so that she makes up her mind to say a word of warning to Allmers on that subject(9).[2] The boy had not been in the habit of playing like other children. But during the weeks of the father's absence the frequent visits of the cheerful Road-Maker gave his child's soul a chance to assert itself. Now he learned to shoot with a bow and arrow in the garden, and he nursed the pathetic ambition of becoming a soldier. The father, all eager after his return to take up the child's education in an entirely new spirit, winces as the little fellow gives vent to his hopes, and his voice throbs with emotion as he says, rising to emphasize his words: "I will help him to bring his desires into harmony with what is attainable before him. That is just what at present they are not." (35). This, as a resolution to make the boy happy, will pass muster. But its application in the announcement that he will make a regular

[2] Instead of being a father, Allmers had been only a school-master to him. (34). "You kept him reading and grinding at books," Rita says reproachfully to Allmers in the course of the morning. "You scarcely even saw him." "No," Allmers, agrees, nodding slowly; "I was blind. The time had not yet come for me." (50)

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open-air boy of the child, (43) is all the more obviously quixotic. By throwing all the emphasis on cultivating the boy's love of out-of-doors, as he proposes to do, he is going to encourage those very desires in the boy which, owing to his crippled condition, can never be fulfilled; hence he will be working in direct contradiction to his formula of happiness. So these words reveal not the thoughtful father but the sanguine enthusiast.[3]

5. Asta has brought a portfolio containing, among other family letters, those belonging to her mother, Allmers' stepmother. To her suggestion that he read them, he replies: "Those, of course, you must keep yourself."—"*Asta* (With an effort.) No; I am determined that you shall look them thru too, Alfred. *Allmers.* I shall never read your mother's letters in any case." (28). Why does he refuse? The first answer that suggests itself to me is that his sense of honor forbids him to trespass upon her mother's secrets. Is this an indication of extreme sensitiveness—or of moral pedantry? Asta is certainly a woman of great tact and refinement, yet *she* does not feel her request as any betrayal of trust! But, perhaps, the moral issue is put forward merely as a cover to obviate his saying: "I do not care to read them. They would bore me." There is nothing to indicate that his declining to read them might be prompted by any vague suspicion regarding Asta's parentage. Be that as it may, the incident shows how carefully every word of his must be weighed in the balance.

6. Both Rita and Asta are struck with the solemnity of Allmers' manner. Asta remarks that something seems to have happened to Allmers—transformed him, as it were. *Rita.* "Yes, I saw it the moment you came. A change for the better, I hope, Alfred? *Allmers.* It ought to be for the better. And it must and shall come to good." And as she insists, eagerly, to know what has happened, Allmers admits: "It is true that within me there has been something of a revolution. *Rita.* Oh Heavens! *Allmers.* (soothingly, patting her head.) Only for the better, my dear Rita. You may be perfectly certain of that." (29–30). Contrast the "it *ought* to be for the better"

[3] Does not Allmer's pronouncement, "Eyold shall be the complete man of our race. And it shall be my new life-work to make him the complete man" (36) show that Allmers prefers theories to facts, that he is himself quite unable to harmonize his desires with what is attainable?

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of the first part of the dialogue, with the "you may be perfectly certain" of the conclusion. The uneasy doubt of the former gives way in a few seconds' space to his imperious will to believe. These words, again, get their color from the personality of the man who utters them. In the mouth of a man of great determination they serve notice of a struggle to be won by sheer grit of will; in the mouth of a weakling they mark only the short-lived escape from the hard world of fact to the pliable realm of fancy. Is Allmers' will but the flickering of a match, or is it the steady burning of a "hard, gem-like flame?"

7. Allmers motivates his decision to give up his book as follows: "I felt as tho I were positively abusing—or, say rather, wasting—my best powers—frittering away the time. *Asta.* (With wide eyes.) When you were writing at your book? *Allmers.* (Nodding.) For I cannot think that my powers are confined to that alone. I must surely have it in me to do one or two things as well." (32). If, like the hero of the original draft, Allmers could say of himself: "Book after book I have sent out into the world. They were well done, I believe," (XII, 479) such positive proof of his ability would establish his right to be believed. But, to leave a ten years' task, a life-work, without anything accomplished, makes one suspect that he is sugar-coating his consciousness of failure with fine phrases, both to hush up his uneasiness and to throw dust into the eyes of the two doting women. If he succeeds in deluding himself, as well as others, so much the worse for him. But his fine phrases no longer deceive Rita after hot anger has sharpened her vision. In Act II she tells him why he gave up his book. Not for Eyolf's sake, but "because you were consumed with mistrust of yourself. Because you had begun to doubt whether you had any great vocation to live for in the world." To which Allmers, unable to form words of denial, replies, "(Observing her closely.) Could you see that in me?" (91). Which goes to prove that he had—very nearly—succeeded in deluding himself.

But, as if uneasily realizing the weakness of his position, he hastens to explain that he cannot divide himself between the book and Eyolf. "It is impossible! I cannot divide myself in this matter—and therefore I efface myself." (36). The utter ridiculousness of this flourish, a grotesque misapplication of Brand's maxim: All or Nothing, must strike anyone upon a

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little reflection. Even Rita's ear caught the reverberating echo of its hollowness; for as Allmers, with theatrical solemnity, takes hold of Rita's hand and holds out his other to Asta, and announces that with both of them to help him he will act out his human responsibility in his own life, (37) Rita, drawing her hand away, retorts: "Ah—with both of us! So, after all, you *can* divide yourself." (38). Which causes Allmers' mood of moral edification to end abruptly in a perplexed stammer. But he forgets quickly. Again the fatal phrase is used, to tell Rita that she can no longer kindle his passion: "*Rita.* But you shall be mine alone! You shall be wholly mine! That I have a right to demand of you!—*Allmers.* (Shrugging his shoulders.) Oh, my dear Rita, it is of no use demanding anything. Everything must be freely given.—*Rita.* (Looks anxiously at him.) And that you cannot do henceforth? —*Allmers.* No, I cannot. I must divide myself between Eyolf and you." (48).

8. Allmers speaks of his life-work not as *a* book on human responsibility, but as "the great thick book on Human Responsibility." (33). Is not malicious comment justified, when the greatness of a still unwritten, never-to-be-written, book is emphasized by its thickness? Surely that book deserves its place, along with other moth-eaten treasures, in the chest of Ulrik Brendel! (Rosmersholm.)

Again, how different would be the allusion to the great thick book in the mouth of a man who, like the hero of the original draft, had already sent book after book into the world and, in wrestling with his master-piece, suddenly found his theories crumbling because of a tragic fundamental error!

9. Allmers begins his account of the transformation that overcame him in the mountains with a rather long-winded and pompous introduction, designed as a tribute of gratitude to Rita because of her "gold and her green forests" which had brought the poor scholar comfort and leisure. (31–33). Rita is annoyed; she finds this unctuous beginning, this ostentatious harping on his gratitude, in very bad taste. I think any healthy-minded person would find it equally so. Allmers here betrays a lack of tact and delicacy, quite out of keeping with his seeming hypersensitiveness when the reading of his step-mother's letters was at issue. And indeed we learn later that this embarrassing profession of gratitude was meant as a sop to ease his conscience

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for having married Rita because of her wealth. Again the line between sincerity and insincerity is hard to draw. Who can tell how much he resented having to be grateful to her?

10. How Allmers proposes to live out his human responsibility instead of putting it into a book—of that we have a striking instance in his concern on Asta's behalf. It would disquiet him, he admits, if Asta seriously cared for Borgheim. "You must remember," he tells Rita, "that I am responsible for Asta—for her life's happiness." (45). Later we find that Allmers' attachment for Asta breaks into passionate flame when he learns that she is not his sister. He had been secretly jealous of Borgheim all the time, but he had managed to deceive himself on that score by investing his selfish feelings with the mantle of moral responsibility. Of course, even the best of men have these human-all-to-human failings; even the most passionate lover of truth will catch himself, often enough, in intellectual equivocation. So we must not judge Allmers by a single instance. However, if we find a will to self-deception to be one of the man's ingrained habits, we must take his measure accordingly. And we must judge him all the more severely because he is the self-appointed spokesman of an austere morality.

11. At the risk of offending puritanic ears, we must dwell for a moment on Allmers' behavior at the lugubrious reunion feast of the night before, when Rita, preparing to greet him, had let down her "fragrant tresses," donned a dress of pure white and put the champagne on the table. Allmers refused to touch it, and when Rita undressed, he asked her about the boy's digestion. So they parted for the night. On the morning of the play, having been plainly told that henceforth she would come in for the attentions of her husband only in a secondary degree, that his former passion was to be replaced by "a calm, deep tenderness" (50), Rita rehearses the events of the night before in a manner which must be extremely offensive to English ears; at least on no other ground can I explain Edmund Gosse's extraordinary comment: "She seems the most vigorous, and, it must be added, the most repulsive of Ibsen's feminine creations. (Life of Ibsen, 197.) Now, in truth, it is difficult to show a woman in a more disadvantageous light, than by letting her go thru the futile motions of reproaching her husband for not

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having snatched her up in his arms on a previous occasion. Apart from the fact that nothing is ever gained by such wrangling, such abandonment of her pride of sex is bound to lower her in our estimation, and our sympathies quite naturally side with the man. But it would be unfair to her to forget that she was not at all used to seeing her passion spurned. For ten years she had revelled in her husband's passionate embraces; they had never been separated for a single day. (1). The telegram came, announcing his unexpected return in an hoúr. How her heart must have fluttered in anticipation of his embrace! So, without a touch of coquetry, without the slightest artful attempt to stimulate his passion by disguising her own, simple in her gladness like a child of nature, she had welcomed him to the feast—and he had entered, looking as if transfigured as he stood in the door-way (6); but, still completely under the spell of his recent experience, feeling more like a saint than a mortal man, he had been distant and solemn, refusing both the wine and her charms. Now, as I view the situation, Allmers felt exalted because of his great moral experience in the mountains, he felt a thrill of satisfaction because the divine spark of his nature had triumphed over his lower self, and he retired, absorbed in a wave of heretofore unknown self-esteem that left no room for his considering the feelings of such lower creatures of sense as Rita. Poor Rita, on the other hand, feeling the distance of his manner, the cause of which she did not know, saw her rosy expectations fade, sick with hope deferred. But she respected his mood, she bore him no grudge. "He seemed to be tired enough. . . . Poor fellow, he had come on foot the greater part of the way." (6). And she is all gladness the next morning in chatting to Asta about his return.

Summing up the results of our study of Allmers' character as revealed in the first act, we have seen a number of striking instances of wilful self-deception that point to an ingrained habit; we have come across clear instances of his voice being pitched in a false key, leading us to question his sincerity; but at the same time we have found it necessary to stress the equivocal character of a great deal of the evidence we have sifted. After all, he may be sincere at bottom. He may be slowly groping his way thru error to the light for which he

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professes to yearn. Perhaps we are to witness his purification under the impact of a great sorrow.

Act II

12. Little Eyolf, succumbing to the fascination of the Rat-Wife, followed her with his eyes as he stood at the edge of the pier, until he reeled and plunged into the clear deep water, to be swept toward the sea by the swift undertow. The shock of his death leaves Allmers stunned. Twenty-eight hours after the accident Asta finds him sitting by himself in a narrow glen over-looking the fjord. He stares fixedly at the water which is steeped in an atmosphere of gloom because of the low wet mists. Presumably he had been brooding thus continuously since the child's death, shunning the company of Rita and Asta, except when he joined them at meals.

In the scene between Asta and Allmers which follows, Allmers gives an exhibition of his grief. I think that anyone who reads this scene discerningly must feel that Allmers' expression of his sorrow is a 'tour de force.' More than a day had elapsed since the accident, time enough, one should think, for a sincerely sorrowing parent,—let alone a philosopher—to regain a certain degree of outward composure. Notwithstanding, Allmers acts as if he were still physically paralyzed by the shock. Asta has to address him repeatedly before he will answer her questions. (64). Then he bursts forth in a flood of meaningless questions and exclamations. He keeps turning the knife in his wound, trying to recall by his every word the first physical horror. He would make Asta—and himself—believe that grief is driving him to the brink of madness, as he performs the horrible mathematical calculation of time multiplied by velocity, to determine the present location of Eyolf's body. (66).

13. And then his question: "Can you conceive the meaning of a thing like this?—Of this that has been done to Rita and me." (66). How childish on the part of a man claiming to be a philosopher who has broken with the theistic view of the world? So childish, in fact, that Asta finds it difficult to get the drift of his question. So all his philosophy has been only a thin veneer; for the moment his own life is touched by fate, he instinctively fancies himself the center of the universe. His

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words make it quite plain that he conceives the death of Eyolf as a spiteful act on the part of some conscious superior power,—an act which he feels directed against himself far more than against the child. How unguardedly his egotism comes out in his exclamation: "He would have filled my life with pride and gladness!" (67) How these words *MY LIFE* echo the false key in which his lamentation is pitched!

He continues to reason like the spoiled petulant child that he is. "(Impatiently.) Yes, the meaning, I say. For, after all, there must be a meaning in it. Life, existence—destiny, *cannot* be so utterly meaningless." (66). That fine generalization is to supply the logical prop for his airing of a personal grievance. The sophistry is too blatant to warrant discussion. We can imagine with what superior gravity he would have doled out metaphysical comfort to some other parent who had sustained a similar loss.

14. But as the philosopher in Allmers shrinks and shrivels, the theologian underneath waxes. "There is no retribution behind it. Nothing to be atoned for, I mean." (68). That seems to be settled as soon as he goes thru the motions of reasoning out that the child had done no harm to the Rat-wife. But now we perceive why he talks about the meaning! Despite his being, apparently, a free-thinker, the only causality he knows how to reckon with is moral. What a sorry fool he must be, to carry all the luggage of mediæval theology and yet to discard the personal god, the logical key-stone of the whole system!

15. Allmers is hopelessly enmeshed in self-deception. "Have you spoken to Rita of these things?," Asta asks. To which Allmers replies, shaking his head: "I feel as if I can talk better to you about them." (68). He knows well why he avoids talking to Rita about retribution; for all his words have had only the aim of downing the conviction, which he knows Rita must share, that Eyolf's death is a personal visitation of Providence upon them for having neglected the child in the indulgence of their sensuous passion. It is easier for him to talk to Asta about it, since she is ignorant of the circumstances which caused the boy to become a cripple.

16. Allmers' state of mind gives us a clue as to the reason for his exaggerated, ostentatious show of grief. Or rather the

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reasons. First, he wants to persuade himself by the vehemence of his hysterical clamoring that he felt genuine love for the boy, because a father *ought* to love his child. Second, as he is weighed down by the consciousness of guilt, he feels there is a certain moral atonement in making the grief hurt him to the very limit of his capacity. Feeling the grief of bereavement in all its acuteness restores to him the sense of his own moral superiority: A person of less highly developed moral sense would suffer less. Finally, there seems to be another subtle reason for his grieving. If, as seems clear, Allmers 'effaced' himself in favor of the boy and renounced his life-work, because his ability failed him, how is he going to hide that fact from himself now that the child can no longer serve as a cover for his failure to stick to his task?

17. As Asta sews some crepe on his arm, Allmers' mind slips from the forced leash-hold of its sorrow, reverting to scenes where it can dwell with pleasure. He begins to talk about the happy days of their adolescence. Reminded by him of how she used to dress in his clothes and pretend to be his boy chum, when they were alone, Asta pauses, in thinking of his college days, to remark, smiling involuntarily: "I wonder how you could be so childish.—*Allmers.* Was it *I* that was childish? —*Asta.* Yes, indeed, I think it was, as I look back upon it all. You were ashamed of having no brother—only a sister.—*Allmers.* No, No, it was you, dear—*you* were ashamed.—*Asta.* Oh, yes, I too, perhaps—a little." (73). Note the unguarded spontaneity of Allmers': "Was it *I* that was childish?" How it reveals in the flash of a moment the man's vanity![4]

Asta, realizing that she has nettled his self-love by imputing something childish to the past of so great a man, yields the point in order to soothe him. But this bit of dialogue reveals even more. If Allmers felt in a way ashamed of Asta, because she was only a sister instead of a brother, the egotistical nature of the only love of which he was capable betrays itself. He instinctively looked upon her as an item of his personal aggrandizement, as he would have looked upon money or social

[4] Just like Helmer Torwold, who flares up when Nora dares to suggest that his motive for wanting to discharge Krogstad is petty ("smaalig")—only infinitely more subtle!—

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station. She was to him essentially a thing which contributed to his sense of self-importance, yet did not do so quite enough; a substitute which he had to make the best of.

18. Once we have appreciated this *nuance* of Allmers' egotism, we also understand his lack of delicacy, otherwise puzzling, in confiding to Rita the precious intimacy between himself and Asta, as symbolized by Asta's being to him his "big brother Eyolf." To Asta the precious secret was like a sanctum into which none but them were privileged to enter. "Oh, Alfred, I hope you have never told Rita this?—*Allmers.* Yes, I believe I did once tell her. *Asta.* Oh, Alfred, how could you do that?—*Allmers.* Well, you see—one tells one's wife everything—very nearly." (74). How she would have blushed hot with shame and indignation, had she known that Allmers chose for this communication that passionate hour, when he neglected his watch over the sleeping child—in the arms of Rita! (104).

19. But we must linger over that tactless indiscretion for a moment, since it contains the key to another secret. What could have brought the memory of those days of adolescence to his mind during "that entrancingly beautiful hour?" (104). Without doubt it was the thought of his fine healthy baby boy, whom he had fondled on the table after his bath until the child dropped off to sleep. How proud he felt of this Eyolf, after having had to put up so long with—what was after all—a mere make-believe Eyolf; how elated at his own achievement. And in a burst of paternal pride, which wiped out completely the clinging vestiges of shame-faced embarrassment over Asta's mere girlhood, his expanding heart craved for a partner in its naive triumph, and he told Rita why he had given their child the name of Eyolf. Now we can fully appreciate, in turn, the mingled feelings of disappointed vanity, physical repulsion and self-reproach which the child must have evoked in Allmers after it bore its permanent disability. Despite the forced educational drill which he imposed upon the mild docile youngster, he scarcely even looked at him. (50). He did not dare to!

20. With a start, clutching his forehead, Allmers cuts thru his reminiscent conversation with Asta (when her question, about his betrayal of their secret to Rita, had exposed a sore

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spot of his conscience!), to return to the grim present. He realizes that he had forgotten his grief for little Eyolf, in talking with Asta, and he now reproaches himself violently for this lack of feeling,—always with the thought lurking in the back of his mind: What a superior moral being I am, despite my weakness, to expose and judge my own failings with such unflinching honesty! This thought inspires him to an ever greater exhibition of grief, coming to a climax in a grand theatrical flourish: He threatens to commit suicide by jumping into the fjord. Once the comic element of this scene is detected, his antics are felt as irresistibly grotesque. Allmers complains in self-reproach; "He slipped out of my memory—out of my thoughts. I did not see him for a moment as we sat here talking. I utterly forgot him all that time.—*Asta.* But surely you must take some rest in your sorrow.—*Allmers.* No, no, no; that is just what I will not do! I must not—I have no right—and no heart for it, either. (Going in great excitement towards the right.) All my thoughts must be out there, where he lies drifting in the depths!—*Asta.* (Following him and holding him back.) Alfred—Alfred! Don't go to the fjord.—*Allmers.* (Yielding.) No, no—I will not. Only let me alone.—*Asta.* (Leading him back to the table.) You must rest from your thoughts, Alfred. Come here and sit down.—*Allmers.* (Making as if to seat himself on the bench.) Well, well, as you please.—*Asta.* No, I won't let you sit there.—*Allmers.* Yes, let me. *Asta.* No, don't. For then you will only sit looking out—(Forces him down upon a chair, with his back to the right.) There now. Now that's right. (Seats herself upon the bench.) And now we can talk a little again." (75-6). So Allmers settles down to a less hysterical, more reflective variation of the theme of self-reproach, culminating in the confession: "In the midst of all the agony, I found myself speculating what we should have for dinner today." (77). As Woerner remarks, not the fact that he confesses to the human weakness of hunger in his misery, but that he should be wondering *what* he would get for dinner, brings him within the radius of Hjalmar Ekdal.

21. Gradually self-reproach subsides into sentimental reflection. Dwelling on the theme of his love for Asta— his sister—of his own kin, unlike Rita, he philosophizes on the bond wrought by common family traits: "Yes, our family is a

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thing apart. (Half jestingly.) We have always had vowels for our initials. Don't you remember how often we used to speak of that? And all our relations—all equally poor. And we have all the same color of eyes." Upon the modulations of this elegiac strain Asta breaks in with her question: "Do you think I too have?" (78). Which jars the harmony of finely spun theories a trifle by the rude impact of fact, causing him hastily to correct himself. However, being now in the mood, he tranquilly continues after a moment: "But all the same—."

22. Rita arrives with Borgheim; and as Asta departs with the Road-Builder, to leave the couple alone, a mood of dogged sullenness settles down upon Allmers. A moment before their arrival he had exclaimed to Asta: "But how I am to get over these terrible first days (hoarsely) that is what I cannot imagine." (81). Now, when Rita asks him: "Can you think the thought, Alfred, that we have lost Eyolf?", he answers, "(Looking sadly at the ground.) We must accustom ourselves to it." (85).

Rita tells him with streaming eyes the details she had gleaned, down at the wharf, of the child's death. Like Ellida Wangel, she is a creature of sense, thinking wholly in images, visual and aditory. "I shall see him day and night," she wails. "With great open eyes. I see them! I see them now." (87). These words give Allmers the cue for which he has been sullenly waiting. Rising slowly and looking at her with quiet menace, "Were they evil, those eyes, Rita?," he asks (87); and as she shrinks from her pitiless accuser, he follows her, repeating the question with rising emphasis. Then, seeing his victim, shrieking with helpless dread, recoil before him, he strikes: "Now things have come about—just as you wished, Rita." (88).

The sheer, deliberate brutality of this blow exposes the man's unspeakable pettiness. He knows that his accusation is only half true, at the most; Rita had checked herself from uttering the wish that formed in her mind when she was beside herself in a frenzy of jealousy. He knows how those wide open eyes haunt her; how she is suffering because of that wish. One would expect him, appalled at the ghastliness of her fate, to wring his hands in mute agony for being unable to find

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words that could free her from her dread obsession. Instead, he finds solace for his own pangs of conscience in lacerating his stricken wife.

23. Yet his cruelty is unwittingly merciful. Where sympathy would have made her self-annihilation but the more complete, the voice of pitiless judgment, coming from an accomplice in guilt, spurs her to self-defense in salutory anger. Indignation lends her the keenness to penetrate in part the drapery of his moral superiority. She confronts him with facts which he had been too clever in his cowardly self-delusion to acknowledge to himself; He had never really loved the boy. He had given up his work because he was consumed with mistrust of himself. He needed something new to fill up his life, and she was no longer enough for him. (93). Taken wholly by surprise by her counter-attack, fearing its more vehement renewal if he sought cover under denial, he tries to regain the upper hand by retreating behind the phraseology of science, where the Particular can escape the mere lay person's pursuit by letting itself be swallowed up in the awe-inspiring Universal, enjoying there the immunity of the outlaw in the temple. Had Allmers said, "Yes, Rita, I have changed toward you," he would have felt uneasily on the defensive. But his solemn pronouncement, "That is the law of change, Rita," (92) substitutes for the Particular a Universal, from which there seems to be no appeal. Poor Rita did not see thru the word-fetchism of his pseudo-science, but her *elan* had been impetuous enough to let her clear the hurdle which Allmers threw in her path. She goes on with her accusations, and imperceptibly the guilty pair find themselves confronted, in their recriminations, by an issue which they had avoided for years by tacit agreement: Their responsibility for the crippling of the child and thereby indirectly for his death stares them in the face.

24. Once more Allmers makes a frantic effort to rise above Rita by trampling upon her. "You are the guilty one in this," he shouts at her. "It was your fault that he could not save himself when he fell into the water." (93)—"*Rita.* (With a gesture of repulsion.) Alfred, you *shall* not throw the blame upon me!—*Allmers.* (More and more beside himself.) Yes, yes, I do! It was you that left the helpless child unwatched upon the table.—*Rita.* He was lying so comfortably among

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the cushions, and sleeping so soundly. And you had promised to look after him.—*Allmers*. Yes, I had. (Lowering his voice.) But then you came—you, you, and lured me to you.—*Rita*. (Looking defiantly at him.) Oh, better own at once that you forgot the child and everything else.—*Allmers*. (In suppressed desperation.) Yes, that is true. (Lower.) I forgot the child —in your arms.—*Rita*. (Exasperated.) Alfred! Alfred—this is intolerable of you!—*Allmers*. (In a low voice, clenching his fists before her face.) In that hour you condemmed your little Eyolf to death." (94).—It is the old story of Adam and Eve, with Adam, trying to shift the whole blame upon his wife, by far the more repulsive sinner.[5] But the facts are too plain. Allmers is reluctantly forced to yield his ground, to admit his share in their common sin. He even finds a certain satisfaction in demonstrating to Rita, in superior school-master fashion, the child's death as an act of retribution.

25. If we but listen closely, we detect in his apparent contrition new evidence of his inveterate habit of evading unpleasant facts. "Now, as we stand here, "Allmers says, "we have our deserts. While he lived, we let ourselves shrink away from him in secret, abject remorse.[6] We could not bear to see it—the thing he had to drag with him—.—Rita (Whispers.) The crutch.—*Allmers*. Yes, that."(95). Even now he shrinks from mentioning that repulsive thing, the crutch, by name. Like Peer Gynt he prefers to 'go roundabout' (gaa/udenom) or use the pronoun, in contrast to Rita's simple truthfulness![7]

26. We have another, less subtle but even more striking instance of this habit of evasion on the next page. Allmers tells Rita of his dream of the night before in which he saw little Eyolf alive and well like any other child. Then: "Oh, how I thanked and blessed (Checking himself.) H'm!—*Rita*. (Looking at him.) Whom?—*Allmers*. (Evasively.) Whom?—*Rita*. Yes; whom did you thank and bless?—*Allmers*. (Putting aside the question.) I was only dreaming, you know.—

[5] Is his brutality lessened any by the fact that the mother's responsibility for the child was, after all, the greater?—

[6] An admission, at last, that he had not loved the boy!—

[7] Cf. Act III, p. 135. Rita. "Only the crutch was saved. Allmers. Be silent! Do not let me hear that word."

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Rita. One whom you yourself do not believe in?—*Allmers.* That was how I felt, all the same. Of course, I was sleeping —."(96). Is it more despicable or more childish, that a man who poses as a philosopher and a free-thinker should have such a phobia of the name of God that he shrinks from mentioning it even when it forms an element of a mere dream? It shows, of course, that having been taught at college to deny the existence of God, his feeling has not developed apace with his learning. He feels ashamed of the fact and even more self-conscious about admitting the fact—just as he had done when Asta reminded him of his having felt ashamed for having only a sister but no brother.

27. When Rita reproaches him for having taken her faith away from her (96), he gravely corrects her by propounding a series of questions based on hypotheses about a future life which, from his free-thinker's standpoint, were purely academic; and he concludes with his Q.E.D., that both he and Rita are creatures of the earth and that no inducements could tempt them voluntarily to cross the bridge of death. (97-9). Poor Rita! His argument sounded so learned. She was no logician, and his questions clearly suggested the answers he expected. It was a clever move on his part, for was it not a step toward reinstating him in his position of wise teacher and philosophical guide to her?[8]

28. With their guilt acknowledged, the craving for atonement makes itself felt. As their natures are different, so they think of atonement in very different terms—Rita, in terms of positive action, making good; Allmers in terms of punitive asceticism. "I feel as if all this must end in despair—in madness for both of us," Rita exclaims. "For we can never—never make it good again." (95). "There must always be a dead wall between us two, from this time forth," says Allmers. "Who knows but that a child's great open eyes are watching

[8] A second reason for his hypothesis ("But suppose now I went to Eyolf? And you had the fullest assurance that you would meet both him and me there. Then would you come over to us?"): He means to suggest that he may commit suicide. Of course, he doesn't entertain the idea seriously; for as soon as she answers that, much as she would want to, she could not, he adds: "Nor, I." But he puts the hypothesis in order to torture her with the thought, developed later, that she may lose him too.

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us day and night.—Our love has been like a consuming fire. Now it must be quenched—. It is dead, Rita. But in what I now feel for you—in our common guilt and need of atonement —I seem to foresee a sort of resurrection." (101). Rita is right in exclaiming: "Imprisoned for life—in anguish and remorse!" (102), for that is what Allmers understands by atonement. Fancy him in his rôle of keeper, glowering and argus-eyed, quick to trample under foot each modest blossom of happiness that might venture to peep from time to time above the devastated ground of Rita's heart!

29. One more fact we learn of Allmers' past during this terrible intimate talk between husband and wife. Despite Rita's beauty, Allmer's first reaction to her had been one of dread—an instinctive aversion on the part of the mild-eyed, thin-haired man for the highly sexed woman. But her wealth, holding out the prospect of comfort and ease and leisure to pursue his studies, had decided the issue. He admits the fact now, under her searching glance, but he puts forward a reason which lends the color of altruism and self-sacrifice to his act. "I had Asta to think of." (103). Again we marvel at the complex ramifications of his self-delusion. As if his love for Asta could excuse his having used Rita as a mere means—if what he says is true! But as we have seen that even his love for Asta was an essentially selfish affair, it is clear that, in marrying Rita, he had merely used Asta as a convenient cover to justify gratifying his own desires.

30. Asta and Borgheim return. They again change partners. With Asta as a sympathetic listener, Allmers is once more the petulant child. He talks of getting away far from everything here and standing quite alone in the world. To which Asta, knowing his dependence on feminine solicitude, remarks: "But you are not fitted for living alone." (107). All the more sickening is the cant of his rejoinder: "I will come to you—my dear, dear sister. I must come to you again—home to you, to be purified and ennobled after my life with—,
Asta. (Shocked.) Alfred,—you are doing Rita a great wrong!
Allmers. I have done her a great wrong. But not in this!" (108).

31. To put a check on Allmer's insistence that he will rejoin her, Asta tells him the secret she had gleaned from her

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mother's letters. A moment earlier Allmers had fortified his impulse to return to Asta by the philosophical reflection that the love of brother and sister is the only relation in life that is not subject to the law of change. (108). Now, on learning that she is not his sister, he replies "(Quickly, half defiantly, looking at her.) Well, but what difference does that really make in our relation? Practically none at all." (110). We leave Allmers at the end of the second act, no longer with distrust, but with contempt mixed with scarcely a grain of pity. Is it conceivable that this weakling, whose native element is subterfuge, should be on the eve of a genuine spiritual regeneration?

ACT III

32. The third act brings together the three principals of the play, and Borgheim with them in Allmers' garden.[9] For Asta is now one of the principals, fighting a silent battle within herself, whether to go or to stay, now that she knows how Allmers yearns for her. The temptation is real, for tho there is discernible in her love for him a distinct tinge of motherliness, she has also felt the stirring of passion since the taboo of blood relationship had been lifted. With habitual dishonesty, which we now take as a matter of course, Allmers pleads: "Asta, I beg you—for Heaven's sake—remain here with Rita!" (128). Contrast this with Rita's sincerity, as, learning to renounce exclusiveness of possession in love, she joins in his plea: "Yes! And with Alfred too. Do!" (128). She is willing to share him, now that the terror of losing him altogether is upon her. She, who knew why Allmers had given her little boy the name of Eyolf, beseeches her rival to "take Eyolf's place" (129) in their household. But that very phrase, so generously meant, makes Asta shrink back and seals her decision to go. A foreboding tells her that, like the dead boy, her presence would be a festering sore in that family. For she knows—Allmers' hints of that were unmistakable (127, 129)—that his feelings toward her are also no longer those of a brother. She leaves with Borgheim, in flight from Allmers and from herself (130), and passes out of the drama.

[9] At first only Asta and Borgheim are together. They are joined later by Allmers, finally by Rita.

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33. "Asta is gone," says Allmers, feeling that this door of escape from Rita has been closed in his face. "Then I suppose you will soon be gone too, Alfred," says Rita, following up his moody remark. "*Allmers.* (Quickly.) What do you mean by that?—*Rita.* That you will follow your sister.—*Allmers.* Has Asta told you anything? *Rita.* No. But you said yourself it was for Asta's sake that—that we came together. *Allmers.* Yes, but you, you yourself have bound me to you—by our life together." (135). Truly, he knows the art of making a virtue out of necessity! Asta gone, there was only Rita to fall back on. He was not made to live without a woman to minister to his comfort. Asta had told him so, tho less bluntly. (107). It was out of the question, of course, for him to admit this to Rita as his reason for staying, hence his unctuous gravity, further reinforced by the philosophical reflection: "The law of change may perhaps keep us together, none the less." (135). Substitute for "the law of change" "the law of inertia," and we have the fact, without its moral veneer. But Rita, loving him more well than wisely, clinging to him with the irrational tenacity of long established love, cares little about his reasons, so long as he does not abandon her to dread solitude.

34. Rita is aware that a change is going on within her, rending her with an anguish akin to the pangs of child-birth. "Change, too, is a sort of birth," she says. "It is," Allmers replies," or a resurrection. Transition to a higher life.' "*Rita.* (Gazing sadly before her.) Yes—with the loss of all, all life's happiness.—*Allmers.* That loss is just the gain." (136). How hollow, how fatuous, in the mouth of a moral crank, are these words; how tinny their ring when set over against the identical sentiment that took form on the lips of the stern fighter Brand, as he beheld Agnes expiring under the searing fire of his insupportable idealism!

> Sjael, vaer trofast til det sidste!
> Sejrens sejr er alt at miste.
> Tabets alt din vinding skabte;—
> evigt ejes kun det tabte!
>
> (Samlede Vaerker 1898; vol. III.)

35. Meanwhile Rita's mind is at work searching for some active pursuit to fill the gap left by Eyolf's death. This is a symptom of an essentially healthy constitution. Allmers, on the other

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hand, is content to cultivate his remorse, showing thereby that there is something spiritually *vermoulu* about him, just as there was something physically *vermoulu* about Oswald Alving. (Ghosts). Thus Rita suggests to him that he take up his work again. She is now willing to share him with his work, humbly admitting that she will make any concession to keep him near her. To which he replies with smug condescension: "Oh, it is so little I can do to help you, Rita." And when she persists in cautiously feeling her way forward, by offering the suggestion that she might, perhaps, be of some help to him, he nips that venture by the bilious phrase: "I seem to have no life to live." (137).

36. There is nothing left for a mind like Allmers' to do but to move in a circle. So he returns to his earlier idea that it would be best for him to leave her. He talks of going back "up into the solitudes." However, Rita's practical mind refuses to be deceived by such a flourish. "But all that is mere dreaming, Alfred," she counters. "You could not live up there." (138). So, to reprove her, to make her feel the unfathomable superiority of his soul over hers, he communicates to her, in the grave and simple language of a revelation, his great experience in the mountains.

After finding himself lost in the wilds, he "revelled in the peace and luxury of death." (140). "Here went death and I, it seemed to me, like two good fellow-travellers. It all seemed so natural—so simple, I thought. In my family, we don't live to be old—. That night sealed my resolution. And it was then that I turned about and came straight homewards. To Eyolf." (141).

The account of this experience related by Allmers is one of those "revelations" which are a favorite technical device of Ibsen's analytical plays. We find the most notable cases of such self-revelation in "the Master-Builder" and, in an even more pronounced way, in "Rosmersholm." In these two plays those self-revelations supply the key-stones around which our interpretation of Solness' and Rebecca's characters must be built. Is that also the case with Allmers?

Yes, and no. This self-revelation *does* supply the key to the strangeness, the solemnity of his manner (which did not escape Rita's and Asta's notice) upon his return from the

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mountains. It also explains, as we shall presently see, his resolution to devote himself henceforth undividedly to little Eyolf. On the other hand, this account of Allmers' can not in the least change our firmly established estimate of his personality, on the contrary, *it provides but a new instance of the man's will to self-delusion.* Rita is absolutely right in divining that he has reconstructed the whole experience in a way that made it appeal to his sense of self-importance. In reality he had had the worst scare of his life. Driven out of his wits with fright, he had vowed to devote his life to his child, if his own were saved.

In retracing Allmers' past, to explain that vow, we stumble on a deep-seated 'complex'. For nine years remorse had been gnawing at his heart, for the crippling of his child; but he had repressed it so effectively that it turned under ground, to continue its corrosive work in his subconscious self. But tho the root of the disease was well concealed, symptoms began to show in an increasing restlessness which culminated in his decision to brace himself by a trip to the mountains. And we come upon a second complex—antedating the first—centering on Rita. Conscious of the fact that he had not married Rita for her own sake, but for her money, there had been, in all the passion which her beauty and the habits of married life kindled in him, an undercurrent of resentment, an undefined aversion, which crystallized into a solid nucleus when the child sustained its injury as a consequence of Rita's passion, or at least of the passion which she had kindled. This complex also grew underground. Then, not to be forgotten, the third complex, concerning his work. He worried and fretted, seeking for external reasons to which to ascribe his inability to make any headway, obstinately shutting his eyes in the face of the fact that he hadn't the mental stuff in him out of which thinkers are made.

Then he went to the mountains. Contrary to his expectation that he would find himself inspired to write in the midst of the great solitude, the inert, viscous mass did not melt, his thoughts would not flow. And from day to day, from week to week he chafed and fretted, working himself up, finally, into a mad frenzy. So that he tore across the hills, blindly, seeking to deaden the rush of his maddened blood. Until he suddenly found himself lost, one day, in the wilds. Then abject terror

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seized upon him, as he worked his way thru the forest, climbing frantically at first, then, maddened by hunger, as the sun set and rose and set again, dragging himself along, on the verge of exhaustion. At last, when the hysteria of fright made it appear to him as tho death were bodily walking by his side, a gruesome fellow-traveller, the stays of his mind gave way, the unremitted pressure of nine years relaxed and the feeling of guilt with regard to his child worked its way to the surface of his consciousness. Then, *appealing to the god in whom he professed not to believe*, he made the vow, if his life were spared, to devote himself exclusively to his child. Perhaps the hope that his vow might be heard, gave him new strength, where otherwise he would have succumbed. At any rate, he found his way back to civilization. There, with the incubus of fright removed, his experience, containing as it did elements of which he must needs be ashamed, was quickly retouched in such a way as to give it the color of a sublime spiritual victory: He had been purged of all earthly dross; he felt like a saint, having triumphed over death. The knowledge of having prayed to God was, of course, promptly suppressed; his conviction of guilt, with regard to little Eyolf, dived down again into the subconscious stratum of his self; but the resolution to devote himself henceforth exclusively to the boy was retained as a symbol of his triumph over self; for it hushed up that inner voice that had been trying to persuade him of his failure as a thinker. And finally, his saintliness, removed from all self-hood, gave him a lever for punishing Rita by making her perforce join in his abstinence from the pleasures of the senses. He returned home, looking as if transfigured, all eager to put his new outlook on life into practice. And the next day saw all his high hopes collapse utterly, like a pricked balloon.

I make no pretense of "proving" this interpretation of Allmers' self-revelation. However, if my analysis of his character up to that point has been correct, I think it will be accepted as plausible, on the whole, even tho a keener analyst would probably succeed in unravelling the multiple strands of his complexes with greater nicety.

37. Allmers' revelation has thoroly alarmed Rita, for tho she feels that his account is colored, yet it renews her fear that he may leave her. "Oh, sooner or later you will go away from

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me, Alfred!", she exclaims. "I feel it! I can see it in your face! You will go away from me. *Allmers.* With my fellow-traveller, do you mean?—*Rita.* No, I mean worse than that. Of your own free will you will leave me—for you think it's only here, with me, that you have nothing to live for. Is not that what is in your thoughts?" And Allmers replies, "(Looking steadfastly at her.) What if it were—?" (142), showing his cruel delight in keeping her in a suspense more dreadful than certainty.

38. They are interrupted by the wrangling sound of brutal voices down at the strand—drunken sailors abusing their miserable families. "Should we not get someone to go down and help them?", Rita asks, in response to the voice of pity stirring in her. "*Allmers.* (Harshly and angrily.) Help them, who did not help Eyolf! Let them go—as they let Eyolf go." (143). The pettiness of his spite as contrasted with Rita's warm human sympathy requires no comment.

39. The incident has provided Allmers with a new topic upon which his mind forthwith proceeds to work. "All the old hovels ought to be torn down," he continues; and as Rita would make him believe that he is forcing himself to this harshness, he bursts forth in vehement self-defense: "I have a right to be harsh now. It is my duty.—My duty to Eyolf. He must not lie unavenged. Once for all, Rita—it is as I tell you! Think it over! Have the whole place down there razed to the ground—when I am gone." (144).

The ridiculousness of his thundering like a geni in a bottle must not make us overlook the *nuance* of megalomania in this theatrical gesture. He bequeaths to Rita this work of destruction—when he is gone. Ancient tyrants were wont to slaughter their slaves on the funeral pyre of their beloved, but they did not defer the bloody sacrifice until they themselves had departed from life. Allmers' reaction is that of the savage. He revels in images of wholesale destruction to avenge, not so much Eyolf's, as his own passing!

40. But Rita has now decided to steer her own course. Firmly and decisively she declares, despite his ejaculations of dismay, that she is determined to take all those poor, neglected

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strand children to herself, to fill the gap left by Eyolf's death—"with something that is a little like love." (146).[10]

At last Rita has emancipated herself from Allmers' tutelage. She has conceived a constructive idea, on which she can build her life, wholly independent of his guidance. He feels that she is no longer dependent on him in the old way, that a change has indeed taken place in her. Accordingly, fearful of losing his hold on her altogether, he accedes to her proposal, after having gone thru the fitting motion of standing for a moment lost in thought (146). He finds it convenient to admit that the poor children were perhaps not so much to blame, after all, for not risking their lives to save little Eyolf. "Think, Alfred," Rita softly continues his reflections, "Are you so certain that—that we would have risked ours? Even Rita, kind generous soul, must have smiled inwardly at his answer "(With an uneasy gesture of repulsion.) You must never doubt *that*." (147).

41. Once more Allmers makes the attempt to regain the lead. He hopes to score a moral victory by discerning the motives actuating Rita in her decision, and by belittling them. "Be quite clear about one thing, Rita," he says, "(Looking steadfastly at her.)—it is not love that is driving you to do this." Again her candor, utterly devoid of any moral pathos, completely parries his attack. "No, it is not—at any rate, not yet," she replies. (148). As he insists on knowing, what it is, she half-evasively tries to say something about human responsibility; but she does not get far with it, for any abstract thinking is foreign to her nature which finds meaning and can convey meaning only in images.[11] Moreover, Allmers now seems to know the term Human Responsibility only as the

[10] Mr. William Archer who tells us in his introduction to the play that Alfred Allmers had returned from the mountains "filled with a profound and remorseful pity for the lot of poor maimed humanity," says with regard to Rita's resolution to devote her life to the poor children: "The consuming fire of passion is now quenched, but it has left an empty space within them, "and *they* feel a *common* need to fill it up with something that is a little like love." *They* come to remember that there are other children in the world on whom reckless instinct has thrust the gift of life—neglected children, stunted and maimed in mind if not in body." XIV.—The italics are mine.

[11] The steamer's green and red lights are eyes to her; the ship's bells torture her with their song; Krýkken flýder, krýkken flýder—the crutch is floating. (131-4.)

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title of his unwritten volume, for when she attempts to speak of responsibility, he proceeds to speak at once of his book. (148-9). So Rita gives up the attempt to talk his language; she speaks as her natural feeling dictates: "Jeg vil smigre mig ind hos de store, aabne øjnene, ser du,"—(S.V.IX.310) a phrase for which words fail us in English. "I want to flatter my way into the good graces of those great, open eyes," preserves the charming image of the original while sacrificing its colloquial brevity. Archer's "I want to make my peace with the great, open eyes," is English, but the sensuous Rita would never have said it.

42. Rita's simple candor silences Allmers' criticism. Apparently overcome by a wave of genuine emotion, he volunteers to help her in her task. And his enthusiasm—volatile tho we know it to be—waxes momentarily, and it carries him aloft, so that his voice throbs once more with the ring of the sage gazing from transcendental heights upon human life below. "—*Allmers.* (Coming forward again.) We have a heavy day of work before us, Rita. *Rita.* You will see—that now and then a Sabbath peace will descend on us.—*Allmers.* (Quietly, with emotion.) Then, perhaps, we shall know that the spirits are with us. *Rita.* (Whispering.) The spirits? *Allmers.* (As before.) Yes, they will perhaps be around us—those whom we have lost. *Rita.* (Nods Slowly.) Our little Eyolf. And your big Eyolf, too. *Allmers.* (Gazing straight before him.) Now and then, perhaps, we may still—on the way thru life—have a little, passing glimpse of them. *Rita.* Where shall we look for them, Alfred? *Allmers.* (Fixing his eyes upon her.) Upwards. *Rita.* (Nods in approval.) Yes, yes—upwards. *Allmers.* Upwards—towards the peaks. Toward the stars. And towards the great silence. *Rita.* (Giving him her hand.) Thanks!" (150-51).

As I copy these, the concluding words of the play, I am impressed with their sound. They are like the rhythmic strains of a great, far-off organ, proclaiming the peace that passeth all understanding. The last note is one of complete harmony. That impression lasts so long as one dissociates the words from Allmers, who utters them. But coming as they do from Allmers, the poseur, the self-deluded charlatan, who to the end has not changed his nature any more than the leopard his proverbial spots—what can they be but incense offered on

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the altar of his worship of self! Like Stensgaard, (League of Youth) like Hjalmar Ekdal, (Wild Duck) Allmers displays real talent for oratory, because his facile enthusiasm makes it easy for him to speak with the fervor of conviction—just like the modern salesman, who "sells" himself an idea before selling it to his customer!

Rita is moved and thankful. Life will be supportable with a task and with him to help her in it. She is grateful to him for not leaving her to do it alone, for she loves him still, despite the bitter scenes of the last two days and her partial detection of his insincerity. Whether she will be grateful for his presence much longer,—that, however, is a matter not so easy to decide. When the first fine enthusiasm of Allmers has spent itself, will he then be a drag on her zeal? Perhaps, but perhaps we should trust this adept at the art of self-delusion—another member of the family of Gynt—always to take the wise course of finding a means to make the facts—somehow or other—tally with his wishes. Who knows, Allmers may be feasted before his death as a great philanthropist. He may rise to answer the toast in his honor and roll out smooth phrases about atonement and human responsibility. And he may say: "When I stopped writing the great thick book on Human Responsibility I did so because I felt I was abusing—or rather, wasting my time, for I knew there were one or two other things which I was fitted—or rather, destined to do."—

Our analysis of the characters has led us to conclusions that contrast sharply with the 'orthodox' interpretation of "Little Eyolf." The presumptive protagonist or bearer of Ibsen's message has been exposed as a sorry wretch, part crank and part fraud; his harping on responsibility and morality has only served to discredit him the more completely. Rita, on the other hand, the frankly non-moral creature of sense, who even in her last fine resolve gives her action a purely personal, non-moral formulation, has been shown as going thru a change which wins for her not only our sympathy but our admiration as well. Searing sorrow, agony over the wish that could not be recalled, has been the agent which, in releasing her from the clutch-hold of jealous egotism, has allowed her natural sympathies to expand freely. Rita worked her way out of her selfish narrowness, because her nature was generous and sound at

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bottom. She achieved expansion in sympathy not because of, but in spite of the moralist's preaching. Seen from this angle, the play presents a triumph of nature over morality, rather than the reverse.

The situation of the play offers a fine basis for generalization. Man, being encased in the strait-jacket of ideology, never able to get away, in his judgment of conduct, from general standards, is at a disadvantage over against woman, who dispenses with abstract reasoning, with ideology, content to base her conduct on the bidding of specific impulses without the thought of general standards. Reason, seen as conscience in its application to moral facts, works nothing but mischief, because it forces man, who in the last resort acts on impulse himself, to waste his strength in building up elaborately complex fictions, for the purpose of deceiving himself as to his motives. I have my doubts as to what extent Ibsen meant to convey any such general implications by the specific situation. However, if one looks for a message capable of logical formulation, it is to be found here rather than in ascetic renunciation of life, as generally supposed.

There remains to be answered the question; How could this play have been so radically misinterpreted?

For one thing we found there was a great deal in Allmers' utterances and his actions that was susceptible of an equivocal interpretation. From the outset we presumed that he was meant to engage our sympathies. He seemed a serious, sincere thinker, striving for the light, despite his human weaknesses. The love of two women is centered on him. The one, gentle and sensitive in all her utterances, would tempt us to share her love for Allmers; the other, passionate and jealous, is clearly put, even technically, in a position of disadvantage over against him. Furthermore, we have his self-revelation near the close of the final act, and self-revelations occurring at such a point are apt to be taken at their face value.

What complicates matters more is the fact that in numerous' instances Ibsen seemed to have chosen Allmers for the mouthpiece of his own ideas and feelings. We felt that from the outset, where Allmers' remark about thinking being so much better than what is put on paper, seemed clearly to echo Ibsen's own feelings. It was to be felt again and again in the course

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of the play, altho I refrained from pointing it out, for the obvious purpose of not complicating the delicate task of analysis still further. But we may pause to recall here the most noteworthy instances of the author's seeming to peer over the shoulder of his central character. Ibsen himself felt frequently enough that he was frittering away his time in the mere writing about human responsibility. Allmers shares his longing for the great stillness with the aging dramatist. Allmers' morbid doubting of his powers suggests Ibsen's own doubt of his mission,—a doubt which forms one of the leitmotifs of many of his dramas.—Like Allmers Ibsen felt himself but a forerunner. We know from the "Master-Builder" how his relation to the younger generation occupied Ibsen's attention; similarly Allmers hopes that his boy will take up his father's life-work and carry it to a successful conclusion. Allmers' definition of happiness, as harmony between desire and what is attainable, unmistakably voices an ever-recurring longing of Ibsen's own. The fascination of the gruesome, which Allmers speculates about, is one of the themes which Ibsen's own fancy lingered on; it is this same fascination which puts Ellida Wangel, the Lady from the Sea, under the spell of the stranger and which makes little Eyolf succumb to the lure of the Rat-Wife. The note of ascetic renunciation voiced by Allmers (approaching at times even, the language of Brand) has been taken to point to the deepening gloom of the poet's own outlook on life; and Rita's reproach to Allmers, for having destroyed her religious faith, has been interpreted as the voice of self-accusation on Ibsen's part. Allmers' gloomy remark, again, about meeting the right fellow-traveller too late, may well be the echo of a stifled outcry of Ibsen's own. Finally, the lofty note of reconciliation, on which the play closes, sounds like an intensely personal yearning on the poet's part for peace from the world's strife and passion.

The careful student of Ibsen's works, who knows to what a remarkable degree all his plays are the fruit of self-analysis, is bound to attach the utmost importance to the many striking correspondences between the words of Allmers and the thoughts that filled Ibsen's years of silent brooding. At first thought he will think it monstrous to link up these correspondences

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with the supposition that Allmers should have been deliberately conceived by the author as a self-deluded charlatan.

Fortunately, this dilemma can be completely resolved, thanks to the fact that the first draft of "Little Eyolf" has been preserved. As we study those first jottings, the flavor of personal confession is unmistakably perceived in phrase after phrase, thought after thought. The words of the Allmers originally projected, who, after having sent book after book into the world, sees himself fail in his master-piece, because he discovers too late its irreparable defect (it did not take renunciation into account) (XII, 479); who takes himself to task for indulging in morbid, distorted, baseless fancies that he had some special mission in the world to perform (XII, 482),—those words are, in fact, a moody lyrical monologue revealing the gloom in which Ibsen's soul was sunk despite his outward successes. But the philosopher of the first draft is not the Alfred Allmers of the finished play; in the initial scenes he does not even bear his name. Skioldhejm, as he is there called, has given undisputed proof of his ability as a thinker; he gives proof of his sincerity by frankly admitting that what was to be his master-piece is a failure, and further proof of it in telling the two women, who have kept cares and troubles from him and surrounded him with comfort and abundance, that they flatter him and spoil him (XII, 479). Moreover, it is evident that the fundamental outlines of the plot had not yet taken shape in Ibsen's mind when he penned his first scenes of the original draft. Skioldhejm's wife is not the jealous Rita, but a loyal believer in her husband's life work (ib. 473).

So the first draft seems to show that, in this play, at any rate, neither the characters nor the dramatic situation supplied the initial impulse to Ibsen's creative imagination; but rather a number of ideas (or well-defined feelings) that formed the solid nucleus of moods of brooding self-analysis; not ideas selected in consequence of his casting about for something dramatically effective, but ideas bathed in the sweat of personal anguish—obsessions, perhaps, rather than ideas.

As these ideas, feelings, yearnings began to detach themselves from Ibsen's mind, they became enveloped by the at first shadowy outline of a human figure. He seemed mild and grave, a thinker, with a touch of resignation about his

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mouth; and around him a number of other shapes began to be dimly discerned,—two women and a boy; finally what seemed like another man, even less distinctly, somewhat apart from the rest. Then this must have happened:

Ibsen began to observe with his mind's eye those human shapes that moved in space before him. In the center of the shifting group stood the mild-eyed man with the thinker's brow and the sad expression. Ibsen looked upon him with pleasure, watching his movements and listening to his words with rapt attention. Then something must have occured that displeased the observer,—a gesture or a word on the part of the mild-eyed man with ever so little of a trace of exaggeration. A momentary frown passed over the dramatist's face; then, gradually, his gaze became stony, impassive. He had become critical. Suspicion took the place of naive observation. He began to watch the mild-eyed man like a detective who has a suspect under observation. And gradually, as he watched and listened, straining every nerve to penetrate beyond the cover of the man's conscious self, his suspicions became confirmed: There was a sub-stratum of insincerity underneath this fine-looking, high-minded exterior! And now he began to listen in earnest. With a diabolical intensity of attention he analyzed the man's behavior, discovering bit after bit of incriminating evidence in the subtlest shadings of intonation. He saw thru the man, thru all the fine words with which he deceived himself and those who loved him as to his complete hollowness.

Now, what was he to do with his evidence? Expose the man, put him in the pillory like Hjalmar Ekdal, for others to jeer and scoff at? No, he reasoned, those others were too much like him to deserve this amusement. So, with an almost satanic smile of satisfaction, he decided to keep to himself his esotoric knowledge of the man's real nature. He wrote his play, concealing with an uncanny deftness the multiple strands of the man's self-delusion, making them almost too involved to unravel. He let stand all those high-sounding words, those moody words of self-reproach and yearning; those aphoristic bits of wisdom; even to that great finale of peace descending, hushing the strife and turmoil of passion. He let them stand, those words that had originally risen to the surface of his own

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brooding soul as expressions of his own outcries against the bitterness of life and of his own yearning for the great stillness. He let them stand in the mouth of Allmers, the moral crank, the self-deluded fraud, anticipating with a mocking smile how the reader would derive edification from them.

That is what happened. And the great artist, the embittered moralist-cynic, having carved his portrait-bust, in which everyone praised the striking likeness and nobody saw the secret mark of the beast underneath, laughed a dry laugh of diabolical gratification. "I alone can see it. And it amuses me unspeakably."

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IBN FA*D*LĀN'S ACCOUNT OF SCANDINAVIAN MERCHANTS ON THE VOLGA IN 922

Yākūt ibn Abdallah, an Arabic writer of the first decades of the thirteenth century, has left us a geographical lexicon,[1] in which occur the subjoined passages, the greater part of which embodies a brief account of the Northmen—by his author, Ahmed ibn Fa*d*lān, called Russians—whom the latter encountered on the Volga in the year 921 or 922. Being sent as ambassador by Al-Muktadir[2] (894-932), caliph of Bagdad from 907 to 932, to the king of Bulgaria, he left Bagdad in June, 921, and arrived at the king's residence on May 11, 922. The occasion of the embassy was a request from the king of the Bulgars that Al-Muktadir would send Mohammedan missionaries to teach his people the faith of Islam, to erect Mohammedan temples, and, incidentally, to construct for him a fortress which should defend him against his enemies. The journey was a roundabout one, by way of Bokhara and the region between the Caspian and the Aral Sea, to southeastern Russia, north of the Caspian. Frähn (see below) conjectures that the Scandinavians met had reached the Volga by way of the Black Sea, the Sea of Azof, the Don, and thence overland, by a comparatively short portage, to the neighborhood of Tzaritzin.

The whole passage, as embodied in Yākūt's treatise, was published by the St. Petersburg Academy in 1823, with the title: "Ibn Fosslan's und Anderer Berichte über die Russen Älterer Zeit. Text and Übersetzung, mit Kritisch-Philologischen Anmerkungen, . . . von C. M. Frähn." Previous to the issue of Frähn's edition, a Danish translation had appeared, and from this were made a Swedish and an English one, a ver-

[1] Edited by Wüstenfeld in 1866, from the MSS. of St. Petersburg, Copenhagen, and Oxford, as Jāqūt's *Geographisches Wörterbuch*.

[2] According to Muir (*The Caliphate*, 1915, pp. 365-7), he was a weak voluptuary, the mere tool of a depraved and venal court, and at the mercy of foreign guards. He was twice deposed, and finally slain in opposing a loyal officer whom he had called to his support. See also Weil, *Geschichte der Khalifen*.

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sion into French being made from the English rendering. The Danish version was published by J. L. Rasmussen in the *Athene* (ed. Molbech, Copenhagen) of April, 1814 (2.305-318); the Swedish one, by J. Adlerbeth, appeared at Stockholm in 1817; the English rendering, made by Mexander (?) Nicoll, appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* for January, 1819 (4.460-4). The English version is quite untrustworthy, besides omitting certain passages; some of the inaccuracies, however, are due to Rasmussen's Danish rendering, or to his imperfect original, a manuscript at Copenhagen. Another Danish translation appeared in the *Forhandlinger et i Christiania Videnskabs-Selskab* for 1869 (pp. 270-280), the translator being C. A. Holmboe, and the title, "Ibn Fozlân, om nordiske Begravelses-skikke, fra det Arabiske oversat og med Anmærkninger oplyst." This contained the portion represented below by page 59, paragraph two, to page 63, paragraph one, inclusive, with two brief excisions.[3] According to Holmboe, the French rendering referred to above was published in the *Journal Asiatique*, Vols. 4 and 6 (1824, 1825). The part relating to the voluntary victim is epitomized in Williams' *Social Scandinavia in the Viking Age* (New York, 1920), pp. 420-1. References to the tract may occasionally be found in other books—Keary's *The Vikings* (where the authorship is wrongly attributed to Ibn Haukal), Weinhold's *Altnordisches Leben*, etc.[4] The basis of the following translation is the German of Frähn, opposite the Arabic text of his edition. My rendering has had the inestimable advantage of being revised by my colleague, Professor Charles C. Torrey, who has followed the text of Wüstenfeld's edition (2.834[18]—840[12]).

Translation.

Yākūt's Introduction.

Rus, written also Rs, is a people whose country borders on that of the Slavs and Turks. They have their own language,

[3] The translation is followed by five pages of notes.

[4] Cf. Paul, *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, 2d ed. 3.428; W. Thomsen, *Der Ursprung des Russischen Staates* (Gotha, 1879), pp. 29-36 (including translation), 52-3; Georg Jacob, *Der Nordisch-Baltische Handel der Araber im Mittelalter*, pp. 86-93; Jacob Grimm, *Kleine Schriften* 2. 288-94 (=*Abh. der Berl. Akad.* für 1849, pp. 253-8).

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a religion, and a divine law, in all which they have nothing in common with any other people. Mukaddesi says that they live on a pestilential island,[5] which is surrounded by a lake, and which serves them as a stronghold against those who seek to molest them. Their number is estimated at a hundred thousand. They have no crops nor herds. The Slavs conduct expeditions against them, and despoil them of their goods. When a son is born to one of them, he flings down a sword, saying, "only that is yours which you win with your sword." When their king pronounces judgment between two contestants, and they are not satisfied, he says to them, "Decide it for yourselves with your swords." He whose sword proves the sharpest is then the victor. It was these Northmen[6] who held possession of the city of Barda'a for a year,[7] and dealt grievously with it, until God rescued it from them, and destroyed them.

I have read a brief account by Ahmed ibn Fa*d*lān,[8] ibn Abbās, ibn Rāshid, ibn Hammād, the retainer of Mohammed ibn Suleimān, an ambassador of Al-Muktadir to the king of the Slavs, in which he relates everything that he saw on his journey from Bagdad and his return. What he relates I report, because of my amazement at it, exactly as it there stands.

Ibn Fadlān's Account.

I saw how the Northmen[9] had arrived with their wares, and pitched their camp beside the Volga. Never did I see people so gigantic; they are tall as palm trees, and florid and ruddy of complexion. They wear neither camisoles nor *chaftans*, but the men among them wear a garment of rough cloth, which is thrown over one side, so that one hand remains free. Every one carries an axe, a dagger, and a sword, and without these weapons they are never seen. Their swords are

[5] Professor Torrey's correction. He adds: "There is no proper name 'Wabia.' I do not think that Frähn's 'Dania' is at all probable; it is hardly safe to insist on the geographical conditions which *we* know."

[6] Where a literal rendering would have been "Russians," I have uniformly rendered by "Northmen" or "Scandinavians."

[7] So C. C. T.

[8] "*Fadlān* is right. *Fozlan* or *Fŭzlan* is the modern *Turkish* pronunciation."—C. C. T.

[9] Probably Swedes, particularly of the eastern coast; see Thomsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-3, 86 ff., 105 ff.; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

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broad, with wavy lines, and of Frankish make. From the tip of the finger-nails to the neck, each man of them is tattooed with pictures of trees, living beings, and other things. The women carry, fastened to their breast, a little case of iron, copper, silver, or gold, according to the wealth and resources of their husbands. Fastened to the case they wear a ring, and upon that a dagger, all attached to their breast. About their necks they wear gold and silver chains. If the husband possesses ten thousand dirhems, he has one chain made for his wife; if twenty thousand, two; and for every ten thousand, one is added. Hence it often happens that a Scandinavian woman has a large number of chains about her neck. Their most highly prized ornaments consist of small green shells, of one of the varieties which are found in [the bottoms of] ships.[10] They make great efforts to obtain these, paying as much as a dirhem for such a shell, and stringing them as a necklace for their wives.

They are the filthiest race that God ever created. They do not wipe themselves after going to stool, nor wash themselves after a nocturnal pollution, any more than if they were wild asses.

They come from their own country, anchor their ships in the Volga, which is a great river, and build large wooden houses on its banks. In every such house there live ten or twenty, more or fewer. Each man has a couch, where he sits with the beautiful girls he has for sale. Here he is as likely as not to enjoy one of them while a friend looks on. At times several of them will be thus engaged at the same moment, each in full view of the others. Now and again a merchant will resort to a house to purchase a girl, and find her master thus embracing her, and not giving over until he has fully had his will.[11]

Every morning a girl comes and brings a tub of water, and places it before her master. In this he proceeds to wash his face and hands, and then his hair, combing it out over the vessel. Thereupon he blows his nose, and spits into the tub, and, leaving no dirt behind, conveys it all into this water. When he has

[10] So C. C. T. A different opinion is expressed by Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

[11] A sentence of Frähn's translation is here omitted, since "it is wanting in the best MSS. and in the printed text (835[17]), and is evidently secondary."—C. C. T.

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finished, the girl carries the tub to the man next him, who does the same. Thus she continues carrying the tub from one to another, till each of those who are in the house has blown his nose and spit into the tub, and washed his face and hair.

As soon as their ships have reached the anchorage, every one goes ashore, having at hand bread, meat, onions, milk, and strong drink, and betakes himself to a high, upright piece of wood, bearing the likeness of a human face; this is surrounded by smaller statues, and behind these there are still other tall pieces of wood driven into the ground. He advances to the large wooden figure, prostrates himself before it, and thus addresses it: "O my lord, I am come from a far country, bringing with me so and so many girls, and so and so many pelts of sable" [or, marten]; and when he has thus enumerated all his merchandise, he continues, "I have brought thee this present," laying before the wooden statue what he has brought, and saying: "I desire thee to bestow upon me a purchaser who has gold and silver coins, who will buy from me to my heart's content, and who will refuse none of my demands." Having so said, he departs. If his trade then goes ill, he returns and brings a second, or even a third present. If he still continues to have difficulty in obtaining what he desires, he brings a present to one of the small statues, and implores its intercession, saying: "These are the wives and daughters of our lord." Continuing thus, he goes to each statue in turn, invokes it, beseeches its intercession, and bows humbly before it. If it then chances that his trade goes swimmingly, and he disposes of all his merchandise, he reports: "My lord has fulfilled my desire; now it is my duty to repay him." Upon this, he takes a number of cattle and sheep, slaughters them, gives a portion of the meat to the poor, and carries the rest before the large statue and the smaller ones that surround it, hanging the heads of the sheep and cattle on the large piece of wood which is planted in the earth. When night falls, dogs come and devour it all. Then he who has so placed it exclaims: "I am well pleasing to my lord; he has consumed my present."

If one of their number falls sick, they set up a tent at a distance, in which they place him, leaving bread and water at hand. Thereafter they never approach nor speak to him, nor visit him the whole time, especially if he is a poor person or a slave. If

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he recovers and rises from his sick bed, he returns to his own. If he dies, they cremate him; but if he is a slave they leave him as he is, till at length he becomes the food of dogs and birds of prey.

If they catch a thief or a robber, they lead him to a thick and lofty tree, fasten a strong rope round him, string him up, and let him hang until he drops to pieces by the action of wind and rain.

I was told that the least of what they do for their chiefs when they die, is to consume them with fire. When I was finally informed of the death of one of their magnates, I sought to witness what befell. First they laid him in his grave—over which a roof was erected—for the space of ten days, until they had completed the cutting and sewing of his clothes. In the case of a poor man, however, they merely build for him a boat, in which they place him, and consume it with fire. At the death of a rich man, they bring together his goods, and divide them into three parts. The first of these is for his family; the second is expended for the garments they make; and with the third they purchase strong drink, against the day when the girl resigns herself to death, and is burned with her master.[12] To the use of wine they abandon themselves in mad fashion, drinking it day and night; and not seldom does one die with the cup in his hand.[13]

When one of their chiefs dies, his family asks his girls and pages: "Which one of you will die with him?" Then one of them answers, "I." From the time that he utters this word, he is no longer free: should he wish to draw back, he is not permitted. For the most part, however, it is the girls that offer themselves. So, when the man of whom I spoke had died, they asked his girls, "Who will die with him?" One of them answered, "I." She was then committed to two girls, who were to keep watch over her, accompany her wherever she went, and even, on occasion, wash her feet. The people now began to occupy themselves with the dead man—to cut out the clothes for him, and to prepare whatever else was needful. During the whole of this period, the girl gave herself over to drinking and singing, and was cheerful and gay.

[12] Cf. Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[13] Cf. Goethe's *Der König in Thule.*

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When the day was now come that the dead man and the girl were to be committed to the flames, I went to the river in which his ship lay, but found that it had already been drawn ashore. Four corner-blocks of birch and other woods had been placed in position for it, while around were stationed large wooden figures in the semblance of human beings. Thereupon the ship was brought up, and placed on the timbers above mentioned. In the mean time the people began to walk to and fro, uttering words which I did not understand. The dead man, meanwhile, lay at a distance in his grave, from which they had not yet removed him. Next they brought a couch, placed it in the ship, and covered it with Greek cloth of gold, wadded and quilted, with pillows of the same material. There came an old crone, whom they call the angel of death, and spread the articles mentioned on the couch. It was she who attended to the sewing of the garments, and to all the equipment; it was she, also, who was to slay the girl. I saw her; she was dark (?), . . . thick-set,[14] with a lowering countenance.

When they came to the grave, they removed the earth from the wooden roof, set the latter aside, and drew out the dead man in the loose wrapper[15] in which he had died. Then I saw that he had turned quite black, by reason of the coldness of that country. Near him in the grave they had placed strong drink, fruits, and a lute; and these they now took out. Except for his color, the dead man had not changed. They now clothed him in drawers, leggings, boots, and a *kurtak* and *chaftan* of cloth of gold, with golden buttons, placing on his head a cap made of cloth of gold, trimmed with sable. Then they carried him into a tent placed in the ship, seated him on the wadded and quilted covering, supported him with the pillows, and, bringing strong drink, fruits, and basil, placed them all beside him. Then they brought a dog, which they cut in two, and threw into the ship; laid all his weapons beside him; and led up two horses,

[14] Professor Torrey comments: "What the true reading of the Arabic is here, is still an unsolved riddle. Frähn's guess, 'devil,' has nothing to support it. Wüstenfeld conjectures two Persian words, and wishes to render them by 'witch'; but, as other scholars have remarked, they do not mean (nor could mean) anything of the sort. What can plausibly be got out of the reading of the MSS. is [the rendering above]. The word 'thickset' is in two of the three MSS."

[15] Or, "waist-cloth." The word may be rendered by either of these two, or by "winding sheet."—C. C. T.

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which they chased until they were dripping with sweat, whereupon they cut them in pieces with their swords, and threw the flesh into the ship. Two oxen were then brought forward, cut in pieces, and flung into the ship. Finally they brought a cock and a hen, killed them, and threw them in also.

The girl who had devoted herself to death meanwhile walked to and fro, entering one after another of the tents which they had there. The occupant of each tent lay with her, saying, "Tell your master, 'I [the man] did this only for love of you.' "

When it was now Friday afternoon, they led the girl to an object which they had constructed, and which looked like the framework of a door.[16] She then placed her feet on the extended hands of the men, was raised up above the framework, and uttered something in her language, whereupon they let her down. Then again they raised her, and she did as at first. Once more they let her down, and then lifted her a third time, while she did as at the previous times. They then handed her a hen, whose head she cut off and threw away; but the hen itself they cast into the ship. I inquired of the interpreter what it was that she had done. He replied: "The first time she said," 'Lo, I see here my father and mother'; the second time, 'Lo, now I see all my deceased relatives sitting'; the third time, 'Lo, there is my master, who is sitting in Paradise. Paradise is so beautiful, so green. With him are his men and boys. He calls me, so bring me to him.' " Then they led her away to the ship.

Here she took off her two bracelets, and gave them to the old woman who was called the angel of death, and who was to murder her. She also drew off her two anklets, and passed them to the two serving-maids, who were the daughters of the so-called angel of death. Then they lifted her into the ship, but did not yet admit her to the tent. Now men came up with shields and staves, and handed her a cup of strong drink. This she took, sang over it, and emptied it. "With this," so the interpreter told me, "she is taking leave of those who are dear to her." Then another cup was handed her, which she also took, and began a lengthy song. The crone admonished her to drain the cup without lingering, and to enter the tent where her master

[16] So C. C. T.

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lay. By this time, as it seemed to me, the girl had become dazed [or, possibly, crazed][17]; she made as though she would enter the tent, and had brought her head forward between the tent and the ship, when the hag seized her by the head, and dragged her in. At this moment the men began to beat upon their shields with the staves, in order to drown the noise of her outcries, which might have terrified the other girls, and deterred them from seeking death with their masters in the future. Then six men followed into the tent, and each and every one had carnal companionship with her.[18] Then they laid her down by her master's side, while two of the men seized her by the feet, and two by the hands. The old woman known as the angel of death now knotted a rope around her neck, and handed the ends to two of the men to pull. Then with a broad-bladed dagger she smote her between the ribs, and drew the blade forth, while the two men strangled her with the rope till she died.

The next of kin to the dead man now drew near, and, taking a piece of wood, lighted it, and walked backwards[19] toward the ship, holding the stick in one hand, with the other placed upon his buttocks (he being naked), until the wood which had been piled under the ship was ignited. Then the others came up with staves and firewood, each one carrying a stick already lighted at the upper end, and threw it all on the pyre. The pile was soon aflame, then the ship, finally the tent, the man, and the girl, and everything else in the ship. A terrible storm began to blow up, and thus intensified the flames, and gave wings to the blaze.

At my side stood one of the Northmen, and I heard him talking with the interpreter, who stood near him. I asked the interpreter what the Northman had said, and received this answer: " 'You Arabs,' he said, 'must be a stupid set! You take him who is to you the most revered and beloved of men,

[17] So C. C. T.

[18] Professor Torrey comments: "There is no uncertainty in the Arabic. I must say that the reading of the text seems to me very improbable, however. Instead of [Arabic quoted], one would expect [Arabic quoted], 'they lifted up.' The translation would then be, 'and they all together lifted up the girl,' the two words resembling each other very closely."

[19] Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 6.223-4 (at the funeral of Misenus):

Subjectam, more parentum,
Aversi tenuere facem.

and cast him into the ground, to be devoured by creeping things and worms. We, on the other hand, burn him in a twinkling, so that he instantly, without a moment's delay, enters into Paradise.' At this he burst out into uncontrollable laughter, and then continued: 'It is the love of the Master [God] that causes the wind to blow and snatch him away in an instant.' " And, in very truth, before an hour had passed, ship, wood, and girl had, with the man, turned to ashes.

Thereupon they heaped over the place where the ship had stood something like a rounded hill, and, erecting on the centre of it a large birchen post, wrote on it the name of the deceased, along with that of the king of the Northmen. Having done this, they left the spot.

It is the custom among the Northmen that with the king in his hall there shall be four hundred of the most valiant and trustworthy of his companions, who stand ready to die with him or to offer their life for his. Each of them has a girl to wait upon him—to wash his head, and to prepare food and drink; and, besides her, he has another who serves as his concubine. These four hundred sit below the king's high seat, which is large, and adorned with precious stones. Accompanying him on his high seat are forty girls, destined for his bed, whom he causes to sit near him. Now and again he will proceed to enjoy one of them in the presence of the above mentioned nobles of his following. The king does not descend from his high seat, and is therefore obliged, when he needs to relieve himself, to make use of a vessel. If he wishes to ride, his horse is led up to the high seat, and he mounts from there; when he is ready to alight, he rides his horse up so close that he can step immediately from it to his throne. He has a lieutenant, who leads his armies, wars with his enemies, and represents him to his subjects.

Yākūt's Conclusion.

These are the accounts which I have drawn literally from Ibn Fa*d*lān's narrative. For their veracity the author himself must vouch; God alone knows the truth. As for the Northmen of the present time, it is well known that they profess the Christian religion.

ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK

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"CLEOPATRA THE MARTYR" AND HER SISTERS

'This may wel be rym dogerel,' quod he.

It is true that the printed page, even though it be of the greatest literature, is but a barred door concealing that literature, which for its release needs the interpretation of the emotions, of the voice, of the vibrant personality; but nowhere do we feel the cramping effect of the printed page as in the case of humor of an age long past. We are likely to fail to discriminate the light airiness of this phrase, the screaming farce of this pun, the pointed satire of that contemporary allusion. One can conjure up the picture of the twenty-fifth century scholar who has discovered a volume of Chesterton's essays, and who tries to equip it with a critical apparatus which will render it intelligible to the laity. Might we be there to see! But no author is a greater sufferer than is that merriest of poets, Geoffrey Chaucer. How many times is a passage salt with wit passed coldly or superciliously over as being quaint, or clumsy, or erroneous! How much agony has been spent over the tyne of teres, over the French of my lady Prioress, over the weighty headgear of the Wife of Bath! It is truly no light matter to keep up with this nimble-witted son of a London vintner, who knew his king's palaces as well as his humble taverns, this poor poet who was at the same time, if Madame Chaucer's name be Philippa Roet, brother-in-law to a mighty prince the son and father of kings, this customs official who was at home on the docks, at Windsor, Shene, or at any other of the residences of King Richard.

That King Richard II was accessible to poets is well-known. Froissart makes a great deal of the King's joy at receiving a book of his love poems handsomely written and illuminated and bound in crimson velvet, with ten silver-gilt studs, and roses of the same in the middle, with two large clasps of silver-gilt, richly worked with roses in the center; and the king was poet enough not to find his sole joy in the binding, for we are told that he dipped here and there in the volume with liveliest pleasure.[1] We know also that the poet Gower was commissioned

[1] Chronicles, Chapter XXII, Everyman's Library.

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by the King to undertake his *Confessio Amantis;* we are given a smug account of the meeting on the Thames when Gower was called from his boat to the royal barge, where, after a good deal of conversation, the commission was given him, a knowledge of which royal command will, Gower feels, silence all carping critics.[2] We have, directly, no account of such a meeting between the King and Chaucer, but that they were frequent enough, the barest outlines of Chaucer's life make reasonably sure. Chaucer's position in the royal household was secure enough and his personal intercourse with the court of such long standing that it was not necessary for him to boast of any royal commission. Instead, we have one such commission charmingly given us in that exquisite prologue to the Legend of Good Women. Here the Queen, the model of wifehood, in her rôle of merciful intercessor, both attributes of the good Queen Anne, commissions the poet to write a cycle of love poems, in which she is heartily seconded by the God of Love, behind whose mask we can clearly see the features of Richard.

Indeed, there seems to be a very close connection between the *Legend of Good Women* and the *Confessio Amantis.* First, both are undertaken by royal command; then, too, the form assumed by each belongs to a quasi-parody of religious types, the one being the *Legenda Aurea* of Love, the other, the reconciliation of Love's Penitent; finally, many of the tales in both are of the same characters.

All scholars agree that in the prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* we have a poem of rare beauty, worthy to stand with the poetry of any age. However, for the most part, Chaucer is accused of not living up to the promise of the prologue in the body of the poem. Usually, fatigue is given as the reason for this, and impatience with the galling bounds within which the poet must work. Professor Legouis notices at times a forced note and a flippancy which he does not entirely impute to Chaucer's credit.[3] Professor Lounsbury says: "Lydgate, with characteristic mediæval jocularity, tells us that he could find only (nineteen) good women to celebrate, and therefore he was obliged to stop for lack of material. . . . Whether ordered or

[2] Confessio Amantis, Prologus ll. 24-92.

[3] Emile Legouis, Geoffrey Chaucer, tr. L. Lailavoix, pp. 103 ff.

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not, the work was begun with a good deal of enthusiasm. If we can place any weight upon Chaucer's own words, he designed, when he set about its production, to make it the crowning achievement of his literary career. . . . At the time he began this poem Chaucer clearly looked upon a collection of tales of this kind as supplying him an ample field for the display of his powers. . . . There is nothing more peculiar in the 'Legend of Good Women' than the steadily growing dissatisfaction of the author with his subject which marks its progress. It was not long before Chaucer began to see the folly of what he had set out to accomplish. . . . He was hampered still further by the limitations imposed by the legendary stories he was versifying. The necessity of adhering to their details prevented him from giving any wide play to his imagination. . . . It made him at last careless and indifferent in the choice of these stories. . . . It made him equally indifferent and careless in the treatment of his story. His increasing lack of interest is openly displayed in the hasty and reckless manner in which his work is done towards the end. . . . By the time he reached the eighth story—that of Phillis—he makes no pretence of concealing the disgust he has felt, and is continuing to feel, with his subject, and his desire to be done with it as soon as possible. . . The very conclusion of this tale, with its mock advice to women to beware of men, and in matters of love to trust no one of them but Chaucer himself, is ample proof that the element of seriousness was departing rapidly from the work."[4]

Professor Root says: "As Professor Lounsbury has pointed out, one can trace in the successive sections of the work the poet's growing tedium. Even as he wrote the last lines of the Prologue he began to be oppressed with the magnitude of his undertaking. The god of love warns him:—

> 'I wot wel that thou mayst nat al hit ryme,
> That swiche lovers diden in hir tyme;' . . .

Other hints of weariness may be found frequently in the

[4] T. R. Lounsbury, Studies in Chaucer iii. pp. 335 ff. Query: Is the element of seriousness present even in the conclusion to the first of the legends? R. M. G.

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legends;[5] but quite unmistakable are the following lines from the Legend of Phyllis:—

> But for I am agroted heerbiforn
> To wryte of hem that been in love forsworn,
> And eek to haste me in my legende,
> Which to performe god me grace sende,
> Therfor I passe shortly in this wyse.

With such a warning, one is not surprised to find the next legend broken off abruptly in the middle of a sentence."[6]

Professor Kittredge has said, as so frequently, a golden word when he warns us that "*Chaucer always knew what he was about.* When, therefore, he seems to be violating dramatic fitness,—as in the ironical tribute of the Clerk to the Wife of Bath, or the monstrous cynicism of the Pardoner's confessions, —we must look to our steps. Headlong inferences are dangerous. We are dealing with a great literary artist who had been through the schools. The chances are that such details are not casual flourishes. Somehow, in all likelihood, they fall into decorous subordination to his main design."[7] How, then, can it be that as a sequence to that delightful prologue, Chaucer can give us a set of mediocre, even amateurish compositions borrowed from older writers who have done them better? I think that we must look upon the Legends themselves as a masterly set of humorous sketches occasioned by the restrictions under which Chaucer was asked to write them.[8]

[5] In a note at this point Professor Root gives the following references: ll. 1002-1003, 1552-1553, 1565, 1679, 1692-1693, 1921, 2257-2258, 2470-2471, 2490-2491, 2513-2515.

[6] Professor Robert K. Root, The Poetry of Chaucer, pp. 145-146.

[7] Professor George Lyman Kittredge, Chaucer and His Poetry, p. 151.

[8] I think that Professor Goddard proves too much in his paper entitled "Chaucer's Legend of Good Women," published in this Journal (Vol. VII, No. 4, pp. 87-129; continued in Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 47-111). The fun becomes too intricate and subtle for anyone except the poet himself thoroughly to enjoy. I cannot think that Chaucer had little enough regard for his public so to mystify them. On the other hand, I think that Professor Lowes, in his answer to Professor Goddard's paper, entitled "Is Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* a Travesty?" likewise in this Journal (Vol. VIII, No. 4, pp. 513-569) allows too little for Chaucer's originality or for his spirit of fun. It seems that the one paper leaves the Legend of Good Women a cipher, the other leaves the Legends themselves hopelessly mediocre.

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Suppose we look at those restrictions. As a penance for his literary misdeeds, Chaucer is to spend the rest of his life, says the Queen, in making a glorious Legend of Good Women, that were true in loving all their lives, and at the same time denouncing false men who betrayed them; this is to have rather a didactic turn, because such things are also to be found in his own time. If he does this, the Queen will intercede for him with the King, so that he shall have reward therefor. When the book is finished, he shall present it to the Queen at Eltham or at Shene. The God of Love acquiesces in this, and further adds that the last legend shall be of the Queen Alceste, for she is the model of wifehood; that Chaucer take his books and read up on the other ladies in the Queen's company, some of whom are in his ballade 'Hyd, Absolon,' and write of all of them that are known to him, for there are twenty thousand more in the group who are true in love; the God of Love grants him the privilege of choosing his own meter, but he is to begin with Cleopatra, and he is to follow the old authors only as regards the main points of the story, for he must make the stories short.

His commands are, then, 1. to write lives of good women, and 2. denunciations of evil men, 3. to follow tradition, 4. to cut out padding, and 5. to begin with the most famous courtesan of history. One can picture to himself the demureness with which the command was received, and the elvishness of his countenance. If Cleopatra is to head the procession, who may not march in it? We may imagine the delight with which he cast over the prospects: Canace, who was discarded afterwards, for even a joke may be carried too far, especially when a queen is involved; Dido, faithless to the memory of 'Sitheo'; the blessed martyr Medea, whose tale must be carefully expurgated and freed from the stain of child-murder; Ariadne, of whom it will not be fitting to include how she was comforted by Bacchus; Philomela, who must not only suffer the mutilation of her tongue, but also of that part of her story relating to the grewsome revenge taken upon Tereus by the sisters. It is true that Chaucer shows weariness, but may not this be carefully assumed as being due to the superhuman labor entailed in finding or in manufacturing good women? Is it not the reflex of a joke which was widely repeated which Lydgate tells us, that try as he might, he could not find even nineteen good

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women? If he had been really serious in his quest, he had many more stories at hand which told of genuine cases of fidelity to love or purity, as witness the list in the complaint of Dorigen in the Franklin's Tale (F 1364–1456). His flippancy is clearly shown in the conclusion of the Legend of Cleopatra, where he wishes that our heads may not ache until we find as faithful a man as was the woman Cleopatra;[9] in the casual way in which Eneas loses his wife Creusa by the way;[10] or in the prudish way in which he tells us that he is not sure if Dido and Eneas took a chaperone into the cave with them—his author forgot to tell;[11] or in the confidential way, in the Legend of Phyllis, in which he warns maidens not to trust any lover but himself.[12]

Now as to the commands positive which he received. Possibly the first we should consider is that which would be least acceptable to an author, one which would likely make him wince—the command to be brief. Make it short! Cut whereever you can! Tell just the main parts of the story and skip the rest.[13] He will meekly obey, but just watch his eyes and see what is the quality of his obedience! The legends fairly bristle with assurances of his haste;[14] and besides these frequent reminders, he races through the tales themselves at a breakneck speed. If one reads the Legends of Cleopatra and of Dido aloud, he soon becomes breathless with the haste of the narrative.

Next, he is ordered to follow authorities: "After thise olde auctours listen to trete."[15] This seems to be rather cavalier-like, when he has assured us of his constant application to his books, even to the point of un-neighborliness and to the certain danger to his eyes.[16] And moreover, the command comes from

[9] vv. 703–705.
[10] v. 945.
[11] vv. 1227–1228.
[12] v. 2561.
[13] vv. 572–577.
[14] vv. 614; 616–623; 628; 928–9; 953–7; 994–7; 1002–3; 1098; 1160–1; 1184–6; 1224; 1309; 1366–7; 1456–8; 1552–9; 1564–5; 1678–9; 1692–3; 1825; 1921; 2025; 2136; 2170; 2218–21; 2225; 2257–8; 2341; 2348–9; 2382–4; 2454–8; 2462; 2470–1; 2494–5; 2513–7; 2675.
[15] v. 575.
[16] vv. 29 ff. Hous of Fame vv. 641–660.

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one whose reading has been inexact enough to confuse, in the case of Cleopatra, beauty with goodness. But Chaucer is likely to be rather cautious with his wit, because he has a large portion of professional courtesy, and professes and possesses a deep sense of gratitude to those of his predecessors to whom he looks as to his masters. He quotes as his authorities, Ovid, who is mentioned six times;[17] Virgil, twice;[18] St. Augustine, once;[19] Livy, once;[20] Guido delle Colonne, twice;[21] the Argonauticon, once;[22] he refers three times to *his author*,[23] twice to the *book*,[24] once to the *original*,[25] and once he assures us to our comfort that

> "This is storial sooth, hit is no fable."[26]

One wonders if in the Legend of Hypermnestra the exchange of paternities of 'Danao' and 'Egiste' was not planned to challenge detection. Another passage which has been frequently interpreted as showing haste and carelessness on Chaucer's part is clearly a sly attempt to be painfully true to authority in spite of anachronisms or other stumbling-blocks. I refer to the passage in the Legend of Ariadne in which Theseus, the youth of twenty-three, is made to promise his son as a husband for Phedra. The whole passage (vv. 2074-2135) is a clever bit of farce: the tender youth of twenty-three offers himself to be the servant of Ariadne in return for her saving his life; she is horrified at the proposal and substitutes therefor the proposal that she marry him and that her sister marry his son, both of which proposals he instantly accepts. He assures her that he had loved her full many a day while still in his own country, although she knew nothing about it, and that it has always been his great desire to see her—for seven years has he loved her, i.e., from the age of sixteen, and in anticipation he flatters

[17] vv. 725; 928; 1367; 2465; 2478; 2220.

[18] vv. 924; 1002.

[19] v. 1690.

[20] v. 1873.

[21] vv. 1396; 1464.

[22] v. 1457.

[23] vv. 1139; 1228; 1352.

[24] vv. 1022; 1721.

[25] v. 1558.

[26] v. 711.

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her ears with her appellation of Duchess of Athens. She turns entranced to her sister and says softly that now since they are both duchesses and the equal of any of the royalty of Athens, and both likely to be queens hereafter, they haven't done so badly! Instead of showing weariness or carelessness, this passage shows great care in drawing.

That part of his task which was imposed upon him as the corollary of the faithfulness of women, 'to telle of false men,' offers a great many technical difficulties. His attitude must be that of rage against the whole sex. If he were truly concerned, he would be much more repressed in his emotions than he is, and would very likely make free use of sarcasm, which he can use with tremendous effectiveness. Instead, he blusters terribly, and is insistent in his rôle of protector of the helpless sex. He sometimes finds himself blustering without a cause, in which case his anticlimax is splendidly shaped. In such a story as that of Cleopatra, he cannot find fault with his hero, so he must content himself with assuring us that such constancy is found only in woman, quite overlooking Antony's constancy:

> 'Now, er I finde a man thus trewe and stable,
> And wol for love his deeth so freely take,
> I pray god lat our hedes never ake!' vv. 702-704.

In the Legend of Thisbe, also, he can find no legitimate fault with Pyramus, yet he shakes his head and mourns:

> 'Allas! and that is routhe
> That ever woman wolde be so trewe
> To trusten man, but she the bet him knewe!' vv. 199-201.

But for Jason and Theseus he reserves his loudest thunder. In the Legend of Hypsipyle he denounces Jason as the root of false lovers, the sly devourer of tender women, who makes use of his handsome appearance, his pleasant tricks of speech, his delightful manners, his feigned fidelity and humility, to have his way, just as the fox gets the tenderest capons. Chaucer publishes his intention, if he lives, of making Jason's name a byword to the English nation, and is going to hunt him down without mercy!

> 'Have at thee, Jasoun! now thyn horn is blowe!' v. 1383.

His zeal has been much qualified by the time he writes the

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companionpiece, the Legend of Medea, and he loses a choice opportunity for denunciation:

> 'Now was Jasoun a semely man withalle,
> And lyk a lord, and had a greet renoun,
> And of his loke as real as leoun,
> And goodly of his speche, and famulere,
> And coude of love al craft and art plenere
> Withoute boke, with everich observaunce.' vv. 1603–1608.

In the Legend of Lucrece, the story is not tampered with. Chaucer contents himself with saying at the close that all men are bad, no matter who tries them, even the truest is not to be trusted. However, in the Legend of Ariadne he makes up for the restraint under which he worked in the preceding Legend. He firmly and fiercely calls Minos, erstwhile King of Crete, now one of the judges of hell, into the ring and promises him trouble. Then he rather apologizes to him, because he finds that he has no real quarrel with him; that he mentions him solely to tell a story of the treachery of Theseus. Nevertheless, he will tell the story of Minos' life. Now blush, Minos! His son Androgeus, who was sent to the University of Athens, was slain studying philosophy, and as a result the evil custom of the Minotaur was inaugurated. Then follows mildly enough the adventure of Theseus and the Minotaur, and the escape of Theseus with Ariadne and Phedra, the desertion of Ariadne by Theseus and her sister Phedra who evidently prefers the father to the son, the return to Athens, where, almost incidentally and quite nonchalantly, we find Theseus' father drowned in the sea:

> 'And to his contree-ward he saileth blyve—
> A twenty devil way the wind him dryve!—
> And fond his fader drenched in the see.
> Me list no more to speke of him, parde!
> Thise false lovers, poison be hir bane!' vv. 2176–2180.

Then follows the Legend of Philomela. Chaucer is so furious with Tereus that it gives him sore eyes only to read his story! (v. 2240) His story makes him tired! (v. 2258) Nevertheless, he tells the tale of Tereus' treachery and leaves the sisters before they have killed the child out of revenge, coolly saying:

> 'The remenant is no charge for to telle.' v. 2383.

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He advises credulous womankind, rather unconvincingly, that they may beware of men, if they want to (v. 2387), and that although men nowadays may not duplicate Tereus' exact crime, they are untrue, and that the only case in which their fidelity may be assured is when they can get no other woman (v. 2393).

The Legend of Phyllis gives opportunity to tell of Demophon, the son of Theseus. The young fox (like father, like son) learns Reynard's tricks without being taught, takes to them like a drake to water! Chaucer will tell a part of her letter to him, but will lose no labor on him nor waste even a penful of ink on him, for he and his father were both false in love, the devil set their souls both afire! (v. 2493). So you see what sort of creatures men were in those days—and today they are not much better! The best advice I can give you is to trust no lover but me! (v. 2561).

In the Legend of Hypermnestra Chaucer rather outdoes himself to wrest the story to his pattern. He makes gossipping and scandalous references to the number of children of both Danao and Egiste, whom he makes false lovers, both. Lino, it is true, is no false lover, but one whom fear of death makes unduly careful of himself and careless of his newly-wedded wife. Ypermistre wakens him and tells him of his danger; he climbs out of the window and along the gutter and so to the ground, and runs so fast that she cannot catch up with him; she is in despair and sits down until they come and catch her and cast her into prison. This is a pure freakish fancy on Chaucer's part, and he shirks the responsibility for getting her out of her difficulty by leaving the tale unfinished.

There is much that is tantalizing in the problem of the plan of the *Legend of Good Women*. The plan seems to have been fluid. Why was it so frequently altered? First a lifelong work was commanded of Chaucer, then even before the prologue was finished the number nineteen seems to have been selected as the number of tales; the Man of Law knows of sixteen ladies chosen, and two rejected; certain of those chosen, as Eleyne, Dianire, not being types of conjugal constancy. I think that either Chaucer feared, the nearer he got to completing the poem, lest Alceste be offended at the company she was in, or what is more probable, Alceste died while the work was in progress, which would of course put an end to the joke.

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The whole Legend is a splendid warning not to place too many restrictions about a true poet; not to ordain all things even to the emotional tone in which a work is to be keyed. Those who knew Chaucer best should have known that he is most at home in healthy sentiment, and in an unforced, joyous love of human life. Before commanding a poem which could not be anything else than full of sentimentalism, they should have remembered that he disavows first hand knowledge of a lover's pains;[27] that he has escaped fat from love's prison;[28] that when he falls in love for poetical purposes, he assures his Rosemounde that he wallows in love as a pike in fishsauce;[29] that he will approach a task which demands an unhealthy or a forced sentiment with the same spirit of derision in which the duck listens to the speech of the blushing turtledove,[30] and say:

'Wel bourded! by my hat!'

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[27] Troilus v. 15 ff.; L G W v. 490; Parlement of Foules v. 8 ff.
[28] Merciles Beaute: A Triple Roundel v. 27.
[29] To Rosemounde. A Balade vv. 17–18.
[30] The Parlement of Foules v. 589.

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THE LEGEND OF WALTHER AND HILDEGUND

Since 1918, the year of the publication of Wilmotte's study on the *Waltharius*,[1] new interest has been taken by students in this sample of Mediæval Latin scholastic poetry. Whether or not one is willing to accept the conclusions of the Belgian scholar, there can be no question that the *Waltharius* exercised the most powerful influence on the Romance literatures of the middle ages, above all on the Old French epic,[2] and for this reason it is natural that the question of the origins of the Walther legend should find favor with Romance no less than with Germanic scholars.

Wilmotte's arguments in behalf of a theory according to which the Latin poem was written in Lorraine in the course of the tenth century are not convincing. A clerk writing in that province would never have made the geographical blunders which have been pointed out in the *Waltharius*.[3] But even if we accept the hypothesis of a Lorrain origin of the work, this would not in the least alter the fact that the legend which is the basis of the poem is an integral part of Teutonic heroic legend. The existence of the Anglo-Saxon fragments, of the allusions in the Middle High German minstrel epic and also of chapters 241-4 of the *Þiđreks Saga* make this perfectly clear. The natural inference would be that in the tenth century the Teutonic element in Lorraine was stronger than it is now, a fact which is well known, and that another argument has been advanced to those who still see a connection between the Teutonic epic and the Old French *chanson de geste*.

The question of the origin of the legend has not approached a satisfactory solution by the facts which Wilmotte discussed; it remains as obscure as it ever was.[4]

[1] "*La Patrie du Waltharius*," *Revue Historique*, CXXVII, 1918, pp. 1–30; cf. K. Strecker, *Zeitsch, f. deutsches Altertum*, LVII, 185; G. Neckel, *Germ.-Rom. Monatsschrift*, IX, 1921, pp. 139 ff.; 209 ff.; 277 ff.

[2] W. Tavernier, *Zeitsch. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XLII, 1914, pp. 41–81.

[3] "*Ueber die Walthersage*," Wien, 1889, *Sitzungsberichte d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Cl.*, Abh. II, p. 23.

[4] For the bibliography on the subject cf. Sijmons in Paul's *Grundriss*, III², 705, to which should be added: *Waltharii Poesis* ed. by H. Althof, Leipzig,

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Various explanations have been given in the past. Müllenhoff's mythical interpretation[5] was followed by another of Heinzel,[6] who saw in the legend and its heroes the reflection of historical events and historical personages who lived at the time of the Teutonic migration. Neither one of the two theories has found general acceptance. In 1908, R. C. Boer proposed a new method.[7] Instead of starting out with a preconceived idea, he proceeded to a careful analysis of all the extant versions, discussing the relationship which exists between the Walther legend on the one hand and the Hilde and Helgi legends on the other, and viewing the action from the standpoint of a purely human conflict with human passions as the only motive powers. This interpretation meant a great advance over those of Boer's predecessors, as it creates a basis which can safely be used for a more satisfactory reconstruction of the legend.

The inconsistencies contained in the Latin *Waltharius* have often been pointed out. To mention a few, Walther flees from the Huns, but his peril is not caused by his pursuers; he is set upon by Gunther and his retainers, with whom, Hagen excepted, he had no dealings before. The king is eager for the treasure carried by Walther, but he demands the delivery of Hildegund besides. Also the relationship of Gunther and Hagen is not entirely free from ambiguity.[8] Sijmons pointed out[9] that even in the versions where Walther's enemies are the Huns, Hagen-Hǫgni plays the most important part, thus proving that in the original version he must have been Walther's main opponent and the father of Hildegund. Gunther was introduced in consequence of a contamination of the legend with the Nibelungen cycle. This theory has been adopted by Boer.[10]

1899–1905; R. Boer, *Zeitsch. f. deutsche Phil.*, XL, 1908, pp. 1–66; 84–218; 333 ff.; Von der Leyen, *Die deutschen Heldensagen*, München, 1912, p. 208; L. Simons, *Waltharius en de Walthersage*, Leuvensche Bijdragen, XI, 1–110; 149 –246; XII, 1–132; cf. *Neophilologus*, IV, 1919, p. 91.

[5] *Zeitsch. f. deutsches Altertum*, XXX, 1886, pp. 235 f.

[6] *Op. cit.*

[7] *Op. cit.*

[8] Boer, p. 55.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 706; cf. also Koegel, *Gesch. d. deutschen Literatur*, I, 2, Strassburg, 1897, p. 292.

[10] *Op. cit.*, pp. 48 ff.; 54 ff.

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Several critics called attention to the fact that Hagen-Hǫgni is essentially a demonic character, probably an elf. Koegel[11] connects the name with the adjective *hagu-na*, which means "spectre-like" and which is related also to the German "Hexe" and our "hag." In the *Þiđreks Saga* he appears as the son of an elf. These demonic qualities seem to have been inherited by his daughter, Hildegund. She is undoubtedly identical with the Hildr of the Scandinavian versions of the so-called Hilde legend, the *Snorra Edda*, the *Ragnarsdrápa*, the *Sǫrla Þáttr* and Saxo Grammaticus.[12] In all of these certain magical qualities are attributed to the girl. In the evening after the battle she awakens the fallen warriors, and the battle begins anew. Boer pointed out that the motif of the spectre fight did not originally belong to the Hilde legend, but was later connected with it.[13] Such a connection and the rôle given to Hildr was possible only if the girl enjoyed the reputation of proficiency in the magic arts. In the Polish version her presence strengthens the fighters; in the first Anglo-Saxon fragment she merely encourages Walther. In the *Waltharius* she sings during the night, as Sijmons supposes, originally probably to re-awaken the fallen.[14]

The original form of the Walther legend represents then the motif of the young hero fleeing with the wizard's daughter and fighting the pursuing father. This, however, is a wide-spread *märchen* type, found in the folklore of all nations of Europe and Asia and known as the motif of the magic flight.[15] It may be summarized as follows:

A prince falls into the power of a wizard, a witch, or a demon,[16] having been stolen by the latter or surrendered by his

[11] *Op. cit.*, I, 2, pp. 207 ff.; 280.

[12] Cf. on these versions Boer, pp. 3 ff., on the identity of the Hilde and the Walther legend, *ibid.*, pp. 48 ff.

[13] *Op. cit.*, pp. 1 ff.; cf. also Von der Leyen, *op. vit.*, p. 265.

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 705.

[15] Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, No. 113 "*De beiden Künigeskinner*"; Bolte-Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, II, 516; A. Aarne, *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen*, Helsinki, 1910, type 313.

[16] It is the devil in J. Haltrich, *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus dem Sachsenlande in Siebenbürgen*, Wien, 1885, p. 118, No. 27: "*Der Königssohn und die Teufelstochter*," and in a Greek story recorded by Von Hahn, *Griechische und albanesische Märchen*, Berlin, 1918, I, 277, No. 54: "*Der Jüngling, der Teufel*

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own father in fulfilment of a rash promise. Sometimes he suffers shipwreck near the demon's island.[17] He is asked to fulfil certain tasks, seemingly impossible, but which he succeeds in accomplishing with the help of a girl whom he finds in the demon's castle and who, in most variants, is the demon's or wizard's daughter.[18] He then flees with the girl and is pursued by her father. They succeed in making their escape thanks to the girl's knowledge of the magic arts.[19] Having come home, he loses remembrance of his bride, either in consequence of a kiss or because he takes food. He becomes engaged to another woman, who in some versions is the mother of the demon and a witch.[20] The true bride, by means of three precious or mar-

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und seine Tochter," a waterman or nix in a Danish tale in Kristensen, *Danske folkeaeventyr*, Viborg; 1888, No. 50: "*Ridder Elve, der glemte sin kjaereste*," a water fairy in a Swedish narrative; cf. Hyltén-Cavallius und Stephens, *Schwedische Volkssagen und Märchen*, deutsch v. C. Oberleitner, Wien, 1848, p. 255; Köhler, *Kl. Schr.*, I, 167, a giant in a Norse story of Asbjörnsen; cf. G. W. Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse*, New York, 1888, p. 71: "*The Mastermaid*," in an Irish *märchen* in J. Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland*, Boston, 1890, p. 1: "*The Son of the King of Erin and the Giant of Loch Léin*," and in a French *conte de fée:* Laboulaye, *Contes bleus*, Paris, 1879, p. 15: *Yvon et Finette*," also in a story of Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West-Highlands*, Edinburgh, 1860–2; cf. Köhler, *Kl. Schr.*, I, 161.

[17] *Yvon et Finette*, in the collection cited.

[18] Dasent, p. 72: there was a princess seated on a bench, so lovely that the prince had never seen anything like her in his born days. Still more detailed is the description in *Yvon et Finette*. Cf. with this *Waltharius* vv. 36 f.:

Filia huic tantum fuit unica nomine Hiltgunt,
Nobilitate quidem pollens ac stemmate formae,
74: Pergit in exilium pulcherrima gemma parentum,
456: Hunc incredibilis formae decorata nitore, and

Sǫrla þáttr, *Fas.* I², 275: Hǫgni atti dottur er Hildr het; hun var allra kvenna vaenst ok vitrust; hann unni mikit dottur sinni; ekki atti hann barna fleira.

[19] This knowledge of magic reveals itself in three or four ways: 1. She bewitches an object so that it answers the demon for her so as to retard his pursuit; 2a. she puts obstacles in the road of the pursuer, or, 2b. she transforms herself and her lover; 3. she bewitches the three importune lovers. Many versions end with the happy escape of the lovers, omitting the rest of the story.

[20] So in *Yvon et Finette* and in two Icelandic tales, where she had transformed herself into a young girl and tries to become his wedded wife in order the more easily to kill him; cf. Rittershaus, *Die neuisländischen Volksmärchen*, Halle, 1902, pp. 143 and 145. In some stories of this type, the witch is no longer connected with the demon, but is the hero's own stepmother for example in a Danish story: Kristensen, No. 50, referred to above; but this is undoubtedly a secondary development.

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velous objects obtains permission to sleep with her lover. Only in the third night does she succeed in making herself known to him, as he had been administered a sleeping potion by the false bride. In other variants she has to get rid of three importune suitors by bewitching them in her house. By witchcraft she stops the bridegroom's carriage in the wedding procession. She is asked to lend her aid and is then invited to the wedding banquet, where she awakens the prince's slumbering memory. He rejects the false bride and marries her instead. Sometimes the old mother of the demon, a dangerous witch, or his wife, the queen,[21] continues the pursuit of the lovers after the demon himself has given it up. In some stories the queen is killed by the hero himself or upon his command.[22]

Walther's position as a prisoner of the demon can still be seen in the Latin poem.[23] As will be recalled, he was delivered up by his father to the King of the Huns, who has taken the place of Hagen, as a hostage. In this version, it is true, Hildegund is not the king's daughter, but likewise a hostage. This modification is, however, by no means peculiar to the heroic legend; it is found in at least one variant of the *märchen.* In one of Müllenhoff's Schleswig-Holstein tales[24] both boy and girl have fallen into the hands of a witch and make their escape thanks to the girl's knowledge of magic.

In the extant versions of the legend of Walther and Hildegund the motif of the tasks assigned to the hero has dropped out as no longer fitting in with the heroic garb which the story has assumed. A trace of it may still be seen in the *Waltharius*, where the hero becomes the king's general and defeats the enemy, largely through his personal bravery.[25]

[21] Guiseppe Rua, *Novelle del Cieco da Ferrara*, Torino, 1888, p. 84: "*La sposa dimenticata.*"

[22] In the narrative of the Cieco da Ferrara and in the Icelandic tales.

[23] The Old Scandinavian *Sǫrla þáttr* and the Polish version of the Walther legend likewise know of a prolonged stay of the young hero at the house of his future father-in-law. Walther is a hostage in the *þidreks Saga.*

[24] K. Müllenhoff, *Sagen, Märchen und Lieder der Herzogtümer Schleswig Holstein und Lauenburg*, Kiel, 1845, p. 395: "*Goldmariken und Goldfeder.*"

[25] *Waltharius* v. 196: Walthariuc tamen in medio furit agmine bello Obvia quaeque metens armis ac limite pergens. Hunc ubi conspiciunt hostes tantas dare strages, Ac si praesentem metuebant cernere mortem, Et quemcumque locum seu dextram sive sinistram Waltharius peteret, cuncti mox terga dederunt Et versis scutis laxisque feruntur habenis.

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When Walther comes home after the victorious battle, he does not find Etzel in the great hall, but Hildegund. The situation cannot be easily explained; but it becomes clear if we remember that in the fairy story, in *Yvon et Finette*, for instance, the hero spends a good deal of his time with the girl, during the absence of the demon.

The motif of the flight such as it is found in the *Waltharius* is inconsistent with the rest of the version. Both Walther and Hildegund enjoy the highest favor of the king and his wife; they have not the slightest reason to distrust them, who are bound in gratitude to the hero. Most critics have therefore seen here a trace of the old Hilde Saga.[26] However, that saga, in the versions which have come down to us, does not afford any satisfactory solution. In the *Sǫrla þáttr* and in Saxo Grammaticus[27] Hǫgni and Heđinn are friends, even foster-brothers. There exists no reason why Heđinn should abduct Hildr instead of asking Hǫgni for her hand. Again, once Hǫgni overtakes the fugitives, there is no reason why he should not accept the friendly offers made to him by the abductor. As Boer pointed out,[28] the motifs of the friendship between the two men and of the abduction of the girl are irreconcilable. The Dutch scholar believes the friendship motif to be the older one, while the abduction motif was introduced later to explain the sudden enmity between Hǫgni and Heđinn. This is however very doubtful. Granting that the abduction did not exist in the oldest version, there would have been no plot at all, unless some other motivation had been given for the quarrel of Heđinn with Hǫgni. Now in all existing versions the ground for this enmity between the two heroes is found in Heđinn's relationship to Hildr, leaving aside the few variations of this theme. Supposing that this motivation is not old, it would be very strange that the original ground for the quarrel should have been dropped in all versions and another introduced in its place, of which the primitive version did not say a word and which harmonizes so ill with the former friendship of Hǫgni and Heđinn. It is far more likely and less hazardous, in

[26] Koegel, *op. cit.*, I, 2, p. 292. The episode cannot be an invention of the author of the Latin poem; cf. Simons, *Leuv. Bijdr.*, *XI*, 166.

[27] *Gesta Danorum*, ed. by A. Holder, pp. 158-60.

[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

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my opinion, to suppose the friendship to have been introduced later, by some poet who desired to add to the tragic element of the plot and who may also have been guided by the psychological truth that enmity between former friends is the most bitter of all. The motif of the foster brothers who become bitter enemies occurs so frequently in the Icelandic sagas that it can be called a commonplace,[29] and it is found likewise in the story of the Vǫlsungen. A contamination of the Hilde legend with the Sigurd story was all the more easy because in both there occurred the character of Hǫgni. At any rate, the abduction motif plays the most prominent part in practically all versions, and it is hazardous to consider it an outgrowth of a situation which is no plot at all, lacking an adequate motivation and only becoming a plot by the addition of the episode of Hilde's abduction. Furthermore, the *Waltharius*, which is the oldest complete version of the legend represents Walther and Etzel in a different relationship to each other. Friends they are here, too, but Walther is the hostage of the king, his prisoner, though he enjoys a very mild captivity owing to the favorable light which is cast on Etzel's character, but a captivity just the same, and his flight is after all a flight from bondage. Take away the mild traits of Etzel's personality, which are to be accounted for by the assumption of the legend passing through Ostrogoth media,[30] and the master, the tyrant remains.

Before proceeding with this analysis, I must call the attention of the reader to an episode in Saxo Grammaticus' work[31] which undoubtedly represents a hitherto neglected version of the Walther legend and which was first recognized as such by W. Müller.[32] The hero of the episode is the famous Jarmerik, the Gothic Ermanarich, but who was incorporated in the list of the old Danish kings celebrated by Saxo. The historian narrates at length how in his youth he was sold as a slave to Ismar, King of the Slavs, and was put to work in the fields.

[29] Von der Leyen, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

[30] Sijmons, *op. cit.* p. 708; Koegel, I, 2, p. 284.

[31] *Ed. cit.*, pp. 276–8.

[32] *Mythologie der deutschen Heldensage*, Heilbronn, 1886, p. 170 n. 1; I had noticed the striking similarity between the passage of the *Gesta* and the *Waltharius*, when a note of Jiriczek called my attention to the fact that it had before been pointed out by W. Müller.

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He found favor with the king and was promoted to a place in the bodyguard. There again he distinguished himself so well that he soon became the king's most intimate friend. He trained himself to the pursuits of war and was liked by everybody at the court, except the queen, who mistrusted him. Jarmerik, however, was not satisfied with the honors showered upon him. He decided to flee and used for this purpose a funeral banquet given by the king. But, knowing that the queen had placed guards to see that no prisoner escaped, he shaped a human figure of rushes and wickerwork, put a live dog in it and dressed it up with his own clothes. Then he broke into the king's treasure house, took out the money and went into hiding. Meanwhile, his foster brother Gunno set the dog in the figure a-howling and upon the queen's inquiries informed her that Jarmerik had turned mad. She ordered the madman to be thrown out. Then Gunno debauched the watch with wine and food, slew them and prepared to flee. Hearing the noise, the queen rushed on the scene, but was pierced through by Gunno's sword. The two heroes then set fire to the king's tent and took flight, first on the beasts they had found near the tents, and after those were exhausted, on foot. They fortunately reached a river, sawed through the beams of the bridge, so that it broke down under the feet of the pursuers, and thus managed to escape.

The similarities of this episode with the corresponding passage of the *Waltharius* are striking. I shall here enumerate the important points which they have in common.

1. Both Walther and Jarmerik are prisoners at the court of an Eastern king.

2. They are princes and sons of powerful kings.

3. They find themselves prisoners in company with another person, Walther with Hildegund, Jarmerik with his foster brother Gunno.

4. They succeed in winning the confidence of the king, their master, and finally fill the highest positions at the court.

5. The queen alone is suspicious.

6. The two flee together.

7. They seize the opportunity offered them by the king's banquet.[33]

[33] Also in the *þidreks Saga* they flee during a festival: of Heinzel. *op. cit.*, p. 21.

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8. They plunder the king's treasury.[34]

9. They make part of their road on horseback, part on foot. In the *Waltharius* we have the improbable situation that the horse is used as a beast of burden, while hero and heroine walk on foot.[35]

Müller pointed out the similarity of the names Gunno and Hildegund. Without insisting on this point, which was well taken, for the resemblance of the two names can hardly be fortuitous in view of the striking parallelism existing between the two episodes, it is necessary to discuss the reasons which could have induced Saxo 1. to ascribe the whole series of adventures to Jarmerik, 2. to change Hildegund into a man, the hero's foster brother. Saxo's method of fathering all sorts of episodes upon a few of his favorite heroes is well known.[36] The Hilde legend which he incorporated in the fifth book of his work was taken from Danish and Icelandic sources.[37] For the Jarmerik legend which we find fully developed in the eighth book he drew largely on German sources.[38] Now we have seen that the episode of the *Gesta* bears the most striking resemblance to the *Waltharius.* The presumption therefore is that Saxo found it likewise in a continental, that is, a German source, which was probably a prose compilation containing both the stories of the Ermanarich cycle and the legend of Walther and Hildegund. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that in the *Þiðreks Saga* Waltari of Vaskasteini is the sister's son of King Erminrek of Apulia, to whom he flees with his bride. The source used by Saxo was then in all probability *FW 2* of Boer's table,[39] the common source of the version of the *Þiðreks Saga*, the Middle High German fragments and the *Waltharius.* It was probably a prose narrative, as the absence of verse in the

[34] This episode is not peculiar to the *Waltharius*, being also found in the *Þidreks Saga.* It also can be inferred from a passage of the Anglo-Saxon *Waldere;* cf. Boer, p. 50. In the *Sǫrla þáttr* Heðinn robs a ship.

[35] Also in the *Þidreks Saga* and the version of the *Chronicle of Bogyphal* only one horse is mentioned.

[36] S. Bugge, *Studien über die Entstehung der nordischen Götter-und Heldensagen*, München, 1889, p. 84.

[37] A. Olrik, *Kilderne til Sakses Oldhistorie*, København, 1892–4, II, 191–6.

[38] R. C. Boer, *Die Sagen von Ermanarich und Dietrich von Bern*, Halle, 1910, p. 62.

[39] *Zeitsch. f. deutsche Phil.*, XL, 66.

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story of Saxo would indicate. The Danish historian, not knowing anything of Ermanarich's youth and having nevertheless to give an account of it to avoid a gap in his line of Danish kings, boldly utilized the Walther legend for this purpose,[40] transferring to the uncle the adventures of the nephew. The Huns were simply changed into Slavs, which was not very difficult. The Slavonic king in Saxo's story retained the kind and benevolent character of the German Etzel, without reaping more benefit from the gratitude of his intimate friend and minister. Why did Saxo change Hildegund into a man? The answer to this question is not difficult to find. King Jarmerik, when he escapes from the Slavs, is at the beginning of a long and troublesome career. His queen is provided for him by Saxo's German source; she is that Svanhild whose tragic end the Danish historian is to narrate in the same book of his work with a good deal of rhetorical pathos. He could then make no use of Hildegund for a wife of Jarmerik. Hence he changed her into the prince's foster brother. It is to be noted that in the *Gesta Danorum* it is Jarmerik who plunders the king's treasury, while Gunno debauches the guards, while in the *Waltharius* the rôles of the two characters are inverted. It is possible that this difference is due to Saxo who considered the plundering of the treasure house as the nobler rôle and therefore attributed it to the main hero, while the debauching of the guards was left to the man of low birth. Since, however, in the Middle High German *fragment of Vienna*[41] Hildegund boasts of having debauched the Huns with wine, it is more likely that the difference between the version of Saxo and that of the *Waltharius* is due to the Latin poet, who probably considered such an action as improper for his heroine. We notice that throughout his work her rôle is rather passive. After the close of the episode Gunno disappears from Saxo's narrative.

What has been recognized by all scholars who have dealt with this episode of the *Gesta Danorum* is that Saxo's account

[40] As early as 1857 A. Rassmann, *Die deutsche Heldensage und ihre Heimat*, I, 334, stated that Saxo's account of Jarmerik's youth has nothing to do with the historical Ermanarsch legend, and supposed that the events were originally told of another Ermanarsch, a Danish saga hero, whom Saxo identified with the Gothic king.

[41] Cf. Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

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represents an old *märchen* motif, that of the magic flight, in a rationalized form.[42] The puppet of rushes and wickerwork with the dog inside is a *tour de force* to make the old motif of the lifeless objects answering for the fugitive more palatable to a fastidious public. The source on which Saxo drew represents then an older stage than the *Waltharius*, as it had undoubtedly preserved the *märchen* episode in question.

The theory that the passage of the *Gesta* is a version of the Walther legend in an earlier stage than has been preserved in the Latin poem becomes a certainty if we take into consideration the rôle of the queen. Let us note first that both in the *Waltharius* and in Saxo the queen appears to be mentally superior to the king. The Slavonic queen, just as the Hunnish Ospirin, suspects her husband's prime minister (or general-in-chief). In the episode of the *Gesta*, or rather in the German source, she is not satisfied with warning her husband, but takes the initiative in foiling the treachery of her enemy, much to her misfortune; for Jarmerik's foster brother ruthlessly kills her. This episode sheds new light upon one of the most obscure passages in the Old Icelandic *Sǫrla þáttr*.[43] There we learn that Heđinn, Hilde's abductor, actually kills the queen.[44] The motivation given in the poem for this atrocious deed is purely metaphysical; Heđinn was possessed by an evil demon, called Gǫndul, who had egged him on to this crime, and it is this act which makes any reconciliation between the foster brothers impossible. That this motivation is spurious was realized by Boer.[45] It merely serves to explain a fact the real meaning of which had been forgotten. In the *Sǫrla þáttr*, the queen plays no active part whatever; her rôle has become still more effaced than that of Ospirin in the *Waltharius*. It is then to the version of Saxo that we must look for a clue for this hatred of the hero for the queen. Now this version contains one strange

[42] Olrik, *op. cit.*, II, 256 ff.; *Zeitsch d. Vereins d. Volkskunde*, II, 372; Jiriczek, *Deutsche Heldensagen*, Strassburg, 1898, p. 96; Bolte-Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, I, 501.

[43] Cf. on this poem Boer, *Zeitsch. f. deutsche Phil.*, XL, 12; E. Mogk, Paul's *Grundriss*, II², 1, p. 822; Olrik, *Kilderne*, II, 191 ff.

[44] Both Boer, *Zeitsch. f. deutsche Phil.*, XL, 16, and Panzer, *Hilde-Gudrun*, Halle, 1901, p. 161, consider the episode of Heđinn killing the queen as spurious.

[45] *Zeitsch. f. deutsche Phil.*, XL, 16.

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inconsistency which can be explained only as a trace of an earlier stage. Saxo says: Sciens autem, quod regina, nequis captiuorum elabi posset, competentibus prouidisset excubiis, quo uiribus peruenire nequibat, arte assurgendum procurat.[46] From this passage we should have to conclude that the queen causes her husband's prime minister to be watched like a prisoner. Such a situation is highly absurd. It can be explained only by the assumption that we have here two successive stages of the legend side by side; in the older the queen is still the evil witch, wife or mother of the demon or wizard; the boy and girl are her prisoners. In the second stage this state of things has been changed; the hero and heroine, under the influence of the heroic saga have become high dignitaries at the court. Saxo's source had adopted the new stage, but traces of the older one are still clearly to be seen; they caused the inconsistency to which reference has been made.

If scholars appear to have refused to accept Müller's suggestion regarding the identity of the episode of the *Gesta* with the *Waltharius*, they were, I fear, under the spell of the Virgilian splendor of the Latin poem. Of course, both Saxo and the author of the *Waltharius* were bound to produce versions which differed widely from their original. Both worked according to the same method, both had a fixed technique.[47] Yet their products are different to such a degree that it is hard to recognize their identity. This enigma becomes clear if we remember the different purposes of the two authors. The scholastic poet wished to work up an elegant poem according to the model of Virgil and Prudentius, full of descriptions of royal splendor and feats of arms. Hence the gorgeous palace of Etzel, brilliant with silver and gold and the walls covered with purple and costly tapestries, hence a society which can almost be called *courtois*.[48] Saxo had no such aims. What he wished to depict was a filthy Slavonic camp with tents and a sort of barbarian

[46] *Ed. cit.*, p. 276.

[47] Cf. on this subject G. Neckel, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

[48] Simons, *Leuv. Bijdr.* XI, 234, thinks that Walther's precarious situation is an invention of the author of the *Waltharius* and that the banquet scene is a trace of an older version. But it is far more likely that the description of the banquet should be an addition of the poet, as it gave him an opportunity of displaying his stylistic faculties.

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gorgeousness altogether different from that of the *Waltharius*. The monkish author of the latter depicted Ospirin as the good queen, the kind-hearted protectress of Hildegund, an elderly lady of discretion and experience and who exercises a beneficent influence over her husband and the court. Saxo was under no such preoccupation. His Slavonic queen appears as a suspicious and meddlesome old hag, whose ruthless death at the hands of Gunno awakens no pity in the hearts of the readers. If both the versions of the *Gesta* and the *Waltharius* go back directly to a common source, this source is certainly nearer to the account of the Danish historian than to that of the Virgilian scholar.

The *märchen* generally ends with the death of both the demon and his wife or mother and the happy escape of the hero and his bride. The happy ending is incidental to the *märchen;* it is rare, if not unknown, in the heroic legend, very rare in Teutonic heroic legend.[49] In passing from the stage of the *märchen* to that of an epic song, it was not sufficient to eliminate the marvelous; the happy ending likewise had to be changed. Therefore it is likely that in the original form of the heroic legend both Hagen and Walther perished in the struggle and that the terrible wounds which they inflict upon each other in the *Waltharius* are the traces of this stage. Still later, the authors of the minstrel epic preferred a happy ending, doubtless to suit their audiences.

The result of this study may best be summed up in the following table, showing the development of the motif from its *märchen* form to the minstrel epic and the prose saga which was probably the common source of the Latin poem, the Middle High German fragments, the version of the *Þiđreks Saga* and the episode in Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*.

I. *Märchen* type of the magic flight; boy in the power of wizard; girl wizard's daughter.

II. Heroic legend; tragic ending; friendship or friendly relations between king and prisoner, due to foster brother motif or contamination with the Sigurd legend.

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[49] Neckel., p. 212.

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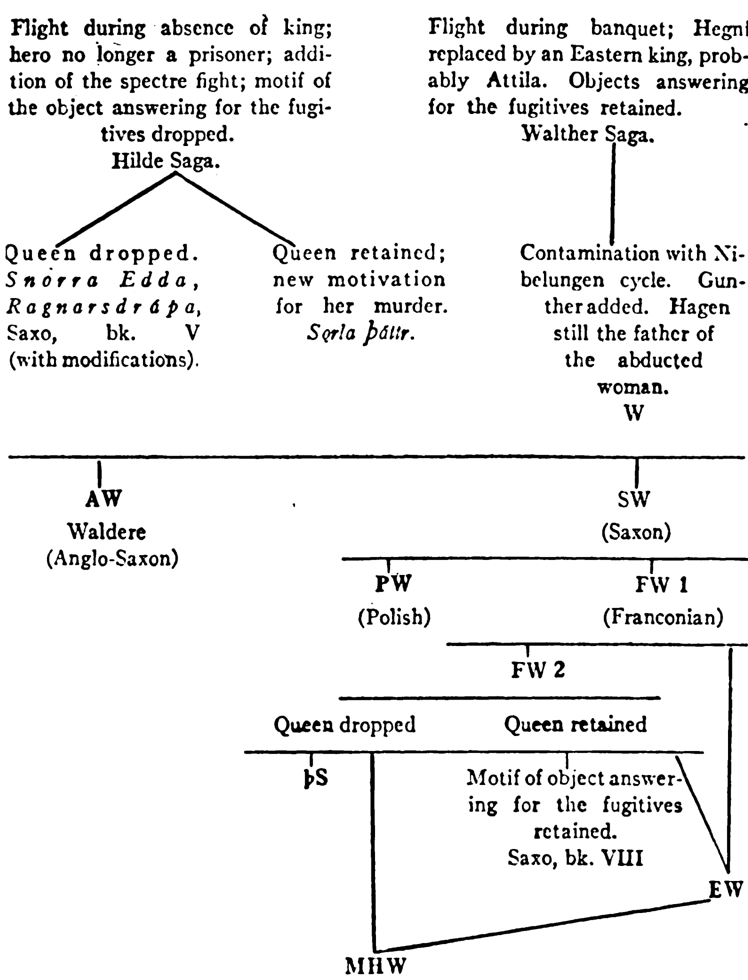

NOTE: For the affiliation of the versions derived from W, I utilize Boer's table, leaving room only for Saxo's account. For this reason I omit all comment, referring the reader to p. 66 of the *Zeitsch. f. deutsche Phil.*, XL.

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THE TRADITION OF ANGELIC SINGING IN ENGLISH DRAMA

For many centuries the conception of angels as heavenly choristers has been traditional. Throughout the Christian world it has been freely expressed in homiletic literature and in such hymns as "Hark, the herald angels sing." It is difficult to realize that the entire tradition is hardly older than the Middle Ages, and that the tradition itself is rather a result than a cause of the music of the church.

In popular writings, such a statement as the following is frequently met with:

> The commemoration of Christ's birth goes back to the first century of the Christian era, and since the days of Pope Telesphorus (died A. D. 139) the angelic hymn, "Gloria in Excelsis," which has been aptly described as the first Christmas carol, has been a part of the church service.[1]

Quite aside from all uncertainties regarding the life of Telesphorus, this passage is misleading in that it seems to assume that the "Gloria" was originally sung by angels, instead of becoming song only as a result of its introduction into the church service. Nowhere in the canonical books of the Bible are angels clearly accredited with song. The heavenly announcement of the Nativity (Luke, ii) is described in terms which imply spoken praise, as in the Vulgate reading, *cum angelo multitudo militiae coelestis laudantium Deum, et dicentium.* Even in the numerous Jewish apochryphal books of the Old Testament, in which angels assume an importance unknown in the canonical books of the Roman Church, singing is not a marked characteristic of angels.

Perhaps the origin of the tradition is to be traced in the Eastern liturgies, especially in the Cherubic Hymn at the Great Entrance, which is "the grandest piece of ritual in the Eastern Church, and mystically represents the Incarnation."[2] This,

[1] H. E. Krehbiel, "Christmas Carols and Customs," *The Outlook*, Vol. 78, December 3, 1904, p. 821.

[2] J. M. Neale and R. F. Littledale, *The Liturgies of Sts. Mark, James, Clement, Chrysostom, and Basil.* . . . Second edition, London, n.d., page explanatory to the frontispiece.

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"one of the four Liturgical hymns, is not earlier than the time of Justinian. . . . It is found in all the great rites, except the Clementine."[3] The angels, personated by singers, are thought of as joining invisibly with the congregation to glorify Christ at his coming:

HERE THEY SING THE CHERUBIC HYMN.

Let us, who mystically represent the Cherubim, and sing the holy hymn to the quickening Trinity, lay by at this time all worldly cares, that we may receive the King of Glory, invisibly attended by the angelic orders. Alleluia. Alleluia. Alleluia.[4]

That the Scriptural vociferation of angels is not yet entirely lost in the growing conception of modulated songs of angelic praise is evident from the words of the priest. In a prayer he describes the scene about the Throne, and pictures the angels who

cry one to the other with incessant voices and perpetual praise, singing, vociferating, glorifying, crying, and saying to the Majesty of Thy glory, the triumphal Trisagion: Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Sabaoth: heaven and earth are full of Thy glory.[5]

When in these and subsequent liturgical hymns, and in the "Gloria in Excelsis," whatever may have been its date of origin, the speeches of angels were for centuries rendered as song, it was a natural result that angels came to be thought of as frequent singers. The influence of the Christmas carols would certainly have tended strongly in the same direction, but the carols that we know seem to have sprung up much later, under the influence of the already-existing Nativity plays.

The development of the tradition was aided, no doubt, by a natural confusion of angelic singing with the singing of the elders mentioned in the Apocalypse,—a confusion which seems to be evident in the prayer cited above; and it was aided even more by the growing conception that music is a heavenly thing, to be associated with religious worship and with the hosts of heaven.

A pleasant legend, much esteemed in the middle ages, shows the great effect which the services of Gregory had produced on all nations. According to

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 10, note.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

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this tale, it was in considering the fascination exercised by profane music, that he was led to inquire whether he could not, like David, consecrate music to the service of God. And as he dreamt of this subject one night, he had a vision in which the Church appeared to him under the form of a nurse, magnificently adorned, who, while she wrote her songs, gathered all her children under the folds of her mantle; and upon this mantle was written the whole art of music, with all the forms of its tones, notes, and neumes, and various measures and symphonies. The pope prayed God to give him the power of recollecting all that he saw; and after he awoke, a dove appeared, who dictated to him the musical compositions with which he has enriched the Church.[6]

When once the angelic songs had become fixed as a feature of the miracle plays, their spectacular possibilities could hardly have been overlooked. They provided an unusual opportunity for the pure, high-pitched voices of the choir-boys, and gave verisimilitude to the pageants representing the open vistas of heavenly bliss. Latin liturgical songs must have seemed more and more a special attribute of the angels, as the human characters moved toward realism and comedy.

Of all the songs in the English miracle plays, most are sung by angels, usually by one, three, or an unnumbered chorus. On one occasion Jesus sings with them, and once (probably twice) Mary joins with the angelic chorus. Nowhere in the English miracle plays is there singing by men represented as enemies of the true religion. This holds for all dispassionate persecutors, such as the soldiers, as well as for notorious villains, such as Balaak, Herod, Pilate, and Caiaphas. In the late Chester play of *Balaam and His Ass*, a flourish is sounded when Balaak sends for Balaam to come and curse the Hebrews; but this is the only instance where music is linked with the speech of an evil character. In the Cornish play of *The Life of St. Meriasek*, however, there is a curious passage in which the Tyrant, the three Torturers, and the Drudge kneel in the temple to do sacrifice to increase their power of evil: "*And all the torturers sing.*" But even here it is a sense of ritual which prompts the stage direction—a sense of the appropriateness of music for pagan ritual which became evident enough in English drama from John Heywood's *Play of the Wether* to *Cymbeline* and afterwards.

[6] Count de Montalembert, *The Monks of the West from St. Benedict to St. Bernard*, London, 1896, Vol. II, pp. 55-56.

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Nor do devils sing, except on a single occasion (York, *The Death of Mary*) when one devil joins the angels in singing "*Ave regina celorum.*" In a later document this might be taken to indicate comedy; here it would seem to illustrate, in a serious manner of presentation, the text: "The devils also believe, and tremble."

The songs of the angels are most often sung in heaven, surrounding the throne of God; or in their coming to or going from earth; or during some religious ceremony or experience, such as the message to the shepherds, the baptism of Jesus, the temptation in the wilderness, the vision of St. Thomas, and the Ascension. So highly specialized are these uses of angelic songs that they may be considered to have definite dramatic function. The songs are considered necessary to localize heaven, to indicate the passing of angelic messengers, and to solemnize religious ceremonies. The song words are not recorded, but seem to have been (to judge by the rather explicit cues and stage directions) invariably in Latin, and both words and music were carried over from or patterned closely after the liturgic chants and sequences.

The feeling for the spectacular in angelic singing perhaps reached its height in such non-dramatic pageants as that which was planned by the burghers of York for welcoming Henry VII. on his expected arrival in the city. By a theatrical display not unworthy of Richard Wagner, according to the plans of these civilian stage-managers the Virgin was to appear out of doors before Henry, and, after asking his special favor for the city, ascend to heaven amid angelic song:

> Eghtly, shalbe at thend of Swynegale joining of Staynegate our Lady, commyng from hevin, and welcome the king in wordes folowing, and y' upon ascend ayane in to heven wit angell sang, and y' schall it snaw by craft to be made of waffrons in maner of snaw.[7]

Indeed, this use of angelic song to localize heaven became so generally adopted in medieval drama that Knowledge is able to say, in a play in which there is no stage direction for music of any kind,

[7] *A Volume of English Miscellanies Illustrating the History and Language of the Northern Counties of England*, ed. by James Raine, Jr., Surtees Society, Durham and London, 1890, p. 57.

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Methinketh I hear angels sing,
And make great joy and melody,
Where Everyman's soul shall received be.[8]

A curious confusion of the traditional angelic song with the folk-lore tradition of the talking bird is to be found in the Cornish play of the Creation, *Ordinale de Origine Mundi.* Eve, who has succumbed to the wiles of the Serpent, assures Adam that she is acting on the advice of an angel whom she heard singing in a nearby tree:

Eve.

Adam, reach me thy hand:
Take that from me.
Quietly without blowing thy horn,
Eat it immediately.

Adam.

Speak to me, thou woman,
Where didst thou gather the fruit?
Was it of that same sort
Which was forbidden to us?

Eve.

When I was walking about,
I heard on one side
An angel beginning to sing
Above me on the tree.
He did advise me
That I should gather fruit from it;
Greater than God we should be,
Nor be troubled for ever.

Adam.

Oh! out upon thee, wicked woman,
That thou listenedst to him:
For he was an evil bird
Whom thou didst hear singing,
And will bring us to sorrow,
Unless we do refrain,
Let every one think on the end of it,
How it can end.

Eve.

Peace! the angel preached,
Of the tree and of its virtues,
Of its fruit he who should eat
Would be like a god:[9]

[8] *Everyman*, Hazlitt-Dodsley, Vol. I, p. 141.

[9] *The Ancient Cornish Drama*, ed. by Edwin Norris, Oxford, 1859, Vol. I, pp. 17–19.

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But Adam rejects her story as "vain words" and gives in to her appeal only when she appeals to his love for her.

A sense of humor in regard to the angelic song of the Nativity appears in the York Plays and is more fully developed in the *Ludus Coventriae* and the Towneley Plays. The shepherds jest with each other concerning the unfamiliar and now antiquated music, or the unintelligible Latin words of the song, of which they can make nothing but nonsense.

In the York play of *The Angels and the Shepherds*, after an angel has sung, the shepherds make merry over it:

> i Past. What it shulde mene þat wate not ȝee,
> For all þat ȝe can gape and gone:
> I can synge itt alls wele as hee,
> And on a-saie itt sall be sone
>   proued or we passe.
> Yf ȝe will helpe, halde on! late see,
>   for þus it was.
>
> *Et tunc cantant.*
>
> ii Pas. Ha! ha! þis was a mery note,
>   Be the dede þat I sall dye,
> I haue so crakid in my throte,
>   þat my lippis are nere drye.
>   iii Pas. I trowe you royse,
> For what it was fayne witte walde I,
>   That tille us made þis noble noyse.
> I Pas. An aungell brought vs tythandes newe,
> A babe in Bedlem shulde be borne,[10]
>
> . . .

And thus they return to sober earnest and proceed on their way to the Manger.

In *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (*Ludus Coventriae*) the tone of mimicry is even more apparent. While the shepherds are conversing in the fields, the angels appear singing:

> "Gloria in excelsis deo." *Cantent.*
> *Primus Pastor.* Ey, ey! this was a wondyr note,
>   That now was songyn above the sky!
> I have that voys, ffful wele I wote,
>   Thei songe *gle glo glory.*
> *Secundus Pastor.* Nay, so mot y the, so was it nowth,
>   I have that songe ffful wele I num,
> In my wytt weyl it is wrought:—
>   It was *gle glo glas glum.*[11]

[10] *York Plays*, ed. by Lucy Toulmin Smith, Oxford, 1885, pp. 120–1.
[11] *Ludus Coventriae*, ed. by J. O. Halliwell, London, 1841, p. 158.

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But they soon give serious consideration to the angelic message, and after singing, with not a little inconsistency, "*Stella coeli extirpavit,*" "*ibunt ad querendum Christum.*"

In the *Prima Pastorum* of the Towneley Cycle the angel would seem to have sung in Latin before speaking in the vernacular, and the dialogue of the shepherds prepares the way for a contest in singing; but no songs are explicitly called for in the stage directions:

> Angelus. Herkyn, hyrdes, awake, gyf lovyng ye shalle,
> He is borne for youre sake, lorde perpetualle;
> He is comen to take and rawnson you alle,
> Your sorowe to slake, kyng emperialle,
>   He behestys;
> That child is borne
> At Bethlehem this morne,
> Ye shalle fynde hym beforne
>   Betwix two bestys.
> Primus Pastor. A, Godys dere dominus, what was that sang?
> It was wonder curiose with smalle notes emang;
> . . . .
> Primus Pastor. Brek outt youre voce, let se as ye yelp.
> Tercius Pastor. I may not for the pose bot I have help.
> Secundus Pastor. A, thy hert is in thy hose.
> Primus Pastor. Now, in payn of a skelp,
> This sang thou not lose.
> Tercius Pastor. Thou art an ylle qwelp
>   For angre,
> Secundus Pastor. Go to now, begyn.[12]

In the *Secunda Pastorum* of the same cycle, after the comedy episode of Mak's sheep-stealing is over and the shepherds have fallen asleep, it is quite clear that the angel sings in Latin and afterwards speaks in the vernacular, as would seem to have been true of the preceding passage:

> *Angelus cantat "Gloria in excelsis:" postea dicit.*
> Angelus. Ryse, hyrd men heynd, for now is he borne,
> . . . .
> Secundus Pastor. Say, what was his song? hard ye not how he crakyd it?
> This [surely *three*] brefes to a long.
> Tercius Pastor. Yee, mary, he hakt it.
> Was no crochett wrong, nor no thyng that lakt it.
> Prima Pastor. For to syng us emong, right as he knakt it, I can.[13]

[12] *The Towneley Mysteries*, The Surtees Society, London, 1836, pp. 91–95.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 115–6.

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But there is no further indication of a song here, and they go directly to Bethlehem.

All this fifteenth century jesting about Latin words and early medieval music is very different in temper and purpose from the bitter burlesquing of John Bale's anti-Catholic plays, in which the liturgy is mocked and anyone who sings the liturgy is known for a hypocrite. Indeed, in the moralities[14] angels are never singers, as they were so commonly in the miracle plays. In the moralities before 1500 or shortly after the beginning of the new century, the holy characters and the repentant sinners sing in Latin, usually verses from the Vulgate, although there is one stage direction at the conclusion of *Nature* which may indicate a vernacular song of a pious character:

> Then they sing some goodly ballet.[15]

But in the moralities of this period the vernacular song is regarded as a lure of the flesh and the devil. It is to be sung in taverns or in idle company elsewhere, and it it is intimately associated with music and dancing.

In the first quarter of the sixteenth century, secularization is rapidly changing the entire tradition of the song. This seems to be due to the popularization of the musical art, the adoption of the morality plays by professional actors who were out of sympathy with the Church, and the far-reaching influence of the Reformation. Such characters as Ignorance and Sensuality are still prominent among the singers, as in the earlier moralities; but it is not clear just where they are acting in character and where they are singing for the entertainment of a music-loving public. The liturgical songs are ridiculed now, not as angelic messages misunderstood by illiterate shepherds, but as songs heard in the actual church service. In *The Interlude of the Four Elements* Ignorance sets Robin Hood ballads above the songs of the church service:

[Ignorance] But what shall we do now, tell me,
The meanwhile for our comfort?
Hu[manity]. Then let us some lusty ballad sing.

[14] The term "moralities" is here used according to the definition by allegorical structure in W. Roy Mackenzie's *The English Moralities from the Point of View of Allegory*, Boston and London, 1914, p. 9.

[15] *Quellen des Weltlichen Dramas in England vor Shakespeare*, ed. by Alois Brandl, Strassburg, 1898, p. 158.

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Ign. Nay, sir, by heaven king!
For methinketh it serveth for nothing
All such peevish prick-eared song!
Hu. Peace, man, prick-song may not be despised,
For therewith God is well pleased,
Honoured, praised, and served,
In the church ofttimes among.
Ign. Is God well pleased, trow'st thou, thereby?
Nay, nay, for there is no reason why,
For is it not as good to say plainly,
Give me a spade,
As give me a spa, ve, va, ve, va, ve, vade?
But if thou wilt have a song that is good,
I have one of Robin Hood,
The best that ever was made.[16]

In *The Three Laws of Nature* this broad and not ill-natured satire is replaced by an acrid jibe at the music of the Roman Church. Infidelitas, telling Moseh Lex of the service he attended at Southampton, mimics the singing:

An olde fryre stode forth, with spectacles on hys nose
Begynnynge thys Antheme, a my faith i do not glose.
Lapides preciosi.
Moseh lex. And what ded folowe of thys?
Infidelitas I shall tell ye ser by Gods blys.
Then came Dame Isbell, an olde Nonne and a calme,
Crowynge lyke a capon, and thus began the Psalme.
Saepe expugnauerunt me a iuuentute mea.[17]

This sort of parody becomes, in *King Johan*, savage mockery of the officially discredited religion. The songs satirize the corrupt practices and foolish observances, as they were considered, of the Church of Rome. The singing of churchmen indicates their corruption, and the singing of the abstract personifications of evil makes them seem to be churchmen. Dyssymulacyon is introduced in this fashion:

Lyst, for Gods passion! I trow her cummeth sum hoggherd
Calling for his pygges. Such a noyse I neuer herd!
Here cum Dyssymulacyon syngyng of the letany.[18]

[16] Hazlitt-Dodsley, Vol. I, p. 49.

[17] *John Bale's* Comedy concerning Thre Laws, ed. by M. M. A. Schroeer, Halle, 1882, p. 47.

[18] *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, ed. by J. M. Manly, Boston, 1897, Vol. I, p. 547.

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Usurpyd Power and Private Welth come on the stage in this fashion:

> *Usurpyd Power syng this:*
> *Super flumina Babilonis suspendimus organa nostra.*
> *Private Welth syng this:*
> *Quomodo cantabimus canticum bonum in terra aliena?*[19]

Dyssymulacyon comes on again, singing from offstage:

> Wassayle, wassayle, out of the mylke payle
>
> . . . .
>
> K. Johan. Who is that, Englande? I praye the stepp fourth and see.
> Engl. He doth seem a-farre some relygyous man to be.
> [*Enter Dyssymulacyon.*][20]

The Holy Father is represented as a lover of song and mirth. After a merry song with dancing, we have this bit of dialogue between Sedition and Private Welth:

> Sed. I wold ever dwell here, to have such mery sporte.
> Pr. Welth. Thow mayst have it, man, yf thow wylt hether resort,
> For the Holy Father ys as good a felowe as we.[21]

In the struggle between England and Rome during the reign of King John, singers of the ancient religious songs are represented as enemies of the liberty of England. When John begins to weaken, it is Sedition who says to Cardinal Pandulphus,

> By the messe, Pandulphus, now may we synge *cantate*,
> And crowe *confitebor* with a joyfull *jubilate!*[22]

And when the King of England bends to Rome, it is Sedition again who orders celebration:

> And through-out the realme see that *Te Deum* be songe.[23]

A little later we find that the liturgical chant has fallen upon evil days. No longer an expression of the pious faith of the fifteenth century, and no longer singled out as the butt of religious satire, as it was during the tempestuous days of the Reformation, it lingers on the stage as a scrap in the songs of the Vice, bedfellow to such things as the Robin Hood ballads:

> With a heigh down down and downe a down a,
> *Saluator mundi Domine*, etc.[24]

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 551.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 597-8.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 554.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 584.
[23] *Ibid.*. p. 593.
[24] *The Life and Repentaunce of Mary Magdalene*, ed. by F. I. Carpenter, Chicago, 1904, p. 6.

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Even near the end of the century it can be traced in the mock anathema in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, where the Friars sing:

> *Cursed be he that stole away his Holiness' meat from the table!*
> *Maledicat Dominus*
> *Cursed be he that struck his Holiness a blow on the face!*
> *Maledicat Dominus!*
> *Cursed be he that took Friar Sandelo a blow on the pate! Maledicat Dominus!*
> *Cursed be he that disturbeth our holy dirge! Maledicat Dominus!*
> *Cursed be he that took away his Holiness's wine! Maledicat Dominus! Et omnes sancti! Amen!*[26]

It is perhaps worthy of note that in the same play the angels, who have considerable importance in the development of the plot, do not sing.

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[26] *The Works of Christopher Marlowe*, ed. by A. H. Bullen, London, 1885, Vol. I, p. 254 (*The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus, Scene vii*).

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THE COMING CENTENNIAL OF GERMAN INSTRUCTION IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES[1]

A subject which for almost a century has been interwoven with the history of American civilization as closely as has the study of the German language and literature, may well deserve that we look back for a moment to its beginnings. That these beginnings coincide, soon after the revolutionary war, with the earliest attempts to establish a new and truly national system of higher education and to liberate the intellectual life of the Republic, just created, from colonianism and especially from its dependency on England, has hitherto been frequently overlooked.

It is both instructive and significant that three of the foremost American minds of that period, Dr. Benjamin Rush, the famous physician and scientist, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson, were of the opinion that this intellectual emancipation and the creation of a new national spirit and civilization could best be achieved by the establishment of a university, and it is from this point of view that their various schemes of a federal or national university must be judged.

The first of these schemes was that of Dr. Benjamin Rush, published in the "American Museum" of 1788 under the title "Plan of a federal University." To show the patriotic and scientific spirit which characterizes the earlier university movement, I shall quote the first paragraph of this remarkable, though almost forgotten document.

"Your government cannot be executed. . . . It is too extensive for a republic. It is contrary to the habits of the people," say the enemies of the constitution of the United States. "However opposite to the opinion and wishes of a majority of the citizens of the United States these declarations and predictions may be, the latter will certainly be verified, unless the people are prepared for our new form of government

[1] Address, delivered before the Modern Language Teacher's Association at Chicago, May 13, 1922.

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by an education adapted to the new and peculiar situation of our country. To effect this great and necessary work let one of the first acts of the new Congress be, to establish within the district to be allotted for them, a federal university into which the youth of the United States shall be received after they have finished their studies and taken their degrees in the colleges of their respective States. In this university let those branches of literature only be taught which are calculated to prepare our youth for civil and public life. These branches should be taught by means of lectures, and the following arts and sciences should be the subjects of them."

Dr. Rush then enumerates and briefly discusses the various branches of study which are to be taught at the proposed federal university, indicating by their very choice, and the emphasis he lays upon them, a progressive spirit that breaks intentionally and purposely with the traditional methods of academic education. What interests us, however, most at this time, are his remarks on the study of English and of Modern Languages. Far from demanding with the zeal of the hundred proof patriots the suppression, if not the extirpation of the language of the contemporary arch foe,[2] he advocates, like Mr. Mencken, one of the foremost American critics of today, the Americanization of English. "Philology," he says, "should include rhetoric and criticism, lectures upon the construction and pronunciation of the English language. Instruction in this branch of literature will become the more necessary in America, as our intercourse with the bar, the stage and the pulpits of Great Britain, from whence we received our knowledge of the pronunciation of the English language must soon cease. Even modern English books should cease to be the models of style in the United States. The present is the age of simplicity of writing in America. The turgid style of Johnson, the purple glare of Gibbon, and even the studied and thick-set metaphors of Junius, are all equally unnatural and should not be admitted into our country."

[2] That there were such hundred-proof fanatics during the Revolution is shown by their plan of abandoning English and of making *Hebrew* the national language of America—a plan, inspired, no doubt, by the popular belief that Hebrew was the speech which the Lord had taught our progenitors in Paradise.

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Hand in hand with the reform in the methods of teaching the English language and literature should go the study of modern languages, especially that of German and French. A native of Pennsylvania, the most tolerant and cosmopolitan of American colonies, Dr. Rush, by his advocacy of modern language-study as a means of "national improvement" and an "essential part of the education of the legislator of the United States" becomes one of the earliest champions of that broad-minded cosmopolitanism, that ready receptivity and freedom from narrow provincialism, which constituted, until recently, one of the essential traits of the American national spirit. Already in his remarkable paper on the "Life and Customs of the Pennsylvania Germans," published in the Columbia Magazine of 1787, he had commended the fact that in Franklin College at Lancaster, Pa., an institution founded with the aid of Benjamin Franklin after whom it was named, German was taught at a time when this study had not yet been included in the curriculum of any other American College. Realizing, therefore, the educational and national value of this study, as well as of French, he assigns to it a prominent place in his "Plan of a federal university" by saying "The German and French languages should be taught in this university. The many excellent books which are written in both these languages, upon all subjects, more especially upon those which relate to the advancement of national improvement of all kinds, will render the knowledge of them an essential part of the education of a legislator of the United States."

How many of our national legislators at present have attained that part of their education which Dr. Rush considered essential, I am not in a position to say. Unfortunately Dr. Rush's plan of a federal university was not carried out, nor was the similar project of Washington, despite the fact that in his last will and testament he bequeathed 50 shares which he held in the Potomac Company towards the endowment of a national university. Their ideas, partly modified, partly enlarged, were to be realized, however, by the author of the Declaration of Independence, who, by the originality of his extraordinary mind, by his thorough training and by the experience gathered in foreign travel and study, was qualified better than any other American of his time to become one of our foremost early

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reformers of American academic education. While Jefferson did not design the University of Virginia as a national university in the sense of Rush and Washington, but rather as a model institution in the foremost state of the newly established Union, there is nevertheless a decided similarity of spirit and even of details between his plan and the scheme of Dr. Rush, showing that the university idea must have been discussed frequently between the two men.

It is impossible here to describe the gradual development of the university idea in Jefferson's mind and how he considered it almost from the beginning as the crown of a system of popular education in his native state. That he should at first have looked upon the universities of Geneva and Edinburgh as the models for his project seems quite natural in view of the fact that the faculty of Geneva, dissatisfied with their political surroundings, had offered to Jefferson to come to Virginia in a body if suitable arrangements could be made, and that he considered the Scotch university the best in the world for reasons chiefly personal.

When, however, in the years from 1816–18 Jefferson's university plan began to take practical shape, important changes in the higher academic education of Europe, and especially of Germany, which was then beginning to take the lead, had occurred. Not only had the new pedagogical ideas of Pestalozzi begun to revolutionize the entire educational system, but in the university of Berlin, founded in 1810, an institution had sprung up in which were gathered the leading scholars of Germany and which, under the direction of W. von Humboldt, was destined to fulfill a national mission, similar to the one which Jefferson expected from the University of Virginia.

It was doubtless with a view to the new intellectual life emanating from the German universities, to which Jefferson's friend and correspondent Madame de Staël had recently called attention in her remarkable book "On Germany,"[3] that Jef-

[3] From an unpublished letter of the Duchess de la Rochefoucauld (in possession of Mrs. S. F. Kimball, University of Virginia) to William Short, Jefferson's secretary while he was embassador to France 1785–89, it appears that Jefferson was anxious to obtain a copy of Madame de Staëls' book *de L'Allemagne* as early as 1811. In answer to Short's request for information concerning Alexander von Humboldt's latest work *Essai politique sur le rauyome de la*

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ferson laid particular stress upon the study of German and the related Anglo-Saxon in his report to the Virginia Legislature on the objects and the scope of the proposed university. Speaking first of the importance of the study of French, Spanish and Italian, he finally says: "And the German now stands in a line with that of the most learned nations in richness of erudition and advance in the sciences. It is, too, of common descent with the language of our own country, a branch of the same original Gothic stock, and furnishes valuable illustrations for us. But in this point of view the Anglo-Saxon is of peculiar value. We have placed it among the modern languages, because it is, in fact, that which we speak in the earliest form in which we have knowledge of it. It has been undergoing with time those gradual changes which all languages, ancient and modern, have experienced, and even now needs only to be printed in the modern character and orthography to be intelligible, to a considerable degree, to the English reader. It has this value, too, above the Greek and Latin, that it gives the radix of the mass of our language, *they* explain its innovations only."

With the marvelous intuition of the genius, Jefferson here anticipates, at a time when comparative philology was still in its infancy, the historical and comparative method of teaching German and English, and with characteristically practical sense he looked about at once for a scholar who would be prepared and able to teach the two subjects from the new point of view. At first he hoped to win George Ticknor for the position,

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Nouvelle Espagne (Paris 1811) and the book of Madame de Staël on Germany the Duchess writes, May 12, 1811:

"I asked at the little bookseller's shop for information concerning the work of Humboldt you mentioned. He did not know the exact price but said the book usually sold very high as it is considerable in size and filled with plates. The man made out that this work sells for more then three thousand francs. . . . Mme. de Staël's work on Germany never appeared. When it was printed and ready for distribution an order from above stopped its sale. The poor woman got clear of it with the loss of her time and part of her money, for she had to pay the printer. She is still at Geneva or Copet. Something offensive was found in her work, the danger of which had apparently escaped the censor, for in spite of the large number of cancellations it was judged necessary to suppress the entire work." See also: G. E. Jaeck, *Madame de Staël and the spread of German literature*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1915.

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who had spent some time at the university of Goettingen and was an enthusiastic admirer of German and the German university system. However, he declined the offer and recommended Dr. George Blaettermann, a German scholar who had pursued his studies at Goettingen and had afterwards taught "philology" at Oxford.

Unfortunately detailed information concerning this scholar and his activity, who bears the distinction of having occupied the first chair of German and Anglo-Saxon in this country is lacking almost entirely. That he was a man of unusual ability and learning we learn from the tribute which Dr. Gessner Harrison, one of his pupils and later professor of Greek at the university of Virginia, paid him by saying: "He gave proof of extensive acquirements, and of a mind of uncommon natural vigor and penetration. In connection more especially with the lessons on German and Anglo Saxon, he gave to his students much that was interesting and valuable in comparative philology also, a subject in which he found peculiar pleasure."

As the method of instruction pursued at Virginia, and originally introduced by Jefferson, was that by lecture, there is no record of his having used a printed grammar in his classes. I have learned, however, through the courtesy of Professor W. H. Faulkner that the library of the University contained in 1828, three years after Blaettermann had begun his work there, some 20 works in German grammar, several German dictionaries and books on German synonyms. The students were expected to supplement the lectures by the study of these books and give account of the work done in carefully conducted oral examinations on the day following each lecture. The thorough and scholarly character of Dr. Blaettermann's teaching is reflected, moreover, by the fact that among the grammars mentioned in the library catalogue are the best works available at the time, such as Adelung, Moritz and others. Even the best etymological dictionary of the German dialects of that period, Wachter's *Glossarium Germanicum*, was not missing.

It is interesting to learn from the faculty minutes during the second session of the University in 1826 as Professor Faulkner writes me, that no German was then available for class reading, except Luther's Bible. Later, however, we are informed by the first catalogue and announcements of courses

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offered, which was printed in 1835, that the text-books used were "the principal classics of the language." An excerpt of the Library-Catalogue of 1828 furnished me by Professor Faulkner and printed in the *Appendix* to this article, gives a list of books on German literature which is highly interesting and instructive.

It would, however, be even more interesting to know whether the German classics, including some of the writers of the Romantic school, were already at the disposal of the students when Edgar Allan Poe entered the University of Virginia and, enrolling in the "school of modern languages," became one of Dr. Blaettermann's students. Although there is no record that Poe was a member of the latter's German classes—he had acquired his knowledge of German in all probability before he entered Virginia—we know that he studied French, Spanish and Italian with him. Moreover it is highly significant that Blaettermann suggested to Poe, whose poetic talent he had discovered, that he render Tasso into English verse, and that later he complimented the young poet on his excellent performance. If Professor James A. Harrison, the editor of Poe's works, is correct in asserting that Dr. Blaettermann's "influence is perceptible all through Poe's humorous, imaginative work," then we teachers of German may justly commemorate the fact that it was the pioneer of our profession who, almost a century ago, helped the most original of American poets to discover his genius by introducing him into the wonderland of German Romanticism.

The introduction of the study of German at the new University of Virginia was an innovation which attracted wide attention and could not fail of imitation. As early as 1820 Edward Everett published an article on Jefferson's university plans in which he said: "We highly approve of the professorship of the modern languages, and could wish to see this example followed by such of our universities as have not already made provision for them." Harvard, to be sure, had already made such provision, but only for Spanish and French, and Everett did not mention the fact that George Ticknor, the newly appointed professor of Modern Languages, who had visited Jefferson as early as 1815 in order to discuss with him his university plans, had entered upon his duties at Harvard only

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a few months before Everett's article appeared. However, whether the establishment of the chair of Modern Languages was due directly or indirectly to Jefferson's ideas and example, it was upon the recommendation of George Ticknor that the first instructor of German at Harvard was appointed, soon after Dr. Blaettermann had been called to the University of Virginia.

The scholar selected by Ticknor for this new instructorship was Dr. Karl Follen, the famous German political refugee, a man of extraordinary talents, profound learning and magnetic personality. While Blaettermann, a former pupil of G. F. Benecke, professor of English and careful editor of Middle High German texts at Goettingen, was a representative of the new science of Germanic philology, Follen was inbued with the spirit of contemporary German classical literature and philosophy, the spirit of Lessing, Herder, Schiller, Goethe, Kant, Fichte and Schleiermacher, whose first authoritative interpreter in this country he was destined to become. Confronted with the same want of proper material of instruction which beset Blaettermann on his arrival, Follen proceeded at once to produce, with great pedagogical skill, a German grammar for beginners, and of what seemed to him of equal importance, a German Reader. It was from the tastefully chosen specimens of classical German prose and poetry collected in this little volume, which had to be printed in Roman type, because German characters were not to be had in New England, that the future intellectual leaders of New England derived their first enthusiasm for German thought and literature.

There is a tendency at the present time to degrade the teacher of Modern languages and especially of German to the 'maître de langue' of the 18th century, the drill master, who is to furnish his pupils with a more or less useful tool. It may be both instructive and comforting, therefore, to contrast with this the profound conception which Follen had of his mission as a national educator and interpreter of German literature and philosophy, a conception to which he gave eloquent expression in his remarkable address, delivered on the occasion of his induction into the Professorship of the German language and literature at Harvard University in 1831, six years after his first appointment as instructor.[4]

[4] The *Works of Charles Follen*, Boston 1841, Vol. V, 125 ff. See also the excellent monograph *The Life of Karl Follen* by G. W. Spindler, The Chicago University Press, 1917.

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I venture to say that this "Inaugural Discourse" not only contains a masterful interpretation of the German spirit as embodied in its classical literature and philosophy, but also gives expression to an ideal of German study and its ultimate purpose that has lost nothing of its lustre and vitality by the lapse of almost a century. Proudly he points to the fact that "in this our country and particularly in the vicinity of Cambridge, the treasures contained in German works did not escape public notice, but soon joined that intelligent interest that is taken in everything that promises to enlarge and elevate the mind. There are reasons that must make this study interesting to every friend of knowledge and intellectual culture, whatever nation he belong to, and there are some which recommend it particularly to those for whom the English is their mother tongue." What entitles the study of German literature to *general* interest is, according to Follen, its philosophic and idealistic character. The greatest value of German philosophy, he tells us, consists in the unwearied and never-satisfied strivings of the mind to sound and to comprehend itself and that whole, of which itself is but a particle. It is something, he cautions the utilitarians of his time, that you must not expect to turn to immediate account in your particular trade or profession, nor is it necessary, in order to be benefited by it, that you should adopt its results.

The most valuable result which, in Follen's opinion, German philosophy has produced, is the spirit of free inquiry into every department of science and learning. "There is no country in which, ever since the reformation of the Church, there has been so much liberty in the profession of philosophical and religious opinions, despite the arbitrary restraints upon the expression of political opinions" as in the Germany of his time. And this freedom of sentiment and thought, this loyalty to spiritual truth which pervades and emanates from German philosophy, "lives, moreover, disembodied, as it were, mourning or rejoicing, sporting or worshipping, in the full and free effusions of German poetry." "Philosophy," so Follen exclaims, "furnishes the mind with a competent outfit for the exigencies and trials of the world; poetry imparts to the unfledged heart the power to soar above it."

Far from claiming for German literature any preëminence

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over the literature of other nations, Follen holds that in addition to the general grounds which he adduced, there are special reasons why the study of German language and literature must be important to one whose native tongue is the English. Like Jefferson, he emphasized the fact that the ancient German language is the mother of the English. This fact is not only historical and a result of comparative philology, but those words and modes of expression, in which a nation signifies its first, simplest and deepest conceptions and wants, those home-words, which constitute alike the elements of every-day conversation, and the language of poetry, remain to this day essentially the same in both languages. Moreover, the tales and stories, the wonders of Red Riding-Hood, the Glass Slipper and many others, the Proverbs and "golden sayings" must remind all those whose mother tongue is either English or German, of the common ancestors from whom they are inherited. Finally, there is a resemblance and affinity not only between the two languages, and the literary productions of each nation, but also in the very mode of perceiving and feeling them, so that, in studying German, the students are grounding themselves in their own language and literature.

Concluding his address, Follen sums up the great task which he had set for himself in the simple and yet significant sentence: "To acquaint the students of this university with those German authors who seem best fitted to excite their attention, and to reward it by their enlightening and inspiring influence—this will be the object of my lectures."

The liberating and inspiring influence of Karl Follen's teaching extended far beyond his class room. If we remember that nearly all the future leaders of New England literature and thought, the first literary exponents of the national spirit, Emerson, Theodore Parker, William Ellery Channing and Margaret Fuller, had sat at the feet of the first authoritative interpreter in America of Kant and Fichte, of Schiller and Goethe, and the Romanticists, it is no exaggeration to state that Follen's teachings furnished one of the most powerful impulses to the liberation of the American mind in the so-called transcendental movement.

The spiritual values to which our pioneer of German instruction called attention are not transient, but permanent and

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imperishable in their nature. Like the eternal values of Greek literature and philosophy they may be forgotten and even despised by ignorant zealots during the dark ages. They possess, however, the magic power of rejuvenescence, and the time of their revival means the break of a new day for humanity.

That the coming centennial of German instruction at American universities may inaugurate a renascence not only of the study itself, but also of the message it brought to the best men and women of the nation a century ago is, I am sure, the fondest hope of every teacher of German present here.

JULIUS GOEBEL

APPENDIX

Excerpts from the Library-Catalogue of the University of Virginia 1828

I GERMAN GRAMMARS AND DICTIONARIES.

Adelung's German Grammar (1 Vol.)
Bauer's Grammar of the German Language, 1811. (3 Vols.)
Berkman's German Grammar, Harrisburg, 1823. (1 Vol.)
Campe's German Dictionary, 1807. (5 Vols.)
Dictionary of French and German, Strassburg, 1785. (2 Vols.)
Eberhard (J. A.) on German Synonymes, Leipsic, (no date.) 6 vols.)
Eberhard's Pocket Dictionary of German Synonymes, Berlin, 1821. (1 Vol.)
Fick's Lexicon of the German Language, Erlangen, 1823. (2 Vols.)
Heinsius' Theoretical and Practical Grammar of the German Language, Berlin, 1817. (5 Vols.)
Hinrichsen's German Grammar, 1814. (1 Vol.)
Kolbe on the Copiousness of the German Language, Berlin, 1818. (3 Vols.)
Moritz' German Grammar, Berlin, 1806. (1 Vol.)
Mozin's French and German Grammar, Stuttgart, 1813. (1 Vol.)
Mozin's Dictionary, French and German, Stuttgart, 1817. (2 Vols.)
Pfaff's Delineation of Germanic Languages, Nuremberg, 1817. (1 Vol.)
Reinbeck's Manual of the Knowledge of Languages, (German), 1823. (3 Vols.)
Reinbeck's German Grammar, Stuttgart, 1821. (1 Vol.)
Schaefer's German Lexicon, 1800. (1 Vol.)
Schlegel's German Orthography, 1803. (1 Vol.)
Steinheil's System of Instruction in the German Language, Stuttgart, 1822. (1 Vol.)
Wachterius, German Glossary, (Latin), 1737. (1 Vol.)

II GERMAN LITERATURE.

Bürger Works, complete, German, Berlin 1823 (7 vols.)
Beaval, German and French Diologues, German, Dresden, 1819 (1 vol.)
Bouterweck, History of Modern Literature, German, Göttingen, 1810 (12 vols.)
Buchholz, Selections from Spanish Literature, German, Berlin, 1804, (2 vols.)
Collin's, (J. R.), Works, complete, German, Vienna, 1812 (6 vols.)

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Collin's, (M. R.), Dramatical Poems, German, Leipsic, 1813 (3 vols.)
Eberhard, (J. A.), Theory of the Fine Arts, German, Halle, 1790 (1 vol.)
Eberhard, (H. E.),Collections of German Tales, German, Leipsic, 1805 (2 vols.)
Eichhorn, Repertory of Literature, German, Leipsic, 1797 (9 vols.)
Eichhorn, Biblical Literature, German, Leipsic, 1787 (10 vols.)
Engel's Writings on various subjects, German, Berlin, 1801 (8 vols.)
Engel's Elements of a Theory of Poetics, from German Models, German, Berlin, 1804 (1 vol.)
Falk's Satirical Works, German, Leipsic, 1797, (5 vols.)
Fichte, on Learned Men, etc. German, Berlin, 1806 (1 vol.)
Friedrich's Satirical Campaign, German, Berlin, 1817 (3 vols.)
Friedrich's Satirical Mirrour, German, Leipsic, 1819 (7 vols.)
Garve, on Society and Solitude, German, Breslau, 1800 (2 vols.)
Garve, Fragments, German, Breslau, 1798 (2 vols.)
Garve, Letters, German, Breslau, 1802 (2 vols.)
Garve, Miscellanies, German, Breslau, 1796, (2 vols.)
Garve, Treatise on the Fine Arts, German, Leipsic, 1802, (2 vols.)
Gessner's Works, German, Zürich, 1818 (1 vol.)
Gleim's Works, complete, German, Halberstadt, 1811 (7 vols.)
Goethe's Works, complete, German, Stuttgart, 1815 (20 vols.)
Gruber, Poetical Anthology of the Germans, German, Rudol dat (sic!) 1808 (2 vols.)
Haug's Epigrammatical Anthology, German, Zürich, 1807 (5 vols.)
Herder's Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind, German, Leipsic, (1 vol.)
Heinsin's, Grove of Bards, German, Berlin, 1823 (3 vols.)
Hölty's Poems, German, Berlin, 1814 (1 vol.)
Horn, Carlo-Gozzi's Dramatic Poetry, German Penigk (sic!), 1803 (1 vol.)
Horn, Poetry, etc. of the Germans, German, Berlin, 1808 (1 vol.)
Horn, delineations for History and Criticism of the Belles-Lettres of Germany, German, Berlin, 1821 (1 vol.)
Horn, Life, Science, Art, and Religion, German, Berlin, 1807 (1 vol.)
Horn, on the French Drama, German, 1802, (1 vol.)
Huber's, Miscellaneous Works, German, Berlin, 1793 (1 vol.)
Huber's, Danger of Systems, German, Leipsic, 1793 (1 vol.)
Huber's, Collection of Tales, German Tübingen, 1810 (1 vol.)
Iffland's Dramatical Works, complete, German, Leipsic, 1798 (8 vols.)
Jung's Dramatic Poems, German, Mentz, 1821 (1 vol.)
Katchberg's (sic?) Works, complete, German, 1816 (5 vols.)
Kleit's (sic! Kleist), Works, German, Berlin, 1803 (1 vol.)
Klinger's Works, complete, German, Königsberg, 1815 (12 vols.)
Knigge's Works, German, (3 vols.)
Körner's Works, German, Vienna, 1819 (3 vols.)
Körner's The Lyre and the Sword, German, Berlin, 1814 (1 vol.)
Körner's Posthumous Works, German, Leipsic, 1813 (1 vol.)
Kotzebue's Plays, German, Leipsic, 1823 (12 vols.)
Kotzebue's Novels, German, Leipsic, 1805 (3 vols.)
Kotzebue's Minor Works, German, Leipsic, 1792 (3 vols.)

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Kotzebue's The Bee, German, Königsberg, 1808 (4 vols.)
Kotzebue's The Youngest Children of my Family, German, Leipsic, 1793 (3 vols.)
Kotzebue's Clio's Flower Basket, German, Darmstadt, 1814 (3 vols.)
Kotzebue's The Cricket, German, Königsberg, 1801 (3 vols.)
Kotzebue's Leontma, German, Leipsic, 1808 (2 vols.)
Kotzebue's Plays, German, Leipsic, 1808 (2 vols.)
Kotzebue's Oldenberg Family, German, Leipsic, 1792 (1 vol.)
Kotzebue's Philipcot, German, Königsberg, 1809 (1 vol.)
Kotzebue's The Most Remarkable Years of my life, German, Berlin, 1803 (1 vol.)
Kotzebue's Reminiscences from Paris, German, Berlin, 1803 (1 vol.)
Kotzebue's Louisa, German, Leipsic, 1800 (1 vol.)
Kotzebue's Dramatical Almanacs from 1803 to 1820 (21 vols.)
Lessing's Works, complete, German, Berlin (no date) (30 vols.)
Matthison's Lyrical Anthology, German, Zürich, 1803 (10 vols.)
Meiner's History of the Female Sex, German, Hanover, 1800 (2 vols.)
Meiner's Constitution, etc. of German Universities, German, Göttingen, 1801 (2 vols.)
Mumer's Dialogues—Italian and German, 1813 (1 vol.)
Mumer's Dialogues—English & German, 1813 (1 vol.)
Mumer's Dialogues—Spanish & German, 1813 (1 vol.)
Mozin, French & German Dialogues, Stuttgart, 1813 (1 vol.)
Mühler's poems, German, Berlin, 1805 (1 vol.)
Mühler's poems, German, Berlin, 1813 (1 vol.)
Mühler's Forget me not, German, 1815 (3 vols.)
Nibelungen Song, German, Francfort, 1824 (1 vol.)
Perchke, German, Leipsic, 1817 (1 vol.)
Pfeffel, Essays in Prose, German, Tübingen, (5 vols.) 1821.
Pfeffel, Essays in Verse, German, Tübingen, 1816 (5 vols.)
Poelitz, on Education, German, Leipsic, 1824 (4 vols.)
Preuss, Elegant Extracts, German, Berlin, 1821 (1 vol.)
Ramler's Poetical Works, German, Berlin, 1800 (1 vol.)
Richter (Jean Paul) Journey to Flaetz, German, Tübingen, 1809 (1 vol.)
Richter (Jean Paul) on Education, German, Stuttgart, 1814 (3 vols.)
Richter, Flower, Fruit, and Thorn Paintings, German, Berlin, 1818 (2 vols.)
Richter, Hesperus, German, Berlin, 1819 (4 vols.)
Richter, Life of Quintus Fixlein, German, 1801 (1 vol.)
Richter, Jubelsenior, German, Leipsic, 1797 (1 vol.)
Richter, Titan, German, Berlin, 1800 (3 vols.)
Richter, Appendix to Titan, German, Berlin, 1800 (1 vol.)
Richter, Dr. Katzenberger's Journey to the Bath, German, Breslau, 1823 (3 vols.)
Richter, The Valley of Campania, or the Immortality of the Soul, German (no date or place) (1 vol.)
Richter, Fibel's Life, German, Nuremberg, (no date) (1 vol.)
Rudolphi's Poems, German, Leipsic, 1796 (1 vol.)
Sauer, Prelections of the German Classics, German, Tübingen, 1816 (1 vol.)

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Schiller's Works; German, Stuttgart, 1812 (12 vols.)
Schlegel's Works, complete, German, Vienna, 1822 (10 vols.)
Schlegel's On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians, German, 1808 (1 vol.)
Schilling's Fair Sibille, German, Dresden, 1810, (2 vols.)
Schilling's The Good Office, German, Dresden, 1810 (1 vol.)
Schilling's Tales, German, Dresden, 1811 (2 vols.)
Schilling's Ignorance, German, Dresden, 1810 (1 vol.)
Schilling's Trifles, German, Dresden, 1810 (1 vol.)
Schütz's Epigrammatical Anthology, German, Halle, 1806 (3 vols.)
Seume's Poetry, German, 1810 (1 vol.)
Siefort, Fragments of French Literature, German, Halle, 1822.
Tiedge's Urania, German, Halle, 1819 (1 vol.)
Tiedge's Elegies, German, Halle, 1814 (3 vols.)
Voss, Essay on Education, German, Halle, 1799 (2 vols.)
Wieland's Works, Complete, German, Leipsic, 1818 (25 vols.)
Zimmermann, On Solitude, German, Leipsic, 1784, (4 vols.)

III Transactions, Periodicals, Etc.

Isis of Oken, German, Jena, from 1825.
Journal of General Literature, German, from 1825.

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RUDYARD KIPLING'S REVISIONS OF HIS PUBLISHED WORK

To the critic of Rudyard Kipling, the word "journalism" is what the mention of King Charles's head was to Mr. Dick, what the first joke is to the after-dinner speaker, what a reference to this fair land of ours is to the political candidate—something which must be got out of the way before he can proceed with the expression of his real ideas, if any.[1] Now, if by journalism we mean "the kodak eye of the born reporter," the ability to grasp and to convey to the reader the essential and characteristic—even though superficial—features of any situation, the critics are right, though they have really said nothing except that Mr. Kipling is a good writer. But to the popular mind the word conveys also the idea of work done hastily and under pressure, in which felicitous expression is the result of happy accident rather than deliberate forethought. In Mr. Kipling's case, this impression would seem to be confirmed by the crackling and slapdash effect of his earlier style. Anyone who has thoughtfully considered *The Miracle of Purun Bhagat*, *An Habitation Enforced*, *They*, or innumerable passages in *Kim* can understand how false this notion is, but full realization of the painstaking care with which Mr. Kipling has scrutinized every word of his writing comes only when one has compared the original magazine texts of his stories and poems with their final appearance in book form. To what extent he revises

[1] For instance (I quote almost at random from three critics who have real ideas to express):

"Mr. Kipling's style is essentially a journalistic one, journalism at its highest power, the journalism of a man of genius, journalism vitalised by an imagination which usually reserves itself for higher forms of prose". . . . Richard Le Gallienne: *Rudyard Kipling: A Criticism;* John Lane, London and New York, 1900. p. 71.

"We shall . . . be mainly concerned with looking for the inspired author under a mass of skilled journalism". . . . John Palmer: *Rudyard Kipling;* Nisbet & Co., Ltd., London, 1915. p. 17.

. . . "The work of a man who has the kodak eye of the born reporter" . . . Brander Matthews, in a review of Kipling's *Letters of Travel*, New York *Times*, June 6, 1920.

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before his work goes to press we do not know, but we can guess from a few indications. For instance, we learn that the pony-hero of *The Maltese Cat* was originally called the Manx Cat—presumably because he had no tail to speak of—and that the name must have been changed in the final draft of the manuscript. Three times in the latter part of the magazine text of the story[2] the name is given as "Manx" instead of "Maltese."

This painstaking revision is not confined to any one period of Mr. Kipling's literary career; it is evident in every volume he has published from 1890 to the present day. The degree to which he revised his earliest work cannot be ascertained without access to the Anglo-Indian newspapers in which it first appeared. Though numerous changes are to be noted between the Indian editions of *Departmental Ditties* and *Plain Tales* and the present authorized editions of these volumes, these changes are almost wholly for the purpose of removing vernacular words and Anglo-Indian slang which would be unintelligible to the average British or American reader.[3] The extensive corrections and expurgations in the American letters in *From Sea to Sea* are clearly an exceptional case.[4] From 1890 onward, however, the trail is clear. We find him applying the same methods to the group of tales which first introduced him to the English-reading world at large, to the stories produced in the height of his fame and fruitfulness before 1900, and to the unhurried work of the last twenty years.

In his controversy with Harper Brothers on the subject of copyright—the controversy which culminated in *The Rhyme of*

[2] *Cosmopolitan*, July, 1895; vol. 19, p. 303.

[3] Thus, in *The Post that Fitted*, "eight paltry dibs" becomes "eight poor rupees," and, in *Municipal*, "A Commissariat *hathee*, *nautching* gaily down the Mall" is translated into "A Commissariat elephant careering down the Mall." I have used for comparison the third Indian edition of *Departmental Ditties and Other Verses* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1888) and *Rudyard Kipling's Verse, Inclusive Edition* (Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1919).

Except when otherwise indicated, all my references for the poems are to the *Inclusive Edition*, and, for the prose, to the authorized American trade edition, published by Doubleday.

[4] These changes were fully discussed by the late Luther S. Livingston in his review of the authorized edition of *From Sea to Sea*, in *The Bookman* (N. Y.), August, 1899; vol. 9, p. 429.

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the Three Captains[5]—Mr. Kipling described the unauthorized edition of *The Courting of Dinah Shadd, and Other Stories* as "an unedited, unrevised, unfinished, disorderly abomination of botch-work." These forceful words would lead one to expect extensive changes in the authorized text of the stories, but the changes are in fact not so numerous as in many of the later tales. One of them, indeed—*Without Benefit of Clergy*[6]—shows only nine changes, all of them unimportant; this is the smallest number I have noted in any story which I have collated. *The Incarnation of Krishna Mulvaney*[7] reveals only fifteen alterations, as against 110 in *The Maltese Cat* (1895), and 125 in *They* (1904). Other tales in this group have been more rigorously revised—*A Conference of the Powers*,[8] for example, has been changed in eighty-three places—but nowhere is there such wholesale rewriting as Mr. Kipling's denunciation of the unauthorized edition would lead one to expect. The most important change I have discovered in this group is the cancellation of a passage 275 words in length, descriptive of a false alarm in camp, immediately preceding the last sentence of *The Courting of Dinah Shadd*.[9] The brief final paragraph of *Krishna Mulvaney* has also been cancelled; it is worth quoting because it contains the last public appearance known to me of a phrase which its author had overworked in the tales of his Indian period:

> "There is no further space to record the digging up of the spoils, or the triumphant visit of the three to Dearsley, who feared for his life, but was most royally treated instead and under that influence told how the palanquin had come into his possession. But that is another story."

The alterations, in short, in this early group of tales do not differ materially, either in nature or in number, from those in

[5] The controversy ran through several numbers of the London *Athenaeum* during the last three months of 1890, the letter from which the quotation is taken appearing in the issue of Nov. 8, and *The Three Captains* in that of Dec. 6. The whole dispute was reviewed by James Westfall Thompson in the *Nation* (N. Y.), Feb. 8, 1912.

[6] *Harper's Weekly*, June 7 and 14, 1890.

[7] First pub. in *Macmillan's Magazine*. I have used the text as reprinted in the *Living Age*, Jan. 4, 1890.

[8] *Harper's Weekly*, May 31, 1890.

[9] Ibid., March 1 and 8, 1890.

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his latest volume, *A Diversity of Creatures*, wherein we find forty-six changes in *The Edge of the Evening*,[10] forty-four in *The Dog Hervey*,[11] twenty-six in *Mary Postgate*,[12] and thirty-six in *The Vortex*,[13] these last including the excision of two passages, one of forty-nine and the other of eighty-four words.

When we inquire into the nature of these numerous changes and corrections, we find that they may be roughly classified under two heads: structural and stylistic, the latter group admitting of several subdivisions.

Ordinarily the texture of Mr. Kipling's work is too firmly wrought to require or permit extensive structural changes in the process of revision. I have, however, found two cases of changes in detail large enough to be fairly classed under this head. The first of these is in *The Brushwood Boy*,[14] a story which has been altered in more than ninety places, the alterations including the excision of about 750 words. Nearly half of these words (about 320 in all) have been cut from the passage which tells of Georgie Cottar's school-days, where the omissions produce a marked shift in emphasis and effect:

"Ten years at an English public school do not encourage dreaming. Georgie *got* [won] his growth and chest measurement, and a few other things which did not appear in the bills, under a system of *compulsory* cricket, foot-ball, and paper-chases, from four to five days a week, which provided for three lawful cuts of a ground-ash if any boy absented himself from these entertainments *without medical certificate or master's written excuse. From the child of eight, timid and shrinking, consoled by the sick-house matron as he wept for his mother, Georgie shot up into a hard-muscled, pugnacious little ten-year-old bully of the preparatory school, and was transplanted to the world of three hundred boys in the big dormitories below the hill, where the cheek so brazen and effective among juniors had to be turned to the smiter many times a day. There* he became a rumple-collared, dusty-hatted fag of the Lower Third, and a light half-back at Little Side foot-ball; was pushed and prodded through the slack back-waters of the Lower Fourth, where *all* the raffle of a school generally accumulates; won his 'second fifteen' cap at foot-ball, enjoyed the dignity of a study with two companions in it, and began to look forward to office as a sub-prefect. *At this crisis he was exhorted to work by the head-master, who saw in him the makings of a good man. So he worked slowly and systematically, and in due course sat at the prefects' table with the right to carry a cane, and, under restrictions, to use it.* At last he blossomed into full glory as head of the school, ex-officio captain of the games; head

[10] *Metropolitan*, Dec., 1913.
[11] *Century*, April, 1914; vol. 87, p. 813.
[12] Ibid., Sept., 1915; vol. 90, p. 641.
[13] *Scribner's*, August, 1914; vol. 56, p. 137.
[14] *Century*, Dec., 1895; vol. 29, p. 265.

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of his house, where he and his lieutenants preserved discipline and decency among seventy boys from twelve to seventeen; general arbiter in the quarrels that spring up among the touchy Sixth—*quarrels which on no account the vulgar must hear discussed*—and intimate friend and ally of the Head himself. *He had a study of his own, where the black-and-gold 'first fifteen' cap hung on a bracket above the line of hurdle, long-jump, and half-mile cups that he picked up year after year at the yearly sports; he used real razors, which the fags stropped with reverence; and outside his door were laid the black-and-yellow match goal-posts carried down in state to the field when the school tried conclusions with other teams.* When he stepped forth in the black jersey, white knickers, and black stockings of the First Fifteen, the new match-ball under his arm, and his old and frayed cap at the back of his head, the small fry of the lower forms stood apart and worshipped, and the 'new caps' of the team talked to him ostentatiously, that the world might see. And so, in summer, when he came back to the pavilion after a slow but eminently safe game, it mattered not whether he had made nothing, or, as once happened, a hundred and three, the school shouted just the same, and women-folk who had come to look at the match looked at Cottar—Cottar, major; 'that's Cottar!'—*and the day-boys felt that though home and mother were pleasant, it were better to live life joyously and whole, a full-blooded boarder in Cottar's house.* Above all, he was responsible for that thing called the tone of the school, and few realise with what passionate devotion a certain type of boy throws himself into this work. Home was a far-away country, full of ponies, and fishing and shooting, and men-visitors who interfered with one's plans; but school was the real world, where things of vital importance happened, and crises arose that must be dealt with promptly and quietly. Not for nothing was it written, 'Let the Consuls look to it that the Republic takes no harm,' and Georgie was glad to be back in authority when the holidays ended. Behind him, but not too near, was the wise and temperate Head, now suggesting the wisdom of the serpent, now counseling the mildness of the dove; leading him on to see, more by half-hints than by any direct word, how boys and men are all of a piece, and how he who can handle the one will assuredly in time control the other. *On the other side—Georgie did not realize this till later—was the wiry drill-sergeant, contemptuously aware of all the tricks of ten generations of boys, who ruled the gymnasium through the long winter evenings when the squads were at work. There, among the rattle of the single-sticks, the click of the foils, the jar of the spring-bayonet sent home on the plastron, and the incessant 'bat-bat' of the gloves, little Schofield would cool off on the vaulting-horse, and explain to the head of the school by what mysterious ways the worth of a boy could be gaged between half-shut eyelids.*[15]

As here portrayed, Georgie is at first too much a little bully, and later too much a super-youth, too wholly an Admirable Crichton, to be altogether likable. The omissions remove a jarring impression and reduce him to human proportions.

[15] Here, and in subsequent quotations, italics represent matter which was cancelled on revision; words in brackets, following italicized matter, indicate substitutions; other bracketed matter has been added on revision.

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Incidentally it may be noted that Mr. Kipling did not throw away the cancelled material; it contains the germ of *Stalky & Co.*

The second case of alteration in structural detail is found in "*Bread upon the Waters.*"[16] Here the entire incident of sending over another man to aid McPhee after he had boarded the derelict *Grotkau* was added on revision. Evidently Mr. Kipling decided on further thought that the labor of getting two hawsers aboard and making them fast, to say nothing of trying to steer the derelict afterwards, was more than McPhee could have managed alone. Three brief inserts, amounting in all to about 250 words, provide him with the help he needed.

Structural changes, then, are rare and relatively unimportant; stylistic changes, on the other hand, are very numerous. For purposes of illustration these may be roughly subdivided into two groups: (1) the elimination of unnecessary or jarring expressions, (2) the heightening of effect by the substitution of graphic words or phrases for vague ones.

Cuttings are most numerous in transitional or expository passages. Two examples of the omission of irrelevant or unnecessary detail may be enough to quote—the first from *The Tomb of his Ancestors*,[17] the second from "*Bread upon the Waters*":

> "They (the Bhils) would follow up a wounded tiger as unconcernedly as though it were a sparrow with a broken wing; and this through a country full of caves and rifts and pits, where a wild beast could hold a dozen men at his mercy. *They had their own methods of smoking out a tigress with her cubs, and would shout and laugh while the furious beast charged home on the rifles.* Now and then some little man was brought to barracks with his head smashed in or his ribs torn away; but his companions never learned caution; they contented themselves with settling the tiger."

> "A female servant came in and waited, *and I nearly fell off my chair, because there is not work for two pair of hands in that house, and, if there were, McPhee could not afford a servant; and* [though] Mrs. McPhee had told me time and again that she would thank no one to do her housework while she had her health."

In many instances the cancelled passages are not only unnecessary, but are out of harmony with the tone of the context. We have already seen one example of this in the quotation from *The Brushwood Boy*. Two other brief illustrations from the

[16] *McClure's*, Dec., 1896; vol. 8, p. 140.
[17] *McClure's*, Dec., 1897; vol. 10, p. 99.

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prose are these, the first from *The Brushwood Boy* again (the summary of Georgie's frontier campaign), the second from *William the Conqueror*:[18]

"Net result, his captaincy and a brevet majority, coupled with the Distinguished Service Order, *which is vulgarly called the 'Don't Stay On,' inasmuch as it is supposed to block the way permanently to the Victoria Cross.*"

"A child escaped from the care of Mrs. Jim and, running like a rabbit, clung to Scott's boot, William pursuing with long, easy strides *that gave the lie to the saying that 'women and cows should never run.'* "

A similar instance may be noted in *The Rhyme of the Three Sealers*, in the magazine text of which[19] Tom Hall's mocking promise to Reuben Paine, "I'll be good to your widows, Rube, as many as I shall find," is followed by a couplet which descends to particulars:

"For one you have left at Kennebunk and one on Vitu beach,
And a yellow girl at Tomiok'; but I'll be good to each."

Alterations for the heightening of effect are of various sorts. Sometimes a more accurate word is used. Thus, in the description of Miss Florence's house in *They*,[20] the walls "that closed the lawn on the fourth side" were at first said to *embrace* it—an obviously inexact use of the word. Again, in *The Vortex*, Lingnam's threat to Mrs. Bellamy to "drive upstairs and—kill you!" read originally, "*climb* upstairs and *Crippen* you"—a reference to a notorious murder-case familiar to every reader in the early months of 1914 but long since forgotten. And in *McAndrew's Hymn*[21] the reference to steam-pressure—"An' here, our workin' gauges give one hunder' twenty-five"—has been progressively corrected to "fifty-five" in *The Seven Seas* and to "sixty-five" in the *Inclusive Verse*.

Frequently the change is to a more graphic word or phrase. In *An Habitation Enforced*[22] the descriptive phrase in " 'No roads, no nothing!' said Sophie, her skirt caught by briers" becomes "her short skirt hooked by briers;" in *The Vortex*, "the night's new rose-buds" is altered to "the night's expectant

[18] *Ladies' Home Journal*, Dec., 1895 and Jan., 1896.
[19] *Pall Mall Budget*, Dec. 14, 1893.
[20] *Scribner's*, August, 1904; vol. 36, p. 129.
[21] *Scribner's*, Dec., 1894; vol. 51, p. 265.
[22] *Century*, August, 1905; vol. 70, p. 617.

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rose-buds"; in *The Old Issue*,[23] a striking phrase from Isaiah—"He shall peep and mutter"—is substituted for "he shall heed our whispers." In *The Coastwise Lights*,[24] "To each and all our equal lamp at peril of the sea" was originally "To each and all our equal lamp in equal jeopardy." McAndrew's "temptation past the show o' speech, unnameable an' new," has been changed from "temptation never guessed before." The line in *The Merchantmen*,[25] "There danced the deep to windward Blue-empty 'neath the sun," has been altered from "there *rolled* the deep." The first stanza of the same poem, which now develops a single picture, originally broke in two in the middle, thus:

King Solomon drew merchantmen
  Because of his desire
For peacocks, apes, and ivory,
  From Tarshish unto Tyre:
And Drake, he sacked La Guayra,
  So stout of heart was he;
But we be only sailormen
  That use upon the sea.

Some of Mr. Kipling's happiest expressions have come as after-thoughts. The "earnest-eyed hound of engaging manners and no engagements" in *An Habitation Enforced* was first described as merely "of fascinating manners and no engagements." Zigler's remark, in *The Edge of the Evening*, that "George [the Third] is the only king I play" has replaced "the only king I'm up on." The "scalesome, flailsome tail" of the Bi-Coloured-Python-Rock-Snake in *The Elephant's Child*[26] was an after-thought; it was at first nothing but a "hard, hard tail." Best afterthought of all was the blessed word "schloop" in the same story. Where we are now told that the Elephant's Child "schlooped up a schloop of mud . . . . [which] made a cool schloopy-sloshy mud-cap all trickly behind his ears," we find that the Tidy Pachyderm originally did a much less thrilling feat and "scooped up a lump of mud . . . . [which] made a cool mudcap," etc.

[23] *McClure's*, Nov., 1899; vol. 14, p.80, under title *The King*. Cf. Isaiah, VIII, 19.

[24] *English Illustrated Magazine*, May, 1893; vol. 10, p. 533.

[25] *McClure's*, July, 1893; vol. 1, p. 163.

[26] *Ladies' Home Journal*, April, 1900.

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As a last illustration of the way in which loving and painstaking revision has heightened effect by the elimination of unnecessary details and the addition of new material, I quote a brief passage from one of the most perfect of all Mr. Kipling's stories—*They*[27]:

"The little brushing kiss fell in the center of my palm—as a gift on which the fingers were, once, expected to close: as the all faithful half-reproachful signal *of* [from] a waiting child not used to neglect even when grown-ups were busiest—a fragment of *the* [an] *old* mute *secret* code devised very long ago.

"Then I knew. And it was as though I had known from the first day when I looked across the lawn at the high window. *I knew and I was content.*

"I heard the door shut. The woman turned to me in silence, [and I felt that she knew.]

"What time passed after this I cannot *say* [tell]. I was roused by the fall of a log, and mechanically [rose to] put it back. *It was a curiously mottled piece of birch, the layers of bark grilled by the heat.* Then I returned to my place in the chair very close to the screen.

" 'Now you understand,' she whispered, across the [packed] shadows.

" 'Yes, [I understand—now]. Thank you.' "

All the changes discussed thus far are manifestly the work of Mr. Kipling himself. In a few of his earlier stories, however, we note variations in the magazine texts which look as though they were due to the timidity or prudishness of editors who had been dismayed by the vigor of their contributor's unchastened vocabulary. Everyone knows how a magazine editor compelled the young Kipling to arrange temporarily a happy ending to *The Light that Failed*. The alterations I refer to now, however, are verbal, not structural. Leaving out of account doubtful cases, such as the representation of "hell" or "damn" by a dash, it may suffice, or more than suffice, to cite three examples, two from "*Bread upon the Waters*," and one from *The Record of Badalia Herodsfoot*.[28] In the first-named tale, McPhee's numerous references to the *Grotkau* as "the Hoor of Babylon" do not appear in the magazine version; neither does the feminine word in his description of the same boat as "a flat-bottomed, pigeon-breasted, under-engined, bull-nosed bitch of a five thousand ton freighter, that would neither steer, nor steam, nor stop when ye asked her." As printed in *McClure's* the word was "barge." The example from *Badalia Herodsfoot* is obviously

[27] See note 15.
[28] *Harper's Weekly*, Nov. 15 and 22, 1890.

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the result of editorial interference: the phrase at the very end of the story is made to read "the wail of the dying woman who could not die," instead of "dying prostitute" as it stands in the authorized editions.

In this paper I have dealt only with textual changes for which there is an obvious explanation. Some are less easy to understand; for instance, the shift of the name of the village pub. in *Mary Postgate* from "White Hart" to "Royal Oak"—unless the shift be due to the Pickwickian associations of the former name.[29] Moreover, I have, except in one reference to *McAndrew's Hymn*, spoken as if there were only one authorized edition of the stories and poems. As a matter of fact, there are several,[30] and the text has apparently been separately revised for each one. Two final illustrations will give a hint of what this means. The verb in the first line of *The Coastwise Lights*—"Our brows are bound with spindrift, and the weed is on our knees"—is "bound" in the magazine text (1893), in the *Collected Verse* of 1907, and in the *Inclusive Verse* of 1919, but in *The Seven Seas* (1896), it is "wreathed." In *Many Inventions* (1893) the fourth stanza of the poem *To the True Romance* reads thus:

"Who holds by Thee hath Heaven in fee
  To gild his dross thereby,
And knowledge sure that he endure
  A child until he die;

[29] Since this was written, I have discovered that there is a "White Hart" pub. in Burwash village, Mr. Kipling's Sussex home. He may have changed the name lest the story should be localized there.

[30] There are three authorized editions of the complete works in this country: the ordinary trade edition published by Doubleday; the Outward Bound subscription edition published by Scribner; and the limited Seven Seas edition issued by Doubleday seven or eight years ago. Besides these, which include the separate volumes of the poems, there are two other authorized editions of the poems—the *Collected Verse* of 1907, and the *Inclusive Verse* of 1919. Neither of these latter volumes contains *all* Mr. Kipling's verse. The three editions of the collected works differ in the contents and arrangement of the volumes, as well as in inclusions and omissions: e.g., the story of Adam Strickland's childhood, *The Son of his Father*, is not included in any volume of the trade edition, but is in the Outward Bound. Moreover, there are variations between the English editions and the American.

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For to make plain that man's disdain
  Is but new Beauty's birth,
For to possess in loneliness
  The joy of all the earth."

In *The Seven Seas* the punctuation is slightly altered, but the wording is the same. In the *Collected Verse*, however, the last word of the seventh line is changed to "merriness"—one of the very few examples I have noted of a manifest change for the worse in Mr. Kipling's revisions. In the *Inclusive Verse* it is again changed, this time to "singleness"—an improvement over the second thought, though not over the first.

At the present time no bibliography making even a pretense of completeness exists of even the authorized editions of Mr. Kipling's works and of his contributions to the magazines and newspapers of four continents.[31] When the bibliographers have dealt with the authorized editions, there will still remain the innumerable pirated editions; after these have been disposed of, some future editor is going to have a stupendous job of work in the collation of the texts.

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[31] Mrs. Luther S. Livingston of the Widener Memorial Library is now at work upon such a bibliography.

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ETYMOLOGISCHES WÖRTERBUCH DER DEUTSCHEN SPRACHE **von Friedrich Kluge, Professor an der Universität Freiburg, Br. Neunte durchgesehene Ausgabe. Berlin und Leipzig 1921. Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger.**

In Kluge's etymological dictionary of the German language which is now before us in its 9th edition we welcome an old and trusted friend who for forty years has proved a safe and reliable guide to a proper consideration of the manifold problems German word history presents to the student. There are those to whom Kluge is not progressive enough and they grumble at not finding in his book reference to views they would think worthy of notice. It has to be admitted the distinguished author is inclined to be somewhat of a conservative; still, the intelligent watcher of his work through its subsequent editions cannot say he has not tried to keep abreast of the times and profit by the good contemporary research had to offer him. If there are things that have escaped him, that shortcoming can readily be excused by the fact he adverts to in the preface (page VII), namely, that "*die Facharbeit, auf der sich das vorliegende Buch aufbaut, schier unübersehbar und unerschöpflich geworden ist.* And we must not overlook another important fact, that a cruel fate has deprived him of his eye sight so that what would be hard for a scholar not handicapped that way becomes increasingly difficult for him who has to rely on the eyes of others willing to see for him and report their findings. Indeed so great are the obstacles put in his way of getting a comprehensive view of his field of endeavor that I fairly marvel at what he has accomplished, blind as he is. *Aber*, he gratefully admits on page X of the preface, *die eigene Arbeit des Verfassers hätte doch nicht genügt, das Werk überall auf die Höhe zu bringen und das Buch zu einem brauchbaren Berater in wortgeschichtlichen Fragen zu gestalten. Seit vielen Jahren haben Freunde des Buches aus ihrem Fachbereiche heraus Hilfe geleistet durch öffentliche Besprechungen sowie durch persönliche Mitteilungen.* Through the aid of these friends, the author says, also the 9th edition has gained in value, though for practical reasons he had to keep revisions and alterations within strict limits. In fact, a hasty glance at the book would hardly reveal any other change but that its bulk has been increased by four pages. It is only on closer examination we discover the revising hand of the author and it may not be amiss to follow him step by step. The first

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change I notice is on page 3 where s. v. *Abenteuer* the 8 lines of the previous edition are cut down to three. On the same page after *abhold* two lines dealing with *ablang* 'oblongus' are cut out and before *abhold* eight lines concerning *Abhang* are inserted.

On page 5 s.v. *acht* the reference to *acht Tage* (2 lines) is omitted and an addition of 6 lines dealing with the dual *oktôu* is made. On page 6 s.v.+*Adebar* the reference to Suolahti is omitted and the conjecture is introduced that the basic form may be *ôd-obëro*, connected with OHG. *obasa* 'Dach.' On page 8 s.v. *Ahle* the reference to Frisius-Alberus-Maaler (3 lines) is dropped to make room for a reference to Schlutter's article (JEGPh 1919 No. 3) on the phonology of the Old English word.[1] On page 26 after *aufgeräumt* a new article on *aufheben* (10 lines) is introduced. On page 32 *Bagger* of the 8th edition (6 lines) is discarded in favor of *baggerer* (13 lines including what is said s.v. on *Bagger*. After *Bahn* a new article on *Bahnsteig* (6 lines) is inserted. The article on *Bahre* is cut down from 20 to 7 lines. On page 38 after *Barett* three lines dealing with *barfuss* are inserted. On page 49 *besenrein* (2 lines) of the 8th edition is dropped in favor *Besen*² = *Magd* (4 lines). *betonen* 'akzentuiren' (5 lines) is discarded to make room for *Beting* 'bitts' (6 lines); *betuchen*, *betucht* 'verdutzt' (3 lines) has been dropped. On page 95 after *Dorn* a new article on *Dorndreher* (4 lines) is introduced. On page 96 s.v. *Dotter* the wrong statement made in all the previous editions, viz, that *dydring* is the Old English term for it is at last corrected and *dydrin* (on record only once in the Leechdoms) is substituted. On page 109 after *Eisenbahn* a new article of 6 lines on *Eisvogel* is inserted. On page 116 after *Ereignis* 5 lines dealing with *Eremit* are cut out. After *erfahren* a new article on *Ergebnis* (8 lines) is introduced. On page 120 after *ewig* two lines dealing with *Exempel* are inserted. On page 147 the article on *freien* of 16 lines is reduced to 9 lines. After *Freischütz* 3 lines on *freislich* are inserted. After *fremd* a new article on *Fremdwort* (8 lines) is introduced. On page 159 after Gaudieb 7 lines dealing with *Gaufe* '*Höhlung der Hand*' are inserted. On page 160 after *Gauner* a new article on *Gaupe* '*Dachluke*' (4

[1] The substance of this article I had already published in 1916 (see Anglia 40, 352 ff.) and it was not preempted by what W. A. Craigie had to say "On the etymology of AWL" in the Transactions of the Philological Society 1905-1906, as a critical observer in Holland, who wrote me on the subject under date of October 25, 1922, is inclined to think. Because there may be others laboring under the same error, I take occasion to draw particular attention to the fact that as early as 1903 (see Anglia 26, NF. 14, 305) I had pointed out the utter futility of connecting OE. æl 'subula' with áwel 'fuscinula.' And I am free to say that it is neither to the credit of certain prominent German scholars interested in Old English nor to that of the editors of the NED that the recognition of this fact is as backward as it evidently is, in spite of my own and Craigie's efforts in its behalf.

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lines) is introduced. On page 160 s.v. *ge-* the term "proklitisches Präfix" is discarded in favor of *unbetonte Vorsilbe*, but this Germanizing process stops short at *Nominalkomposition* ibid. S.v. *geben* the remark on the Indo-germanic root *dō̆* is dropped. On page 161 at the end of the article on *Geburt* there is added the reference to OIr. *brith* 'birth' (2 lines). On page 162 after *Gefäss* two lines on *gefeit* are inserted. After *Gegenstand* there is insertion of *gegenüber* (4 lines). On page 171 s.v. *Gicht* the wrong connection with OE. *gihđa=gicđa* 'itching' is at last given up and Lessiaks explanation approved of by me is, if not accepted, at least adverted to. One line of the article as printed in the 8th edition is dropped. On page 181 sub v. *Grossmutter* the last two lines on *Grossmama* and *Grosspapa* are dropped. After *Grund* there is insertion of 9 lines on *Gründonnerstag*. On page 182 after *grunzen* a new article on *Gruppe* (7 lines) is exhibited. On page 184 s.v. *Habergeiss* one line is added to refer to my article on the word in *ZfdW*. 14,154. On page 189 s.v. *Hand* the words "*Verwandtschaft mit τριάκοντα* (lat. triginta), *wenn vorgerm. kont-* urspr. Zehnheit bedeutet haben könnte" are substituted for "*Verwandtschaft mit got. hund 'hundert,' das auch urspr. Zehnheit bedeutet hat* (*vgl. Faust eigtl. Fünfheit?*)" On page 190 *Handmehr* (5 lines) is inserted after *Handhabe*. S.v. *Handschuh* the bracketed words "*mhd. hentschuoh, nhd. dial. Händschig deutet auf den ahd. Gen. hents*" are dropped. On page 200 two lines about *Helfenbein* are dropped after *helfen*. On page 201 the article on *Hengst* of 18 lines is reduced to 13 lines. On page 202 the 7 lines on *Henne* are cut down to 5 lines. S.v. *Herling* the former connection with *herb* is given up in favor of Fischer's opinion that it stands for original *Hertling*. On page 213 the article on *Hundert* of 38 lines is cut down to 31. *Simplex* is replaced by *einfaches Zahlwort*. The wording of the passage "*Während—Grosshandel* is so changed as to bring it in accord with the change noted sub *Hand* relative to *knt* (*kont*) meaning '*Zehnheit*' for which here '*Zehner*' is put. S.v. *hunzen* the four lines are reduced to one containing a mere reference to *verhunzen*. On page 216 one line is inserted containing the reference of *Insasse* to *Inste*. Just so s.v. *Isop* three lines are cut down to one referring the word to *Ysop*. After *Isop* four lines on *+itzt* are inserted. On page 219 after *Jot* four lines on *Journal* are cut out. After *Junker* three lines on *Junggeselle* are inserted. On page 220 s.v. *kacken* the Old German term *driszen* of the 8th is changed to *drieszen*. Why? On page 240 s.v. *Kitsch* the interpretation of the 8th edition connecting the word with *Ketsch* 'Kerngehäuse des Obstes' (4 lines) is given up in favor of the opinion that a refashioning of English *sketch* 'nicht verkaufbare Skizze' is at the root of it (9 lines). On page 241 s.v. *Klabautermann* the last reference to Literaturbl.

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27,400 is dropped and 6 lines added containing a reference to Latin legends about St. Phocas the patron saint of seamen and shipping whom Kluge tries to connect with OE. *puca* through a putative Gothic *pûka* (*pôka*) on page 182 of his *Deutsche Sprachgeschichte.* On page 244 s.v. *Klette* the last statement to the effect that "afrz. *gleton*, *gletteron*, mfrz *glouteron* are from the German is cut out as is also the reference to the following *Klettern.* On page 250 the 7 lines of the article on *Knorpel* are increased to 8 and the wording of the article is materially changed. Of especial importance is the remark that "anklingend und wohl auch verwandt ist mlat. (8. Jahrh.) *grursapa* 'cartilago.' I have dealt with the word in the American Journal of Philology XVII, 84 and Anglia XIX, 104, and Steinmeyer in his foot note on Ahd. Gl. IV. 123[24] refers to these articles. I shall take occasion to discuss the word again because Lindsay in his new edition of the Corpus Glossary (C 186) acts as though the word had never been under discussion and Sweet's idea of it had never been challenged, though in the Anglo-Saxon index he does not dare to accept Sweet's explanation of the alleged OE *grund-sopa* 'ground soap' (a plant). On page 254 s.v. *können* the last four lines are cut down to two so as to read "die idg. Wz. *gen-n* erscheint auch in lit. zinaũ (*zinóti*) 'kennen, erkennen, einsehen." After *können* five lines concerning *Konsul* are dropped. After *Kontor* 8 lines dealing with *Köper* are inserted. On page 258 the heading of the article is changed from *Krakeel* to *Krakeelen* and consequently *krakelen* substituted for *Krakeel* in the body of the article. The last 5 lines are changed so as to bring the word back to a term current in the Netherlands and in Low German in general expressive of cackle, originally meaning "*wie Krähen kehlen d. h. schreien.*" On page 258 s.v. *Kralle* the last reference to a putative Gothic **krazlian* is dropped. S. v. *Kram* the reference at the end of the article to *καράμα* 'Wagenzelt' is so changed as to read *vergleiche* instead of *Schrader vergleicht.* On page 296 s.v. *Kuss* from line 6 on the wording of the article is so changed as to connect the word with OSax, *queddian*=ON. *kvedja* 'to greet' and Gothic *qviþan* 'to speak.' On page 271 there are 8 lines on *Ladenschwengel* inserted after *Ladenhüter.* S.v. *Lahn* 1 line of reference to Norse *lemja* 'lähmen, untauglich machen' is omitted. On page 280 after *lehnen* an article of 4 lines about *Lehnwort* is put in. On page 280 after *Lid* 7 lines on+*Lidlohn* are inserted. S.v. *lieb* the original 29 lines are cut down to 13 and *Liebe* (4 lines) is introduced. On page 290 after *Lohn* there are 6 lines for *Löhnung* inserted. S.v. *los* the original 17 lines are cut down to 14. On page 305 s.v. *Meineid* the last sentence containing the reference to Latin *mentiri* is dropped. On page 312 after *mitunter* a new article on *Mob* (5 lines) is introduced. On page 314 after *Mond* there is insertion of *Mondkalb* (5 lines).

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On page 319 after ***Mut*** 9 lines on ***muten*** and 4 lines on ***mutmassen*** are put in. On page 324 at the end of the article on *Neffe* 4 lines are added setting forth the meaning of Indogermanic ***nêpôt*** 'unprotected,' "without a guardian (*potis*)." On page 326 four lines on *Neuntöter* are inserted after *Neunauge*. On page 329 *Norde* (8 lines) is put in after *Nord* and 8 lines on *Nordlicht*. On page 332 the article on *Oheim* is materially changed and brought back to Germanic *au* (*awo-*)-*haimaz* "der das Heim des Grossvaters besitzende oder erbende oder da lebende Mutterbruder (Tacitus Germania 20)". On page 334 s.v. *Ostern* the wrong reference to a non-existing OE *ëarinian* 'strahlen' is at last discarded. On page 341 the article on *Pfarre* is materially changed so that connection with Gothic **parra*=Spanish *parra*: ME *parren* rejected in the 8th edition is now accepted and referred to *Pferch*. That this view is correct I have recently shown in Anglia pointing out the very probable existence of an OE *parre* (*sâl parrā* 'repagulum,' WW106[7]). On page 347 after *Pilz* there is insertion of *pimpeln* (4 lines). On page 348 after *plänkeln* 3 lines on *plantschen* and *plätschern* are inserted. On page 350 14 lines about *Polterabend* are put in after *Polster*. On page 354 1 line on *pürschen* is inserted after *Puppe*. On page 357 OE *þwiril* is added to ON. *þvara* 'Quirl,' but no mention is made of OE *þweran* 'to churn'= OHG *dwëran*. I take this occasion to correct the perfectly unwarranted statement in the 1st volume of Hoops' Reallexikon des germ. Altertums on page 384b s.v. *Butter*, at the end of §1, according to which there is an OE *cernan* 'agitare butirum.' The OE term for that is, as I have said, *þweran*, *geþweran* and that which is produced by this *þweran* is called *butergeþweor* WW.98[3]). On page 358 the last four lines of the article on *Rädelsführer* are dropped and eleven lines are substituted, being an elucidation of the word from *die ältere Chronik des Freiherrn von Hoheneck zum Jahre 1525*. On page 364 the last sentence of the article on *Recke* referring to *elend* is dropped and in its stead 6 lines are put in dealing with the important statement that vulgar Latin *waracionem* is at the base of OFr. *garçon* and the Latin word itself is a loan from Germanic as is evident from the proper name *Waracio* (9th century). I consider this etymology one of the most convincing ever put forward by the distinguished author and wish to draw especial attention to it. On page 376 after *Runks* a new article on *Runs* 'Flussbett' (4 lines) is introduced. On page 390 *Schlittschuh* treated in the 8th edition under *Schlitten* is now dealt with in an article of its own, the original five lines being increased to eight. The reference to MHG *schriteschuoh* 'Fliegschuh' is discarded and in its place OE *Scridefinna*=Procopius' Σκριθιφινοί are adduced as proof of oldest evidence of skating. *Schlittschuh* as substitute for original *Schrittschuh* is said to make its first liter-

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ary appearance in 1669. I can see no good reason why comparison with MHG *schriteschuoh* 'Fliegschuh' should have been dropped. If I mistake not, the MHG word refers to the *talaria* of Mercury and this god's 'flying' through the air was evidently conceived by the German mind as a 'gliding' through space. That a 'glider' may be conceived as a 'flier' is shown by the OE name for kite, *glida*, which surely belongs to *glidan* 'glide,' and that the original idea of *scrîdan* was that of a *gliding* motion rather than a striding, of that we have sufficient evidence in Old English. Just so Old Norse *skríða* means gliding as well as creeping as Kluge points out s.v. *schreiten*. The idea underlying the Germanic root *skriþ* (*skrid*) I would therefore rather put down as that of a *gliding* than of a *slow* movement such as Kluge assumes s.v. *schreiten*.

On page 414 after *Schwalch* three lines on *schwalken* 'dampfen, rauchen' are inserted. On page 415 after *Schwefel* there is a new article of 6 lines on *Schwegel* where reference to OE *sueglhorn* (Corpus Glossary S58) ought not to be omitted. On page 421 *Siegel* seven lines about *Siel* 'Schleuse' are put in. On page 441 s.v. *Stiefel* the untenable statement that it is based on Latin *aestivale* 'ein aus leichtem Leder bestehender Sommerschuh' is at last discarded in favor of the much more reasonable one that "its origin is a mooted point" and Meyer-Lübke's No. 8264 is referred to. On page 440 after *Störenfried* we find insertion of 9 lines about *Storger*, On page 441 the article on *Strafe* is materially changed. It is said now the word appears first about 1200 as *strâfe* 'Tadel, Verweis;' *strâfen* tadelen, schelten' is compared with OFris, *straffia* and connection with OE *þráfian* 'schelten' is declared doubtful. I may have to say something on that head later on. On page 445 sub v. *streben* the statement that OHG *strëbên* is accidentally not recorded is now given up, quite properly, as there is evidence enough for it. On page 453 the article on *Taufe* is cut down from 31 lines to 22 and its wording changed to make it conform with the view that it is one of those religious terms that about 400 became known in Germany with the spread of Gothic—Arian christianity. Latin baptizare is said to have no exact correspondence in Germanic. The OE term is given as *fulwian*; MLG *kerstenen* is said to be source of ON. *kristna* and *Beitr.* 35, 131 and 43,421 is referred to. I expect to deal with the subject more fully at some other time. Here it suffices to draw attention to Rushw. Matthew 3, 11 *ic eowic depu* ł *dyppe uættre*; ibid. 3, 13 *þætte he were depid* and ibid. 3, 14 *Ic sceal fram þe beon* ł *wesa deped* ł *fullwihted*. See the NED s.v.+ *depe*[= OFris. *dépa*, OS. *dâpian*, Dutch *doopen*, LG. *döpen*, OHG *toufen touffan*]. On page 545 at the end of the article on *tausend* the reference to *Grosshundert* is changed to *Kluge, Urgerman. Seite 267.* On page 455 s.v. *Tenne* comparison

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with OE *oden* is given up, also the view that the original meaning is '*bretterner Fussboden* and there is connection with Lith. *dêne* 'Deckbretter des Kahns.' In its place connection with *tanzen* is said to be possible. On page 458 the article about *Tonne* is changed so as to give up the view that after 600 it entered OHigh German and consequently its *t* could not be mutated to *z*. Now emphasis is laid on its coming into German in the MHG period (14th century) from Low German. Its home is said to be Northern France where it first turns up in MLat. *tunna* about 600 and there is no knowing whether it is Germanic or Gallo-Celtic. S.v. *Topf* at the end of the article there is added the reference to *Götze, Wege des Geistes in der deutschen Sprache* for *Töpfer*. On page 469 s.v. *Unschlitt* the wrong reference to a non-existing OE *unslit* (rectius *unsilt* 'not salted') is at last discarded. On page 476 after *verschlagen* 6 lines on *Verschleiss* are inserted. On page 475 s.v. *Vielliebchen* the remark is omitted as to English *philipena* and French *philipina* being adaptation of German *Vielliebchen*. In its place the suggestion is advanced that the home of the word is to be found on the Middle Rhine stretch as far as Lorraine. Luxembourg *Philippchen* is said to point to refashioning of English *valentine* and in France the English word is supposed to have changed its meaning. I may mention here that the English term I have heard used for *Vielliebchen* is *philopena* or *philopœna*. On page 480 the article on *Waldmeister* is enlarged from four to nine lines. The last line of the original article containing the statement that the plant was used for various medicinal purposes is now dropped to give place to a setting forth of Schöffler's view (*Zur mittengl. Medizinliteratur S.* 67-73) according to which the German word is fashioning of *herba Walteri magistri* that is to say the herb of the (Southern French) physician Walter (Agilon) (13th century). Kluge prints as the corresponding ME. term *herb Wanter* and OFr. *erbe water*. The latter no doubt stands for (*h*)*erbe Wauter* and I wonder if Kluge's ME. *Wanter* is not misprint for *Wauter*, too. On page 481 s.v. *Walze* at the end of the article in brackets it is added that *frnhd. walen ist urverwandt mit lat. volvo*. Page 484 at the end of the article on *Watte* an addition is made as to the source of the word being Arabic *batn* 'Zeugfutter.' After *weben*[1] an article on *weben*[2] 'sich bewegen' is added (9 lines) to the affect that this *weben* is MG form of *wehen*. On page 494 s.v. *Wimpel* the last 7 lines of the original article are dropped and replaced by 10 lines setting forth the idea that the word is a compound of *wind*+*pæll* 'Tuch, Decke' in Old English. The word is stated as being absent from Old and Middle High German, not in use by Luther or Goethe and making its first appearance as a loan from Low German in the literary language of the 19th century. On page 510 s.v. *Zülle* the word is as

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before characterized as a loan from Slavic. I have urged "Urverwandtschaft" with Latin *dolium* and this idea is at least adverted to at the end of the article. There also ought to have been reference to *Weidzülle* mentioned under *Weidling*.

A very valuable part of Kluge's Etymological Dictionary is the rapid survey it gives the reader of the subject matter under the different headings of the *Index rerum* at the end of the book. It would seem to me the more serviceable and reliable this index is made, the more valuable to the student the book necessarily becomes. That is the reason why I have examined the *Sachregister* as printed in the 9th edition and compared it with that of the 8th edition to see what advance there has been made. I find the following changes: Two references have been cut out, viz., JAHN *s. Turnerworte* and LÄNDERNAMEN *elend*. The following eleven references have been added: (1) ADVERBIA *flugs, stets, stracks*. (2) DOPPELUNG *s. Reduplikation*. (3) FESTTAGE *Fastnacht, Fronleichnam, Gründonnerstag, Karfreitag, Ostern, Pfingsten, Weihnachten*. (4) JEAN PAUL *Kerbtier*. (5) KÖRPERTEILBENENNUNGEN *Arm, Auge, Braue, Bug, Daumen, Euter, Finger, Fuss, Galle, Hand, Herz, Knie, Leber, Lende, Mähne, Nase, Niere, Ohr, Wade, Wimper*. (6) NÜRNBERG *Butzenscheibe*. (7) SCHLESIEN *Baude, Halunke*. (8) SCHRIFTTUM *Buch, Buchstabe, lesen, schreiben, Tinte*. (9) STAAT *Herzog, König, Reich*. (10) SUBSTANTIVIERUNG *s. Adjektiva*. (11) WEBEREI *Arras, Beiderwand*. Otherwise the headings with the references as printed in the 8th edition seem to have been left undisturbed. And yet there was ample opportunity for the revising hand to get active. For example, the 48 references given under NIEDERDEUTSCH by no means approximately represent the loans made by modern literary German from Low German, even if we add those that are enumerated under SEEMÄNNISCHES where unfortunately the distinct Low German borrowings are not properly marked. Nor is the list of loans exhibited s.v. *Mitteldeutsch* fairly representative of the actuality of words dealt with in the Dictionary[9] as of MG origin. Nor are there all Slavic loans mentioned s.v. SLAVISCHES. Nor do the references s.v. PURISMUS do full justice to the subject. That the distinguished author missed his opportunity in this respect is a matter of great surprise to me. In no man is the holy zeal for the purity of his mother-tongue more evident and ardent than in the noted Freiburg Germanist and the revision of the 8th edition of his Dictionary furnishes proof that he consciously tries to purge his own writings of the dross of alien admixture, yet the endeavors of the so-called purists have by no means received that measure of attention from him it would be reasonable to expect. I earnestly hope he will not pass by his fine chance again when the times comes to prepare the issue of the 10th edition of his

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work. And I trust he will then not be interfered with in his reformatory efforts by so-called practical considerations. His dictionary, if he will but realize it, can be of the greatest influence for combatting those forces that at one time threatened to fairly Romanize the German language as Kluge himself has so graphically pictured in his essays *Von Luther bis Lessing*. He has already taken a long step forward in that direction. There is no reason why he shouldn't go the whole way. To exemplify: There is an article on *Advokat* in his Dictionary. At the end of the article there is a reference to *Vogt*, the German adaptation of Latin *vocatus*, but no reference to either *Anwalt* or *Rechtsanwalt* or *Sachwalter*, of which three thoroughly good German substitutes for the foreign term only the latter is mentioned s.v. *Sache*. Well, the other two ought to be given a place, too, in the Dictionary, and *Sachwalter* should be printed in heavy type. There is also *Affekt* booked, and we learn that it makes its first appearance in the 16th century, but what we do not learn and yet a man like Kluge ought to insist on telling us is that and what efforts have been made to replace the Latin term by a German expression. The word appears especially in the phrase *im Affekte handeln*. As *in der Leidenschaft handeln* has been put for it, a reference to *Leidenschaft* would not be amiss. It is also possible to say *im Affekte der Leidenschaft handeln* for which the true German substitute *im Zustande der Leidenschaft handeln* would suggest a reference to *Zustand* and its incorporation in the Dictionary. If I mistake not, there is further the phrase *einen Affekt für Jemand haben* for which the German expression *eine Neigung für J. haben* would call for a reference to *Neigung* not mentioned, but very desirable in the Dictionary s.v. *neigen*. The Dictionary books a *Bericht* from *recht*, but not the verb *berichten* 'to report' nor *Berichterstatter* for 'reporter,' nor is there mention of *Redaction* and *Redakteur* which would justify a reference to the German substitutes *Schriftleitung* and *Schriftleiter* not booked, but of equal importance with *Schriftsprache*, *Schriftsteller* and *Schrifttum* that have been given a place. In fact, there is a large number of words the Dictionary takes no notice of which would seem to me to have a claim to its attention. I am going to give a list of them, but reserve this for a special article in which I expect to deal with the aspects of Kluge's ninth edition of the dictionary I am too much pressed for time now to be able to deal adequately with them. Here I wish only to emphasize the service the eminent author can render German *Schrifttum* by espousing the cause of obsolete or obsolescent words in the language in such a way as to be a real champion for them. What can be done in the way of resuscitating old word material has been shown by Kluge himself s.v. *Aar*, *basz*, *bieder*, *Elf*, *Fehde*, *Gau*, *Halle*, *hehr*, *Heim*, *Hort*, *Lindwurm*, *Minne*, *Recke*.

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There are numbers of such words dying just for sheer neglect that deserve to be kept in the memory of the living if for no other reason but that they are of good old stock, such as *abich abicht* 'verkehrt'=OHG *abuh*=OE *afuh(lic)*. or *Üsel* 'Funkenasche=MHG *usel*, LG *ösel*, ON. *usli*, OE *ysle*=modern English *isel*. Kluge mentions the word s.v. *Ammern*[3] embers. He might just as well have given *Üsel* a place in his Dictionary. For it was a living word in Modern German at the time Dieffenbach edited the *Mittellateinisch-hochdeutsch-böhmische Wörterbuch nach einer Handschrift vom Jahre* 1470. That was in 1848. But even if it had been no longer in living use then, the mere fact that it is recorded in vocabularies of 1419, 1468 and 1470 according to Dieffenbach's testimony (s.v. Fauilla *ein usel*) would or should have been sufficient to warrant its claim to a place in Kluge's Dictionary. The least he can, and ought to do, is to make such word material as is hidden away in his etymological discussions more available to the interested student by an index. I wonder, anyway, why *das Verzeichnis der besprochenen Wörter aus dem griechischen, lateinischen, italienischen, französischen und englischen Sprachschatze* which was a feature of the 6th edition should have been thought necessary to omit in the subsequent editions. The ordinary reader may not care for it. But to the student such indexes are a welcome help. There ought to be at least an index of the many interesting German dialect words that are scattered throughout Kluge's book. This store of dialect expressions which is a distinctive feature of the work is quite valuable, but its value isn't as much appreciated as it could and would be, were it made more easily accessibly by indexation. I would also plead for extension of the scope of these dialect representations in the Dictionary under the literary term for them booked. For example, s.v. *Runge* Austrian *Kupf* is mentioned and the usual *oberdeutsch* expression for it is said to be *Kipfe* which s.v. *Kipfel* is characterized as Old High German loan from Latin *cippus*. A native German term for it is preserved in Swiss *Seigel* 'Runge' which has left its trace in the family name *Seigel* I often meet with here in the States. Its OE congener is *sāgol* 'fustis=modern (dial.) English *sowel* which I have had occasion to quote in this Journal when combatting Ernest Zupitza's erroneous assertion as to the shortness of *a* in OE *āwel* 'fuscinula' he used as a support for his untenable view that this word was the OE forerunner of modern *awl* 'subula.' S.v. *spreizen* (*die Beine*) 'divaricate' there is no mention of any other local term for it. I know, however, *grätschen* with its by-form *kretschen* (both booked in Grimm's Wtb.) which is also in literary use and for that reason ought to be given a place of its own in Kluge's Dictionary. Walde uses *kretschen* s.v. *varico* and Lidén evidently *grätschen*, for in Kuhn's Zeitschrift

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41,397 he speaks of '*Grätschler.*' In what way this word is connected with English *straddle* (*striddle*) and MHG *schrîten* 'to bestride (a horse),' the distinguished Germanist will no doubt be able to tell us in the 10th edition. In the mean while I wish to draw attention to diuaricatum wlgariter dicitur *zergreitet* (Kluge's *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung* V. 7). The fearful handicap from which the author suffers in consequence of his blindness accounts for a number of mistakes and misstatements propagated from one edition to the other and only partially rectified in the present 9th edition. We have adverted to some of these rectifications in the first part of our review. As the author deservedly enjoys high authority as an Old English scholar, his references to OE words in the Dictionary naturally are considered as perfectly reliable. The more reason, then, to see to it that any error overlooked in previous editions is corrected now. I have made it my business to draw the reviser's attention to such matters when the 9th edition was in preparation, but unfortunately, for some reason or other, he has not been able to see his wishes for correction carried out in every instance that called for it. In some cases the author's own reluctance to recognize the error seems to have been the cause of omission. So only lately I have succeeded in convincing the eminent scholar that those are wrong who consider the vowel of OE *æl* 'Ahle' as long. He is also reluctant to admit the justness of my claim there is not sufficient evidence in Old English to warrant s.v. *Hitze* the reference to an alleged OE *hit* as a sure thing. While these cases may be debatable, there is no doubt that for the alleged OE *perse* 'press' Kluge quotes s.v. *Kelter* there is no evidence. Nor is there any warrant for OE *cyrnan* 'churn' quoted s.v. *kernen*. The OE term for churning is (*ge*)*þweran* as I have pointed out above. I do not know of any OE verb *spelian* 'schonen' quoted by Kluge s.v. *Kirchspiel*. The *spelian* I am acquainted with means 'to spell anyone i.e. to be substitute for anyone.' OE* *cléat* quoted s.v. *Kloss* is actually on record in the Corpus Glossary P411 as I have shown in Neophilologus. Just so OE **clott* referred to s.v. *Klotz* is recorded in Napier OEG. 1, 3514; 1,3848 and in Haupts' Zeitschrift IX 486. There is no record of OE *cnycel* quoted s.v. *Knöchel*. Bosworth-Toller's Dictionary or rather Toller's Supplement infers a *cnycel* from Corpus Glossary O36 obuncans *genyclede*. I have dealt with this gloss in Anglia and shall take the matter up again in my forthcoming review of Lindsay's new edition of the Corpus Glossary to be published in this Journal. OE *andian* does not mean 'zornig' sein as Kluge asserts s.v. *ahnden*.[1] It never glosses *irasci*, but *livescere* (so Napier OEH 1,5372=2,460=8,397). So the meaning attributable to it is "to be jealous." There is no evidence known to me pointing

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to OE *bǽre* by the side of *bǽr* as Kluge would have us believe s.v. *Bahre.* Nor is there any warrant for the assumption that there is any OE *wyhtel* 'Wachtel.' I have been corresponding with Prof. Kluge on this subject and he admits that Sweet recorded the alleged OE word in his Dictionary without any actual basis for assuming that it was authentic. He simply copied the entry from Hall's dictionary without investigating the source of the entry.—All these and other matters will no doubt receive the authors careful attention and whatever is wrong will be set aright when the favor of the buying public will have enabled him to get to work on the 10th edition. May that soon be, and may a kind fate give him strength for his task and a sufficiency of sympathetic friends ready to help him who is so sorely in need of help and deserving of all the assistance they can consistently offer him.

OTTO B. SCHLUTTER

Bristol, Connecticut, October, 1922

POETIC ORIGINS AND THE BALLAD. By Louise Pound. The Macmillan Company. 1921. Pp. viii+247.

A ballad is a song that tells a story; it has no known author and it has been orally transmitted. Furthermore, it has certain features of structure and style, such as alliteration, "incremental repetition," and refrain which have been frequently described and which lie on the surface of ballad poetry. What is the significance of these features with reference to the origin of ballads? For Professor Gummere, a life-long student of the ballads, the internal evidence pointed to choral improvisation in a homogeneous community. For the author of *Poetic Origins and the Ballad* the homogeneous community does not appear "anywhere, at any stage, in the chronology of human society" (p. 96); and communal composition could never have produced the ballad.

The ballad question easily broadens out into that of poetic origins; but to establish the authorship, individual or communal, of the world's first poem is not vital to the position of the communalists. The fact of choral improvisation is. We are not aware that Miss Pound denies the practise of choral improvisation. But her seeming assumption that in the theory of the communalists the first product of the communal process must be a narrative poem is not justified. Professor Gummere in the Popular Ballad says:—"The ballad was composed originally as any other poem is composed, by the rhythmic and imaginative efforts of the human mind. The differencing factors lie in the conditions of the process, and not in the process itself. Again all that can be recovered by a reconstruction of these conditions is the poetic form, the ballad as ballad,

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and not the original product. It should be cried from the housetops that no one expects to find in the ballads of the collections anything which springs directly from the ancient source." Further: "The making of the original ballad is a choral, dramatic process and treats a situation; the traditional course of the ballad is really an epic process which tends more and more to treat a series of events, a story." Finally: "Despite its rank as necessary condition narrative is not a fixed, fundamental, primary fact in the ballad scheme (pp. 68-69).

When the reviewer has come upon such passages as the following he has had to ask himself whether Miss Pound has heard this voice of Mr. Gummere crying from the housetops. "If we are to mean by ballads," she writes, "narrative songs like those of the middle ages, or narrative songs wherever they appear, we should cease placing the ballad at the source of primitive poetry. The conception of a ballad as something improvised more or less spontaneously by a dancing throng should be given up" (p. 34). On page 154, having cited the Hunting of the Cheviot, the Robin Hood pieces, Sir Patrick Spens, Lord Randal, she says we have to do with "long finished narratives," and then goes on to say that "to assume that ignorant, uneducated people composed these or their archetypes finds no support in the probabilities." We have never been impressed by the length of either Sir Patrick Spens or Lord Randal; but, quite apart from that, what we really have to do with is the poetic form, and the poetic form is not a long, finished poem. Elsewhere we find the confusion of the issue still worse confounded. "Folk-throngs cannot produce real narratives, even today, nor do primitive throngs;" "there is no instance recorded where a collaborating throng has produced a memorable song-story;" "pieces of tales rather than tales are the best they can create" (p. 101). Is then the question one of the reality of the narratives produced, their fragmentary character, or whether or not once produced they are memorable?

With the issue thus clouded it is difficult to follow the course of Miss Pound's argument. But taking what we believe to be her intention and allowing some latitude to her language, we understand her to affirm that whatever the original product of communal composition, it could never have developed into what we now know as a ballad. She admits that "dances" among savages are in large part drama and there is abundance of histrionic and mimetic action accompanied by songs of which action is the illustration" (p. 67, note 46). The dramatic, mimetic dance, of course, has a story in solution. Is it then unreasonable to suppose that the lyric which admittedly accompanied this dramatic "dance" tended to become a narrative lyric, similar to that which we have in the simple ballad? Is it unreasonable to suppose that the character of the dramatic

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dance opened the way for communal composition? We do not know what answer Miss Pound would give to these questions, but even supposing her answer were negative, she still, if we understand her, would take the ground that such a poetic product of the dramatic dance, even though communally composed and tending to become narrative, would not, or could not, or did not develop into the ballad; because though the folk or "ignorant, uneducated people" can re-create ballads they cannot create them. In the course of oral transmission, by simple preservation or by transformation, the "ignorant, uneducated people" have handed over admittedly first-rate things to the collectors, but those who are at once ignorant and uneducated can develop folk ballads only from ballads or narrative poems of individual authorship (p. 118).

Miss Pound has come to this conclusion partly because she rejects the concept of the homogeneous folk. If she thinks that she has fairly met the social aspects of the question by pointing to the penitentiary (158) and the cowboy camp (233f.) as showing the highest achievements of homogeneity in the history of the race, one can only say that the subject has its critical literature. The authorities here as everywhere are not of one mind, and our quarrel with Miss Pound at this point is not that she disagrees with Mr. Gummere but that she declines to argue the question in the light of knowledge. It is typical of one of the many differences between Mr. Gummere and Miss Pound that whereas the former analyses the opinions and weighs the arguments of Ribot, Tarde, le Bon, Reclus, Gumplowicz, Grosse and others, Miss Pound makes no serious attempt either to understand or to refute the hypothesis of the homogeneous folk. "Try to imagine," she exclaims "Jack Straw's menye ruled by the same habit of thought as Chaucer's Squire, or Froissart's Jacquerie by the same standard of action as Froissart himself?" Does our author seriously think that Professor Gummere ever entertained so preposterous an idea?

If the homogeneous folk is one obstacle in the way of Miss Pound's acceptance of Professor Gummere's theory, the association of the ballad with the dance is another. Our author grants that there is evidence for such association but she discounts its value by declaring that the utilization of narrative songs in the dance would not "represent an original stage but would be exceptional rather than normal." The dancing to Danish ballads she thinks does not help the communalists because this was the dancing of the high-born. But Steenstrup in the second chapter of his *Mediaeval Popular Ballad* brings out clearly the necessary association of the more aristocratic dances with the dances of the folk; so that, to borrow an adjective from Miss Pound, it would be absurd to suppose that dancing to ballads was the exclusive amusement of the

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gentry. Quite apart, however, from the general support given the communalists by the Danish ballads, the fact of the widespread accompaniment by the dance of the indubitably popular "Maid Freed from the Gallows" points to early association of dance and ballad. In the Middle Ages there was quite normal association of narrative poems and dancing if we can trust E.K. Chambers with his unrivalled knowledge of the mediaeval documents. In the *Mediaeval Stage* Miss Pound must have read: "No doubt the earliest heroic *cantilenae*[1] were still communal in character. They were rondes footed and sung at festivals by bands of young men and maidens. Nor was such folk song quick to disappear. Still in the eleventh century the deeds of St. William of Orange resounded amongst the *chori juvenum;* and spinning-room and village green were destined to hear similar strains for many centuries more" (I, 26f.). Our author will not object to my resting here upon the authority of Chambers because she herself elsewhere quotes him with approval. It is true that Chambers says in a carefully qualified statement that "the ballad at least on one side of it was the detritus, as the lai had been the germ of the romance." But there is nothing here to conflict with the theory of the real Mr. Gummere; and, besides, Mr. Chambers says in a note which Miss Pound does not quote: "I think that Gummere (B. P. *passim*) succeeds in showing that the elements of folk-poetry in balladry is stronger than some of the above writers recognized,"—the "above writers" being Courthope, Henderson, and Gregory Smith (I, 69, note 3).

Poetic Origins and the Ballad is so far the most ambitious attempt to refute a theory which has received the support of many scholars, but with which the name of the late Professor Gummere is most closely associated. The reviewer, it should go without saying, has not space to consider the many points of difference between this theory and the views advanced by Miss Pound. What he has touched upon seemed to him to lie on the threshold of the argument. If there had been no homogeneous folk, there could have been no choral improvisation, as Professor Gummere understood the phrase. If there is little or no association of narrative folk-song and dance, there is small likelihood that the germ of the ballad will be found in choral improvisation. But the first point Miss Pound does not seriously argue, and the second she discusses with insufficient attention to the evidence. Our criticism of *Poetic Origins and the Ballad*, however, goes deeper than this. Its

[1] Chambers declares (I, 27, note 3): "It is important to recognize that the *cantilenae* of the folk and those of the professional singers existed side by side." The reviewer, of course, does not equate *cantilenae* with ballads. He is simply calling attention to the common practice among the folk of singing narrative poems to the accompaniment of the dance.

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author has entered upon her argument of the question before she has understood its terms. Let it once more be cried from the housetops that "The ballad was composed originally as any other poem is composed, by the rhythmic and imaginative efforts of the human mind. The differencing factors lie in the conditions of the process and not in the process itself. Again all that can be recovered by a reconstruction of these conditions is the poetic form, the ballad as ballad and not the original product."

H. S. V. Jones

"*THE POETIC MIND*," by Frederick C. Prescott. Macmillan. 1922.

In his essay, "Die Einbildungskraft des Dichters," Wilhelm Dilthey wrote (1887), "Die Poetik hatte zuerst einen festen Punkt in dem Mustergültigen, aus dem sie abstrahirte, denn in irgend einem metaphysichen Begriff des Schönen; nun muss sie diesen im Seelenleben suchen." The book under review is the most recent attempt to reach an understanding of poetry through an analysis of the "Seelenleben" of the poet. Moreover, it has been the intention of the author to conduct the analysis as far as possible through the self-analyses of the poets themselves. "Because they possess in their own minds the facts to be observed," he writes, "and because they also have quite exceptional powers of observation—the poets must furnish the chief materials in any investigation of the subject;" and it is his claim that "the book might almost be regarded as a description of the poetic mind in the language of the poets themselves" (Preface x.). No small part of the value of the book consists, indeed, in the wealth of relevant quotations from the poets, particularly of the English Romantic tradition.

But here is no induction without hypothesis. The hypothesis employed is drawn from the psychology of psycho-analysis and the unconscious: the treatise is another testimony to the pervasive influence of Freud. His works and those of his desciples, Jung, Stekel, Abraham and Silberer, besides French authors belonging to a similar school of thought—Ribot, Janet, and Chabaneix—are constantly referred to. The application of the views of these writers is made, however, in a fresh and original fashion. Moreover, much credit belongs to Professor Prescott for his showing that many of the leading conceptions of this school were anticipated by English writers. Of especial interest is the prominence given to the ideas of John Keble in his remarkable review of Lockhart's Life of Scott, printed in the *British Critic*, Vol. xxiv.

The title of the book indicates an important limitation of the investigation to the creative process of poetry, neglecting

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the finished product, the poem, and to poets of primary inspiration, the "ecstatic," like Shelley, excluding those of secondary inspiration, the merely "euplastic," like Dryden or Pope. Moreover, no fundamental distinction is recognized between poetry in prose and poetry in verse. It is imagination, inspiration, the poetic madness alone which counts for the author. This limitation of interest or point of view is not without influence, I think, upon the validity of Professor Prescott's central conceptions of poetry. To a discussion of these central conceptions I shall restrict myself in this review.

In order to answer the question, What is poetry? we are invited to consider the distinction between two modes of thought: the one, abstract and relatively unemotional, where associations are controlled by a practical purpose of adjustment to the environment; the other concrete and visionary, where the processes of association are free, guided only by some desire or feeling. The one way is the way we think when we work, the other is the way we think when we dream. To the second mode of thinking—"autistic" thinking, as Bleuler calls it—belongs not only dreaming in the narrow sense of dreaming by night, but also day-dreaming, the imaginings of primitive men and children, the visions of seers and the insane and, finally—poetry.[1] The first few chapters, including one on "The Imagination in Childhood—The Primitive Imagination;" are devoted to the proof of this thesis. Here ground familiar to the readers of Freudian literature is covered, but with such a fullness and novelty of illustration, drawn particularly from English sources, as almost to give the work the value of primary research.

And why does the poet create? In other words, what is the motive behind poetry? Prescott answers, again accepting the hypothesis of Freud, that it is the same motive that is back of the dream,—a repressed wish. He writes: " . . . . we are always busy in satisfying our desires, and in nothing else. We partly secure their actual satisfaction: in case we do not we imagine them satisfied, and the imaginary is to some extent a substitute for the real. Poetry and dreams, in general, represent such an imaginary satisfaction." (page 127). And, quoting Bacon, "the use of poetry . . . . hath been to give some shadow of satisfaction to the mind of man in those points wherein the nature of things doth deny it."

A far-reaching hypothesis of this kind would require, one would think, a great deal of verification, but it is one of the weaker points in Prescott's book that at this critical juncture in his argument he does not offer sufficient proof. That the

[1] Compare in this connection the earlier discussion of Dilthey in the work already referred to, contained in *Philosophische Aufsätze*, Eduard Zeller zu seinem fünfzigjährigen Doctor—Jubiläum gewidmet.

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principle is verified in a great many cases, perhaps in the largest number of cases, and has a certain antecedent probability derived from the connection between poetry and dreams, I do not deny. But when the author himself raises a doubt of its universality and asks the question whether a mood of pure joy or exultation might not be the one exception of an unrepressed feeling capable of inspiring poetry (page 129), he does not, in my opinion, offer sufficient argument to the contrary. The share of festal poetry is, I should suppose, very large, as is the share of festal art in general, from primitive to modern types of aesthetic celebration, and cannot, so far at least as I can see, be reduced to the formula of the repressed wish or emotion, without so expanding it as to empty it of all useful meaning. Such art is the expression rather of just those feelings which, instead of being repressed, are even now receiving their fulfilment.

No less important, I believe, as a motive to poetry is the wish to retain for meditation an experience which has excited wonder or curiosity. A poem is not infrequently a meditation upon an interesting experience, through which its ampler meanings are developed, with the result that it is better understood. From this point of view, the conservation of experience for reflection becomes one of the prime functions of poetry. The satisfaction in poetry is not by any means limited to the possession in the imagination of an object that is denied in reality, but includes the interest of reflecting upon the object. There is renunciation, and "sublimation"—to use the Freudian terminology—of the wish into *thought*. Of course it would be open to Prescott to deny that reflective poetry is poetry at all in his sense; for him vision, not thought, is its substance; yet the exclusion of meditative poetry would result in the exclusion of much that he would be loth to lose. For there are not two different types of poetry, a visionary emotional type, the "true" type, and a thoughtful aberrant secondary variety; meditation, reflection, thought, pervade most poetry, even the most passionate and imaginative, including such masterpieces of Prescott's favorite, Shelley, as "Adonais," "The Skylark," "The Ode to the West Wind." (How arbitrary of Prescott to write, page 44, "The quality of mercy is not strained, at least by itself, is not poetry, though it is Shakespeare's!") This aspect of poetry is one that serves markedly to differentiate it from mere dreaming; poetry is a dream, but a dream which has been bathed in thought. And the Freudians believe that there are even "dream thoughts" back of dream images,—which however Prescott, quite consistently with his own point of view, denies (page 71, note).

Another matter with reference to which it is difficult to see eye to eye with the author is his severance of imagination or

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vision from expression. "Language," Prescott says, "does not seem to be proper to vision as it is to ordinary thought. According to Freud, there is no true speech in dream. . . . " (page 46) Again, "there is a vast difference, as of two worlds, the world of dreams and the world of "every day," between the poet's inspiration and his poem. In his composition, the poet accomplishes a wonderful work of memory and translation, in bringing back this visitation of the spirit and giving it local habitation in a world of prose. To paraphrase Emerson, it is in the soul that poetry exists, and our poems are poor, far-behind imitations." (page 48). But surely, despite the weight of authority attaching to it, going back indeed to Plotinus, who averred that the idea is better, in all its forms, including the poetical, than any of its embodiments, surely, I say, this view is unsound. It is based on the illusion, to which we have all been subject, when while dreaming we feel that we have accomplished some great task or had the truth suddenly revealed to us. The materials of poetry come very largely, as Prescott claims, from the unconscious, and their first appearance in consciousness is often a detached and glowing vision, but for the poet, as well as for the world at large, the poem is the expression of this vision in patterned words, with all the transformation, probably for the better, which expression involves.

Moreover, unless we recognize that the gift and need of expression are equally fundamental to the poet with the gift of vision, we shall never be in a position to understand the fact and the manner of the poet's communication of his vision. Prescott does not offer any explanation why the poet should pass from vision to expression; he even says that "the visionary is in less need of expression or communication, and he finds communication more difficult" (page 46). This, in the case of the poet, is quite incredible. Poetry requires, or rather is, a special development of the function of language. I do not question its reliance on vision, or its kinship consequently with dreams and madness; but the poet is precisely that kind of visionary who has the gift of tongues. Fundamentally, poetry is, like all art, expression. And, from the psychological point of view, the chief problem of poetry is the connection, the gateway, between emotion—filled images and the rhythmical expression characteristic of poetry.

How, one wonders, does Professor Prescott reconcile this view of the severance of imagination and expression with what he says on page 241 about the connection between inspiration and rhythm—"The recurrent beat of verse is therefore not a super-added ornament, but a vital and inevitable accompaniment of the poet's feeling, going back, we may imagine, to the poet's heart—?" His entire chapter, "The Impulse and the Control," is well worth studying from this point of view. The

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author distinguishes a natural, fundamental rhythm in expression from metrical form which, following John Keble, he regards as a conventional device " . . . . useful in throwing a kind of veil over those strong and deep emotions which need relief, but cannot endure publicity."

Despite the limitations of theory indicated, "The Poetic Mind," regarded as a special study of the poetic *imagination*, throws light in many dark corners. Particularly valuable are Chapters XI., "The Imagination: Condensation and Displacement" and XII., "The Formation of Imaginary Characters." In the former, Prescott applies with no little success the mechanisms used by Freud in his *Traumdeutung* to the explanation of the metaphors and meanings of poetry. The application to poetry of Freud's notion of 'overdetermination' —the supposition that the elements of a dream may have not one, but many meanings—is especially suggestive and should be used with much success, I should think, in solving difficult problems of poetic hermeneutics. In other chapters where the author faces mysteries still unsolved by science and philosophy, as in the discussion of the relation of poetry to the unconscious in Chapter VI., or the prophetic character of poetry in Chapter XVI., while we may not be satisfied with the solutions presented, we are, at all events, stimulated.

De Witt H. Parker

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MANUAL OF MODERN SCOTS. By William Grant and James Main Dixon. Camb. Univ. Press, 1921.

"We have seen in recent years," say the authors in their introduction, "a revival of interest in Scottish history, literature, and antiquities." Obviously this *Manual* is intended to meet a demand occasioned by this renaissance, and at the same time to stimulate further study of Scottish letters. In a general way it attains both these ends. It makes it easy for the student of Scottish phonetics or grammar to satisfy himself on points which might otherwise have remained obscure, and it presents a collection of prose and verse, from Allan Ramsay to Ian Maclaren, which invites the curious to read further.

The book is divided into four parts: I, Phonetics; II, Grammar; III, Reader: Prose and Verse; and IV, Reader: Ballads and Songs. Part I is the necessary foundation of all that follows, for the student who fails to comprehend the phonetic principles set forth in this section, or to familiarize himself with the alphabet of the International Association, will find himself perplexed, especially by the phonetic transcriptions of texts in parts III and IV. Once this first part has been mastered, however, the rest is relatively easy sailing.

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Of the value of part I there can be no doubt. The treatment may at times seem unnecessarily technical, but on the whole there is little which will baffle any intelligent student. The index to words referred to in part I (pp. 66-72) is not the least valuable feature. And for the person who is interested in finding out how Scottish words are really pronounced, I know of no treatment more useful.

Part II, Grammar, is unnecessarily detailed, and halts between two opinions: it is at once a grammar and a sort of dictionary. The result is that what might have been an orderly grammatical treatise is interrupted by word lists, which in their turn are scattered annoyingly throughout the volume. To be sure a second index (pp. 487-491) makes the section more useful than it otherwise would have been, but there is still much to be desired. Furthermore, there is little excuse for the treatment in this section of unimportant dialectical peculiarities. If there be, as the authors say "a general Scottish speech —a real 'Lingua Scottica,' apart from dialect varieties,"[1] it is this general speech which should be treated; the more important variations could have been exemplified in an appendix.

The selections from Scottish literature which comprise parts III and IV are about what one would expect: much Burns, a little Lady Nairne, some Hogg, and various odds and ends of prose and verse—a *mêlange* which gives one a fair idea of what Scottish writers have been doing during the last two centuries. The arrangement of selections is awkward: the two parts should have been combined in one, some logical order—preferably chronological—should have been adopted, and there might well have been more specimens of genuinely "modern" Scots included. The chief value of these last parts lies in the fact that each text is accompanied by its phonetic transcription.

Finally, the brief chapter entitled "Intrusion of English into Scots" (pp. 209 ff.) is an admirable statement of the facts concerning the bi-lingual character of modern Scottish literature. This section should be read by all students of English or Scottish letters.

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THE ARNAMAGNEAN MANUSCRIPT 243 Bα Folio—The Main Manuscript of *Konungs Skuggsjá* in Phototypic Reproduction, with Diplomatic Text. Edited for the University of Illinois by George T. Flom. Urbana. The University of Illinois Press. 1916. Large Folio ($15).

With Larson's excellent translation (1917) Flom's careful Heliotype reproduction and study of Fragment R A 58c (1911),

[1] P. xxi.

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but especially with the present work,[1] American scholarship has had an honorable share in the study of the most important and interesting document of Old Norwegian literature.

Though by no means without lacunae and minor blemishes MS. 243 B,*a* folio, of the Arnamagnean Collection, Copenhagen, is preeminently entitled to the claim of being the main MS. of the score or so of Old Norse and Old Icelandic MSS. of the Old Norwegian *Speculum Regale.* Even if not the original but only a copy of it (or some MS. directly descended from it) it is of unquestioned authenticity by reason of the sincere attempt of the writer to reproduce faithfully the original before him. The result is a very dependable and straightforward text. Fortunately, too, it is written in a beautifully clear and legible hand which makes the perusal a pleasure, especially since the vellum is exceptionally well preserved. There is scarcely a letter that cannot be read with perfect ease, even by one who is not in practice in reading medieval documents. The few marginal addenda by other hands rather enhance the interest. As we have it the MS. contains 68 leaves or 136 pages of text.

Both in method of reproduction and arrangement of his comments, the editor has rather closely followed the procedure of the famous phototypic edition of the Codex Regius of the Elder Edda.

The diplomatic text of the page opposite the facsmile "aims to offer a true picture of the MS. as it left the copyist." In other words the reading of the actual document is to be facilitated without "editing" it in the slightest degree. To do this with modern type of course requires a good many compromises and a certain amount of standardization as to abbreviations, spacing, accents, and other paleographic features. In difficult cases there is always the facsimile opposite to clear up matters. And when this, too, fails—as in indicating the color of the ink, faint or unusual letters, erasures, etc. the appended Notes help out thoroughly. Of this intricate task, requiring not a little editorial tact and typographic skill, both editor and press have acquitted themselves admirably.

In the 67 folio pages of introduction containing notes on the early history of the MS and a minute description of its paleography, Professor Flom has furnished a model for the scientific treatment of a medieval document. This work is done once for all.—Of most general interest, perhaps, are his findings (p. LXI) as to the dialect of the scribe. He was copying a document written in a dialect different from his own, —as is now established with a fair amount of certainty the

[1] To these are now to be added: *The Language of the Konungs Skuggsjá. According to the Chief Manuscript, AM. 243 B. a Folio.* Part I: The Noun Stems and the Adjectives. By George T. Flom. University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature. Vol. VII, 3. Pp. 152.

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Konungs Skuggsjá originated in the district of Namdalen in Northern Norway—and unconsciously at times gave words the forms more familiar to him. The evidence points to the southern or central part of east Norwegian territory as having been his home and the paleographic evidence tends to support this conclusion, (P. LXII where it seems the paragraph heading (28) was omitted.)

The stately volume is highly creditable both to the scholarship of the editor and the far-sighted generosity of the University of Illinois.

L. M. HOLLANDER

Madison, Wis.

ANGEVIN BRITAIN AND SCANDINAVIA, H. G. Leach: Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature VI. Cambridge 1921.

The task which Mr. Leach sets himself in the present work is a great one; for it demands of the writer not only a knowledge of the literature and history of the Angevin period, but an understanding of the whole cultural development of Northern Europe,—the English, the Celtic, Norman, and the North Germanic. Many extensive and intensive studies of the period have been made—particularly by Scandinavian scholars, but Mr. Leach is the first to give us a complete survey of the period. This work presents us with an extremely valuable survey of material now unavailable for most American scholars, —work presented in the Scandinavian languages and often hidden away in monographs, in philological journals, or in the introductions to special texts. Then, too, Mr. Leach gives us the results of his own extensive investigations in European archives. Especially interesting, to the specialist, will be the chapters *Envoys and Traders* and *The Clergy*, with innumerable bits of documentary evidence of the commercial, diplomatic, and religious intercourse of Scandinavia and England. Here we do not find the big spectacular conquests that have attracted the attention of everyone; it is rather the everyday events, the little things, that which constitutes daily life,—and the mass of material, taken as a whole, impresses us more than the greatest Danish invasion.

Naturally a study of this scope is fraught with difficulties, and will of necessity have its shortcomings. Mr. Leach has recognized this himself, and in his introduction forestalled the most obvious criticism. To quote Mr. Leach: "In a work of this compass it is impossible to maintain proportionate treatment. While some chapters are based almost entirely upon first-hand study of original sources, other chapters which lie outside the Angevin period, such as those on the Scandi-

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navian settlement of Britain and on Epic Survivals, are necessarily rapid surveys of results obtained by specialist in pre-Conquest history and literature." Mr. Leach's statement is only too true. We are struck from the first with an unevenness and lack of balance in the presentation. And one is tempted to say, if the field to be covered is so great, why go beyond?

The main study begins with chapter two, *Envoys and Traders*, a comprehensive survey of the commercial and diplomatic relations of England and Scandinavia. Particularly the section on Norway is good. With great painstaking Mr. Leach has gathered evidence of the intimate connections between England and the North, which reached their height in the reigns of Hákon the Old and his son Magnus, gradually fell off after 1290, and finally were broken off by 1350 when the Hansa gained control of the northern trade. In chapter three, *The Clergy*, a similar survey of the religious influence of England is given. In time, this coincides with the commercial influence proved in the preceding chapter. The two chapters form a solid foundation for the detailed account of the literary movements analyzed later.

After two brief chapters on *Books of Instruction* and *Pseudo-Histories*, where we are startled to find Snorre's *Heimskringla* listed, we pass on to four chapters that form the real centre of the literary investigations,—*Western Romance*, *Tristan in the North*, *Breton Lays*, and *Arthur and Charlemagne*. Of these, the first gives a general survey of the movement of romance from the continent to Scandinavia, preceding the author's more elaborate analysis of three individual cycles. We are shown briefly and clearly the change in ideals of the saga-men under the influence of romance,—the introduction of all the glamor of chivalry, the love motif, and the fantastic adventures of the *Fornaldar sögur* and *Lygisögur*. Nor was the influence a sporadic one, but a movement which carried all before it.[1] At first the main source of romantic literature was England, but after 1290 Germany dominates.

The chapter on *Tristan* stresses the prose translation of 1226 made by Brother Robert for King Hákon. Mr. Leach presents a plausible argument that Robert, an Anglo-Norman monk, possibly later abbot of Lysa, performed the translation to celebrate King Hákon's marriage in 1225. Next follows an analysis of the saga of Harald Hringsbani and its relation to *Tristan*. In details the stories at first seem very different, but Mr. Leach adds: "But when we find . . . . the proxy-wooing is joined by a sea-voyage to the motif of the substituted bride,

[1] In Iceland more than 150 romances of foreign origin are preserved. Of these 73 have been printed. The sources of only 65 have been identified. Leach p. 158.

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as nowhere in literature save here and in *Tristan*, we realize that there must be some connection between the two." This certainly is right. But when the omissions in *Hringsbani* lead Mr. Leach to conclude that the saga goes back to an older form of the *Tristan* than that of the romances, I cannot follow him. In his analysis, Mr. Leach ignores a motif as important as those given above. This is the motif of *the evil counsellor*. This immediately suggests the Swanhild-Eormenric legend.[2] Is it not possible that we have in the *Hringsbani* a late version of the Swanhild legend fused with popular traditions of Tristan?

The full analysis of the Norse versions of the Breton Lays and the legends of Arthur and Charlemagne, chapters eight and nine, further substantiates the general argument of chapter six. This is followed by two chapters frankly not dealing with the Angevin literature: *Eastern Romance* and *Epic Survivals*. The latter serves as preliminary to the chapters *Six Viking Sagas* and *Outlaw Legends* in which a survey is given of viking in Angevin literature. In these chapters we get an account of Lothbrok, Siward, Havelok, and Horn and the northern elements in *Bevis* and in *Tristan*. The author also proves that Scandinavian traditions have influenced the English outlaw legends, though even as a "pleasant hypothesis" the statement that Gamelyn and Robin Hood are of Scandinavian descent seems too bold. The final element of Angevin influence the author touches is the vexed problem of the ballads. The chapter gives a brief argument for the transmission of the ballads from England to Scandinavia via Norway during the thirteenth and early fourteenth century.

A few words must be added about the three chapters already referred to as being outside the Angevin field. It is natural that the author begin with a chapter on the *Scandinavian Settlement of Britain*. Personally I wish it had been omitted or condensed to a paragraph or two suggesting, rather than outlining, the important events of this period. Many good studies covering this period are available which the reader could be referred to. As the chapter now stands it gives a one-sided view. It suggest that everything worth while in Early England came from Scandinavia; and it ignores the cultural set-back that the Viking invasions caused.

The brief summary of *Eastern Romance*, chapter ten, breaks the continuity and could well have been relegated to an appendix. It is extremely interesting, and deserves a much more complete treatment than the present book allows. Such a study it is hoped that Mr. Leach will give us on the basis of the great amount of material he evidently has gathered.

[2] In an article by Leach and Schoepperle in Publications for the Society of Scandinavian Study II, 1916, p. 264 ff., full cognizance of this possible relationship is taken. Why Mr. Leach ignores it here I do not understand.

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The chapter on *Epic Survivals* is, to me, the least satisfactory in the book. Again it seems that the author might have been satisfied to refer the reader to other works, giving merely a few suggestive paragraphs at the beginning of the next chapter. To treat adequately the knotty questions of *Beowulf*, *Widsith*, the *Offa* legend, Old English and Old Norse versification, etc., in a chapter of twenty pages, is impossible. The limited space has led Mr. Leach to give one-sided arguments. To illustrate, he believes the Géatas to be the Jutes. He gives a long list of arguments for this view and none for the view that supports the identity of the Géatas and Gautar. He even misleads the general reader by saying of the name Géatas that "in native northern sources no tribal name appears in just this form." Of course, he does not mean to obscure the fact that phonologically the O. N. Gautar is an exact correspondent. On p. 292 he speaks of "the Géat Óhthere." This is a slip for "the Swede Óhthere."

Besides these criticisms of specific chapters, only a few minor ones need be mentioned. The notes are, at times, insufficient. Too many general statements are made, substantiations of which are impossible because of the limit of space. In such cases, definite references in the notes would be very valuable. For example, on p. 49 the statement occurs, "Significant at any rate, is the circumstance that the crown of Norway, in John's time, actually possessed a fief in England." Why not, in a note, make this clear? On p. 117 an extremely interesting quotation from an English diary of 1557 shows St. Olaf to be worshipped in London of that day. No reference enables the general reader to know what diary this is or where it can be found. Other illustrations could easily be given. On pp. 150 and 166 references to notes are given; no corresponding notes are found. This, of course, is merely a printer's error. The arrangement which places the notes in the back of the book is, too, an awkward one. This, however, is a matter that the author possibly has had no control over.

But aside from these minor objections the work is an excellent one—one for which all students of English and Scandinavian culture will thank Mr. Leach. Few books that have appeared in this field have been so suggestive of the possibility of further work. Mr. Leach has broken ground. I hope he will find time to go on with the work and that others will follow his lead. And, greatest service of all, the book gives, as none other, a conception of the richness of the mutual contribution of cultural stimulous of England and Scandinavia.

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BOKMÅL OG TALEMÅL I NORGE 1560-1630. Av Ragnvald Iversen. I, Utsyn over Lydverket. Kristiania, 1921. Pp. X+311. [*Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter. II, Historisk-filosofiske Klasse*, 1920, 5.]

No better subject of investigation in the domain of Norwegian linguistic history could have been found, at the present time, than that of the book language of the decades immediately preceding and those immediately following the year 1600. The period is still almost entirely a virgin field, the study of which should be fruitful of valuable results in more ways than one; it is a transition period, a better knowledge of which than we now possess is much needed; a full examination of this period (together with especially the years 1500–1560) is absolutely necessary, before we can have a true history of the relation of cultured Norwegian to literary Danish in early modern times. It is becoming clearer every day that the traditional conception of that relation will have to be greatly modified. That conception is, in brief, that literary Danish was employed by Norwegians, not only as their literary medium, but that Danish had already by the close of the XVIth century established itself fully as the language of cultured intercourse; it was the language of the official classes, of the courts of justice, and of the church in Norway, used by Norwegians and Danes alike. Thus Alf Torp in *Salmonsons Konversations Leksikon*, 1902, XIII, p. 575, and likewise, Falk and Torp in *Dansk-Norskens Syntax*, XVI, and many others who have had occasion to express themselves.

A very different view is also met with recently, one which holds that in Norway at this time it was only the Danish officials that had settled in Norway who spoke Danish; Norwegians of all classes spoke their own dialect. At the outset this seems the more reasonable view, for Danish offered as yet no fixed literary and cultured spoken norm. The Danes were busy creating that kind of a literary norm, but in their daily intercourse in Denmark or in Norway Danes spoke dialect, each man spoke his own dialect. The Norwegians, too, had always spoken (each his own) dialect; it seems little likely that now, because of the political supremacy of Denmark, they should have begun to speak some form of the Danish language of books, when even the Danish officials about them did not do that, but continued to speak their own dialects.

It was to encourage a full investigation of this problem that the Norwegian government a number of years ago offered a prize of the royal gold medal for the best work upon the subject. But this offer has not before brought forth any response. About five years ago Ragnvald Iversen, however, undertook the investigation of this question, and the first results of five years of study of it is now issued by the Scientific Society of Christiania. The present reviewer has read Iversen's work

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with a great deal of interest and satisfaction, even though it does not seem to him that the author has completely proved his case. He feels, however, sometimes that the proof is in the author's hands, in the mass of as yet unpublished material; but in the author's conclusions he shares fully, as well substantiated by the wealth of material adduced in illustration of the successive problems considered. There are ca. three hundred pages dealing with the phonology; other parts to follow will deal in the same way with the forms.

The author's work is not a detailed examination of a special problem; there is still room for many such on the language of the period in question; often questions arise to which only special detailed researches can furnish absolute proof. His work is rather in the nature of a synopsis, in the first place, of the language of writing, and, in the second place, of the language spoken by the educated classes as it is reflected in the written language of the book-men and the scribes of the time. This, it will readily be seen, is by no means an easy task. We bear in mind that writers had no well established literary norm to follow, Danish any more than Norwegian; that the orthography of books printed at the time is characterized by inconsistencies and irregularities without number. So surprizing often are these that one could almost imagine that a writer was bent upon concealing his true pronunciation rather than revealing it; further also that the works of Norwegians were mostly printed in Denmark, and there always retouched by the typesetters, and non-Danish things eliminated as much as possible;[1] finally, that such writings as have been printed have only too often but illy reproduced the orthography of the originals (so even the editions of the most trustworthy scholars). And a large part of the writings of the period has not been printed; the author's sources include 3,000 pages of such unprinted material. And it adds not a little to the difficulty of the problem that many of the documents exist not in the original, but only in copies, or copies of copies (and the nationality of the copiest is perhaps not known).

The author first, Chapter I, takes up the quality of the vowels in stressed position, followed by those in unstressed position, pages 11-179; and the consonants, pages 176-266. A second chapter deals with quantity, pages 267–272. The third and final chapter gives a broad interpretation of the material as a whole and a summary of results, pages 273–296. An excellent register of all cited forms follows, pages 297–311, proper names here being listed separately. A résumé of results is in each case also given for the examination of the different vowels,

[1] It is significant that the printed writings of Halvard Gunnarson (Oslo) contain the Norwegian diphthongs in large number; but his writings were printed in Rostock, not in Denmark.

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diphthongs, consonants, certain consonant combinations, etc. The reader will feel that there is often rather too much repetition by following this method, for the phenomena under each head point for the most part to the same or very similar conclusions; but the method undeniably emphasizes the accumulative character of the evidence, enabling the author to carry the reader with him more effectively than otherwise. It was the author's original purpose to confine the investigation to specifically Norwegian words, but the progress of the work showed the necessity of also including words common to both Danish and Norwegian. Ultimately names of persons and places were also included; a large proportion of the material is naturally of this class. I am glad that also loan-words have been considered in the final form of the study. It is certainly correct that loan-words in Norwegian, even though they may have come in during the period of the rise of Danish linguistic hegemony, nevertheless, especially in Western Norway, very often came in, not *via* Danish, but directly from the foreign source in question. These may, therefore, often throw light in an interesting way back upon the native language and native linguistic practice. Translated books are not considered. The writings of Absalon Pederssøn (Bergen, Sogn), Peder Claussøn Friis (Southerwestern Norway, Arendal), Halvard Gunnarson (Oslo) and Bishop Jens Nilssøn (Oslo), naturally occupy a prominent place in the sources considered. Western, southern, and eastern Norway are well represented in the sources, less so northern Norway, in the period in question.

The vowels *a: aa*, as *gard* or *gaard*, are treated first. Here one is struck at once by the extent to which the writing with *a* occurs (particularly in compounds): *hard*, *kald*, *hand*, *var* (*waar*), or *aa* in *daa*, *fraa*, or *o* (*aa*) in *gong*, *song*, etc. But many such cases may be either Danish or Norwegian, as when *daa* is merely an orthographic variant of *da*, both standing for the pronunciation *da*. It becomes necessary here to sift the evidence carefully, so as to eliminate all elements of doubt. The author shows, that in numerous instances the language of Norwegian writers stands wholly apart from that of contemporary Danish writers and exhibits, in the first place, a distinctly more archaic character. The language of Norwegian bookmen seems to follow a different line; there are numerous features that are not at all characteristic of Danish writers of the time. It is shown here, and more conclusively still in some later parts of the work, as under diphthongs and the consonants, that Norwegian writers model their language, not on contemporary Danish, but on the language of the reformation period; and within this, not on the language of the chanceries, nor either that of the Bible of 1550, but on that of litera-

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ture.[2] But it is equally clear that also other factors are operating.

It is shown that Norwegian writers recognize to a certain extent the hegemony of East Norwegian.[3] And third, it is further shown that the dialect of the writer is an ever-present factor; thus under the vowel *a: aa* alone there are ca. seventy-five words of Norwegian form as opposed to Danish. The printed books, too, give but an imperfect picture of linguistic conditions in Norway; thus the printed sermons of Jens Nilsson have regularly *da*, *fra*, and similarly in all other matters; but his written sermons, which show what he wrote, are full of Norwegian forms (as *fraa*). In his résumé of the material under *u: o* the author says: "The Norwegian variant of the mutual book-language in part goes back to earlier Danish models, it is archaistic and literary, in part it goes its own way and creates anew, and here in a manner so as to partly modify the written form (several principles are here seen operating); partly it takes up into script forms which give expression to Norwegian sound conditions and Norwegian sound development, thus giving it more or less a Norwegian form and in greater or lesser degree a Norwegian stamp" (p. 107). In the writings of Absalon Pederssøn, especially, native words and elements, representing native pronunciation, are given a large place. There seems clearly present here a conscious effort to fix these tendencies in the written language in Norway—thus, to take an example from his orthography, there is the consistent use of *e* where Danish employed *a* (*ede*, *drebe*, *kne*, *tre*, *gred*, *prøl*, etc.).

The national influence and the special Norwegian tendency spoken of is perhaps most clearly evidenced in the writing of the diphthongs *au*, *ei*, *øi* (pp. 133–151). Exclusive of proper names the author has found ca. 200 separate words with the diphthong preserved (p. 146). The diphthongs were clearly used regularly in the spoken language of these writers. It is seen that the diphthong *ei* is the one that has the securest position in script (just as in Riksmaal to-day); *au* is met with only one-fourth as often, but this is probably chiefly due to the numerical superiority of words with *ei*. However, I am not certain but that the place of the dipthong *ei* in Danish and Dano-Norwegian facilitated the use of new (dialectal) Norwegian words with this diphthong as over against *au*. The influence of Danish (literary and dialectal) would perhaps have operated to a certain extent also around the year 1600.

Anent the question of East Norwegian influence upon the language of West Norwegian writers some of the author's examples are a little doubtful, it seems to me; especially as to how far the writing *mn*, *m*(*n*), for older *fn*(*vn*), can be so con-

[2] Particularly Tausen and P. Helgesen.

[3] This is seen even in the writings of Danes living in Norway.

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sidered always. In those West Norwegian dialects that to-day show ***vn*** or ***bn*(*bbn*)** for ON ***fn***, the form is ***m*(*n*)** before a consonant, as ***jamt***, ***jamlang***, etc. The author's examples are all of this kind. And this pronunciation ((***vn*** > ***m*(*n*)** before consonants was apparently present in West Norwegian as early as the end of the XIIIth century. Also when Peder Claussøn writes *jamgodar odalsjardar* he is probably writing as he pronounced, and not consciously taking over an East Norwegian form. How ever, there are plenty of other kinds of cases giving evidence of the position that East Norwegian had come to occupy. And this is a fact of very real interest. There was no common generally accepted norm for the spoken language in either Denmark or Norway at the time. "But the lendency was there, and that tendency was, in Norway, to set up not Danish, but East Norwegian as the normative factor, as the pattern for correct Norwegian speech" (p. 295). It is one of the chief merits of Iversen's work to have established this.

Space permits now merely the mention of one other matter. The author observes, p. 248, that "I fremlyd skrives *t* eller *th* svarende til gammelt þ enda i stor monn agsaa i pronomener og pronominale ord." Then suggesting that the writing with *t* may be phonetic to a certain extent, instancing such pronunciation in the very regions to-day (Absalon Pederssøn, Sogn).[4] But evidently this pronunciation (*tu*) is confined to such cases as *er tu*, *kann tu* (that is it is post-positive). Quite similar things may be observed in Old Norwegian already in the second half of the XXIIIrd century, and of course only in such position. Thus in *AM 243 B, a, Folio*—the chief Ms. of *Konungs Skuggsjá*, *skalltu* or *skaltu* is found ten times; further also *mattu*, *kanntu*, *parftu*, etc. Observe also *attu* = *at pu*.[5] I shall not enter further upon this point here. However, the author's suggestion that the writing of *tu*, in the cases he cites, *er eldre danske skriftmønstre som går igjen i vore kilder* I feel is assuming something that it is hardly necessary to assume. Here, too, Absalon Pederssøn wrote as he spoke, probably. And for such writing he had excellent authority in native models.

George T. Flom

EARLY PLAYS: Catiline, The Warrior's Barrow, Olaf Liljekrans. By Henrik Ibsen. Translated from the Norwegian by Anders Orbeck. The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1921.

Ibsen's early plays are of great interest and value to the student. The appearance of these three plays in English trans-

[4] As noted by M. Hågstad in *Festskrift til Professor Alf. Torp*, p. 68-69.

[5] Examples from the Ms. of my study of *The Language of the Konungs Skuggsjá*, II. Examples in the *Facsmile Edition*, 1916, p. 3, line b18, p. 4, line 1, etc.

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lation is therefore a welcome event. Particularly is this true as regards Ibsen's first play, *Catiline*, for the author revised this play twenty-five years after it was written, and included it among his authorized writings, thereby putting his stamp of approval upon it. Most of us have felt that it should not have been omitted from the Archer Edition. We have not been inclined to agree with Mr. William Archer in his rejection of the play on the grounds that Ibsen had impaired its biographical value without making it a better play. As Professor Orbeck (in his *Introduction*, p. XII) and others have pointed out, the revised edition is essentially the same as the original, except for linguistic and metrical changes. For the philologist the second edition has probably much less value than the first; but it is not for him that translations are made, as he is compelled to go to the originals. The general student of Ibsen, as well as Ibsen himself, was therefore entitled to have the revised and authorized play included in the ostensibly complete edition of the plays in English; and, so far as *Catiline* is concerned, Professor Orbeck has righted an injustice, for the series of *Scandinavian Classics* is probably as well known, at least in the student world, as in the Archer Edition.

Ibsen's preface to the second edition of *Catiline* (half a dozen pages of great historical value) contains the following passage, giving the author's reason for including the play among his authorized writings: "Much, around which my later writings center, the contradiction between ability and desire, between will and possibility, the intermingled tragedy and comedy in humanity and in the individual,—appeared already here in vague foreshadowings, ... " (Orbeck's translation, p. 6). It will be noted that Ibsen's summary is inclusive of much,—but not of too much,—for, in spite of its weaknesses as a play for the stage, *Catiline* does contain the elements that the author saw in it. It is therefore worthy of serious consideration as a part of his development. It is also abundantly worthy of consideration as the firstling of his genius; for we should all be interested in, and can profit by, the study of origins.

The Warrior's Barrow, a one-act piece, was written in 1850 (Professor Halvdan Koht, in *Efterladte Skrifter*, Vol. I, p. LXIII, gives the date as 1851; but this is an error. See T. Blanc, *Henrik Ibsen og Christiania Theater*, Kristiania, 1906, p. 2.). It is based on a non-extant one-act piece, called *Normannerne*, written in 1849, the year of the completion of *Catiline*. Ibsen's first play had failed of acceptance for the stage, and *Normannerne* was never offered for presentation. *The Warrior's Barrow*, however, won the distinction of three presentations at the Christiania Theater in 1850, thus becoming the first Ibsen play to be acted. This version of the play was

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made accessible to us by Dr. M. B. Ruud in 1917 (in *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, Vol. IV, p. 313-337). While manager of the theater at Bergen, and theater poet, Ibsen published a new version of the play in 1854; and it is this later version that Professor Orbeck has translated. *The Warrior's Barrow* is important as Ibsen's earliest extant attempt at dealing with material from the sagas. Both in matter and manner it shows the strong influence of Oehlenschlaeger on the young poet. Professor Fredrik Paasche has, however, pointed out that the later version shows much more independence and maturity in the handling of characterization than does the earlier (*Gildet paa Solhaug*, Kristiania, 1908, p. 63 ff.). In this same connection he has also called attention to the influence of Welhaven and Heiberg on the later version. Professor A. M. Sturtevant has confirmed and elaborated upon the results of Professor Paasche's investigation (*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. XII, p. 407 ff.). All in all, then, *The Warrior's Barrow* has considerable historical importance, apart from its being Ibsen's first acted play. Nor is it entirely without literary merit; and the author makes it evident here (as indeed he had already done in *Catiline*) that he is a more daring and aggressive personality than the predecessor whom he followed as his chief model in this play.

Olaf Liljekrans is an outgrowth of Ibsen's attempt at using the folk tale for dramatic purposes. In 1850, the year of the first version of *The Warrior's Barrow*, Ibsen began a play based on the folk tale "The Grouse of Justedal," the source being Faye's *Norske Folke-Sagn* (second edition, 1844, p. 129–131). This play was never completed; but what was written is mostly in iambic pentameter, though several pages are in prose; and lyric measures are also introduced, but not the ballad meter. The fragment has not very much historical value except as an indication of Ibsen's early interest in the folk tale. In 1852, in *Sankthansnatten*, Ibsen began to use ballad material and ballad measures, but as yet very sparingly. In 1856–1857, after having used ballad material and meter very freely in *The Feast at Solhoug* (1885), he combined ballad material from Landstad's *Norske Folkeviser* (1853) with the earlier fragment *The Grouse of Justedal*, and wrote *Olaf Liljekrans* in ballad meter and in prose, as he had done in the case of *The Feast at Solhoug*. In spite of its being, on the face of it, a pure romance, the satirical elements clearly point forward to *The Comedy of Love*, *Brand*, and *Peer Gynt*. However, even as early as 1852, in *Sankthansnatten*, Ibsen had mixed romantic love with satire; and *Sankthansnatten*, rather than *Olaf Liljekrans*, must therefore be considered the earliest forerunner of his three great metrical dramas. *Sankthansnatten* is also of interest as showing indebtedness to Shakspere's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

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Although its form is crude, we have cause to regret that Professor Orbeck did not translate also this little play,—the only one of much significance that now remains untranslated.

In a historical introduction of seven pages, Professor Orbeck sets before us, in the main adequately, the background needed for the understanding and evaluation of the plays translated. The sources of *Catiline* are, however, treated very cursorily; and, as this is Ibsen's first play, we should have welcomed more elaboration. Sallust and Cicero are of course mentioned, and also the general influence of Oehlenschlaeger; but that is all. There are at least two other sources that have been dwelt on by scholars. Repeatedly certain rather striking analogies between *Catiline* and Schiller's *Die Räuber* have been referred to; and, at least on two occasions, Professor Koht has emphasized (in my opinion over-emphasized) Ibsen's indebtedness to Wergeland, and particularly to the latter's first tragedy, *Sinklars Død.* There are also a few Shakspere echoes in *Catiline;* although these may have crept in through Oehlenschlaeger, Schiller, Goethe, and Wergeland, whose early plays are full of them. Ibsen almost certainly owed something to Oehlenschlaeger's last tragedy, *Kiartan og Gudrun;* and, as this relationship seems to have escaped notice, a few words on this point may not be out of place. *Kiartan og Gudrun* was published in October, 1848; *Catiline* was written during the following winter. Since Ibsen was a close student of Oehlenschlaeger at this time, it is very probable that he read the new play soon after it appeared; if he did he must have had it vividly in mind at the time he wrote his play, and this may account for the similarities between the two. In both plays the hero loves two women, one fair and gentle, the other dark and heartless. In both plays the hero dwells upon the fact that there is a very great difference between his two loves. In both plays the dark woman kills the hero, after having first attempted to bring about his death through the instrumentality of a man who seeks her favor. Kiartan calls Gundrun "aanden uden sjæl," a sentiment which *Catiline* also expresses with reference to Furia, though not in the same words. A number of echoes of minor details could be added; but perhaps enough has been said to show a probable indebtedness. There are equally striking similarities between *Catiline* and Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris;* and this too has, I believe, escaped notice. The considerable number of analagous passages in the two plays makes it difficult to suppose that the similarities are accidental. To do justice to this relationship would, however, require extensive quoting of parallel passages; I shall therefore attempt to set it forth in detail on another occasion.

In his *Introduction* (p. IX) the translator refers to Faye's book as "*Norwegian Folk-Tales* (1844)." The reference is

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misleading, since this is the second edition, as Faye himself states on the title-page. The first edition appeared in 1833 (For the latter date see, for instance, Henrik Jaeger, *Illustreret Norsk Literaturhistorie*, Vol. I, p. 164.).

On page XI, I find the following sentence: "In *The Feast at Solhoug* and the final version of *Olaf Liljekrans* he employed the ballad meter, and this form became the basis for the verse in all his later metrical plays." The expression *final version* is misleading, as there was only one version. But of more consequence is the last clause. The meter of *The Comedy of Love* is rimed iambic pentameter; and it is difficult to see that it has much, if anything, in common with the ballad meter. The two meters of *Brand* have, I believe, nothing directly in common with the ballad meter; whereas they are both used extensively in the dramas of Paludan-Müller, a poet who is known to have influenced Ibsen considerably during this period (See, for instance, H. Eitrem, *Nogen av de danske forudsætninger for "Brand" og "Peer Gynt," Gads danske Magasin*, April, 1913.). It is true that a very considerable part of *Peer Gynt* is based on the ballad meter; but several other meters are also used, in particular the two used in *Brand*. The first half of the first act of *Peer Gynt* and much of *Brand* may be compared with the following lines from Paludan-Müller's drama *Venus* (Paludan-Müller, *Poetiske Skrifter i Udvalg*, 1909, Vol. I, p. 303):

Har jeg dette Værk fuldbragt,
Da jeg kaster Landsens Byrde;
Ikke meer jeg Dyret myrde
Vil som før paa blodig Jagt;
Hos den fredelige Hyrde
Laaner Bolig jeg og Dragt.

The more common meter in *Brand*, but less common in *Peer Gynt*, may be compared with the following speeches from Paludan-Müller's drama *Ahasverus* (op. cit. Vol. III, p. 168–169); and the Ibsen-like diction and spirit should also be noted:

Ahasverus. Det kan dit Offer her dig sige.
Vee over dig og dine Lige!
Hvorlænge tror du vel, dit Guld
Har Større Værd, end Støv og Muld?
Manden. Det veed en Jøde bedst. Saalænge
Som Folk har Liv, er Livet Penge.
Ahasverus. Men anden Lyd nok Piben fik,
Ifald nu Verden brat forgik?
Manden. Ja vist, du Nar! Paa Dommedagen
Da vil vi tales ved om Sagen.

Almost certainly, Paludan-Müller also influenced the form of *The Comedy of Love;* although the indebtedness here is not nearly so evident (See Fr. Ording, *Kjærlighedens Komedie*, Kristiania, 1914, p. 46 f.). Later, in an extended investigation, I hope to show definitely the influence of Paludan-Müller

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on Ibsen's three great metrical dramas, both as regards subject-matter and form.

In stating some of the conclusions set forth in Professor Sturtevant's article called attention to above, the translator (p. XI) fails to mention that Professor Paasche had already pointed to these matters, and that the American scholar confirmed and very ably elaborated, rather than originated, the conclusions in question. This is doing the Norwegian investigator scant justice, especially since his work is excellent, as far as it goes. Professor Sturtevant himself, in his article, gives due credit.

In reading the translations of the plays, one gets the general impression that they are good, in many passages excellent. The translator understands Ibsen thoroughly, interprets him faithfully, and turns him into adequate English form. He is accurate, though not always literal. However, there are many details which one might wish different. In general, there is less to find fault with in *Olaf Liljekrans* than in the plays in blank verse. In my comments and examples I shall therefore restrict myself to *Catiline*, the most important of the three, and probably the most difficult to translate. The examples from the original are taken from the *Mindeudgave*, the edition that the translator used.

Apart from an occasional trochee in the first foot, Ibsen's blank verse is almost free from substitutions of meter. In fact, he is monotonously regular. To have reproduced the almost absolute regularity of the original, may or may not have been desirable; authorities would probably disagree on this point. However, lines like the following, of which there are many, are perhaps too far from the original to be adequate:

P. 21. Close by the Tiber, far from the city's tumult,
P. 50. Ah, Catiline, you rave! Nothing of this
P. 56. Where are you? When shall I see your face again?
P. 59. No;—do not leave me! I am in all things willing!
P. 92. Relieve me of my burden! Do you not see,

One also meets an occasional expression or line which is more or less awkward. The following are probably among the worst, and are not, it seems to me, justifiable:

P. 23. { Has he maligners not enough already?
Dare I still others to their number add?

P. 32. { I too a shadow shall his shade pursue;—
Where Catiline is, must Furia also be!

P. 35. My fate has willed it so. It must so be!

One often finds an expression or line which, when compared with the original, sounds disagreeably colloquial. It must be remembered that *Catiline* is highly rhetorical, especially in the longer speeches. Expressions like these that I have italicized are therefore questionable:

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P. 18. *This peaceful temple here* I hate the more,
P. 27. And soon forgets the *sorry* by-gone ages.
P. 30. Yes; but be quick, *old man;* go free your son.
P. 42. Who sought the throne *straight over* a father's corpse?
P. 70. And now you come *and want to* wrest from me

In a very few instances the translator dares to use expressions that are unidiomatic, or very nearly so. The italics are mine:

P. 37. *What value* henceforth *is* a sword to me?
P. 56. *What would you me?* In vain is all your pleading.
P. 75. Stand ready now; the man we *wait* is coming!

The instances of serious inaccuracy are very few. I note the following, some more unsatisfactory than others:

Jeg slugte disse skrifter (p. 8) . . I swallowed these documents (p. 3.)
engang (p. 14.) . . bedtimes (p. 10)
niding (p. 21) . . coward (p. 21)
lampens matte skin (p. 22) . . this dim candle light (p. 22)
hjemlig (p. 26) . . homely (p. 28)
hvert fortidsminde (p. 33) . . Each memory recurrent of the the past (p. 37)

A touch of present-day sentimentalism has crept into the translation:

min skønne sværmerinde (p. 20) . . my sweet enthusiast (p. 19)
O, hvor lifligt! (p. 72) . . Oh, how sweet! (p. 94)
Aurelia (p. 28) . . Aurelia dear (p. 30)

In the last example the word "dear" is padding; but padding is hardly necessary here; besides, whenever the word "dear" comes immediately after the proper noun that it modifies, the padding becomes too soft. In this age of too much sentimental fiction, we no doubt find it difficult to keep our language inviolate; but let us beware. *Sentimentalism is sentiment gone mad.*

On page 12 "deceive us" rimes with "relieve us," a Byronic rime which would be much more in harmony with the spirit of *Peer Gynt* than with that of *Catiline*. On page 15 "there's the rub" is introduced, though the original does not suggest Shakspere. On page 19 we meet the ill-sounding expression "auspicious spark."

I note two misprints: "Duma's" (p. VIII) for "Dumas" and "Actean" (p. 90) for "Acteon." Of course there may be some that only the translator can detect.

The book is well printed on good paper, and bound in the attractive binding of the earlier volumes of the series of *Scandinavian Classics.*

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THE DEPENDENCE OF PART I OF CYNEWULF'S CHRIST UPON THE ANTIPHONARY. By Edward Burgert, O. S. B., Ph.D. Washington, D. C., 1921. Pp. 102. (Presented as a doctoral dissertation in the Catholic University of America.)

Professor Cook's monumental edition of the *Christ* of Cynewulf (1900) has made this poem one of the most thoroughly explored regions of Old English literature. What the present study of *Christ I* does is to undertake the difficult task of elaborating Cook's already elaborate conclusions. After Cook's brilliant discovery of the source of *Christ I* in the Great Antiphons of Advent (supplemented by Samuel Moore, *Modern Language Notes* xxix. 226–7), most of that part of the poem, at least, would seem to be thoroughly accounted for. The most interesting unsolved problem of *Christ I* is the so-called *Passus* (ll. 164–213), the dramatic dialogue which interrupts the sequence of the Antiphons. But Burgert's point of departure is that there is still a problem as to the structural unity of *Christ I*, this despite the fact that a unity of lyrical mood is apparent to every reader, and that the known liturgical sources give the poem all the compactness and coherence that one may require. What Burgert does is to try to push the unity derived from the liturgical basis as far as possible. For example, he points out that the spacing of the MS. seems to divide the sections into groups of three, and that this indicates a symmetrical structure probably suggested by the three-line stanzas of the church hymns. To get this mechanical symmetry, however, he has to exclude the *Passus* as an interpolation by a later writer, and the last Antiphon (ll. 416–439) as a mere postscript (pp. 18–22)—an act of violence which suggests that the poem is being subjected to the ordeal of the Procrustean bed. The "hymnic unity" so obtained is suspiciously artificial, seems to be based on the MS. rather than on the poem itself, and offers only meagre compensation for the loss of two sections which are part and parcel of the poem. Later (p. 27) Burgert seems to admit the possibility that the *Passus* may be by Cynewulf, and he shows (pp. 27–29, 76–77) that the theme of this passage is closely associated with the Vigil of Christmas, and so connected with the rest of Part I.

In the discussion of the sources and structure of the various divisions little is added to what Cook has already done. Though Burgert (p. 31) points out a source in *Proverbs* for ll.239– 40 closer than the *O Sapientia* Antiphon mentioned by Cook, he does not note that Cook refers also to the *Proverbs* passage (*Christ of Cynewulf*, p. 101). In the discussion of Division IX the Ezekiel digression is well connected by Burgert with the phrase *per auream egredere portam*, used in the preceding

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Antiphon, but this is implied in Cook's note referring from l.252 to l.308. For Division X (ll.348–377) no satisfactory source has ever been cited, and here Burgert makes an interesting suggestion. He regards the passage as Cynewulf's own O, and thinks that in composing it the poet used as a subsidiary source the Preface for the Mass *In Vigilia Domini in Nocte.* Here, as in ll. 348–57 of the *Christ,* the theme of the eternal generation of the Son is emphasized. This source is all the more likely, Burgert argues, because "the Preface is always the prelude to the *Sanctus* or 'Trisagion' of the Mass. In like manner is Division X followed by the Doxology, a hymn of praise to the Holy Trinity, which (ll. 403–15) contains a faithful paraphrase of the Sanctus of the Mass" (p. 42). Here the author's knowledge of liturgiology seems to be applied to good purpose. For the Doxology itself he accepts Cook's sources, adding another very general parallel, an Antiphon used in the Votive Office of the Angels. It should be pointed out, however, that Cook had already suggested the significance of the relation of Preface and Trisagion as it applies to Division XI (*Christ of Cynewulf,* p. 111); and that Cook (loc. cit.) and Bourauel (*Zur Quellen-und Verfasserfrage von Andreas Crist und Fata.* Bonner Beiträge xi. 99–100) quote Prefaces to the Christmas Mass (Migne 78. 25, 31) which are at least as important for the structure of the passage as the Antiphon cited by Burgert. He also makes the very plausible conjecture that the lost beginning of *Christ I* would contain the three great O's wanting in the extant portion—*O Sapientia, O Adonai, O Radix.*

Burgert further tries to show that the order of the Antiphons in the poem corresponds to the order of the O's in the service from which Cynewulf derived his inspiration. But from the very evidence used to prove this point it appears that the point is incapable of proof. The standard order of the O's in the Antiphonaries "does not necessarily point to the same order in the chanting of the Antiphons" (p. 56). The liturgical forms of the age of Cynewulf were profuse and various. The order of the O's in *Christ I* does not correspond to the order in any known Antiphonary; to assume the existence of an Antiphonary which Cynewulf followed exactly is plausible, but not necessary, and really adds nothing to our knowledge of the poem. Burgert practically claims a double source for *Christ I* —both the actual service as chanted and the Antiphonary more or less as written—and he adopts whichever one happens to suit his purpose at the moment. Thus he asserts that Cynewulf allows only a "single dislocation" in the conventional order of the Universal O's. But Cynewulf departs violently from the Antiphonary when he telescopes the series of Added or Monastic O's (A) with the series of Universal O's (U), these

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two being grouped separately in the service books. Cynewulf's arrangement is U U A—A U U—(*Passus*) A A X (Source unknown)—(Doxology) A. (The dashes indicate the one-line spaces in the MS.) There are half-hints of symmetry here, but nothing tangible or obvious, and Burgert is forced to appeal again from the Antiphonary as written to the actual church services of Cynewulf's day.

The general chronological association of the various sources, particularly in the second half of *Christ I*, is well emphasized. Burgert shows a definite sequence in time from the *Passus*, associated with the Vigil of Christmas, through the two Added O's, the Doxology, and the appended *O admirabile commercium*, which comes a week later in the service. Evidently the lyrical impulse of the Anglo-Saxon poet chose certain closely related parts of the church service as the basis for his work. But we cannot hope to account to the very last iota for all the omissions, inclusions, and sequences of the poem.

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ALBION W. TOURGÉE, by Roy F. Dibble, Lemcke & Buechner, New York, 1921, pp. 161.

This work on Tourgée, which is a Columbia University doctoral dissertation, is important in that it shows the entrance of candidates for the doctorate into a new field, submerged recent American literature. Tourgée's career as a writer extended from 1867 to 1902, the time of his greatest popular success being about 1880. He was scarcely noticed by competent critics during his lifetime, and he has been practically forgotten since his death, which occurred in 1905. Probably his chief claim to distinction is based upon the fact that he was the first writer of fiction to deal with the problem of Reconstruction in the South. Tourgée's works upon the questions arising out of Reconstruction include a series of six novels, some serious books or tracts, and a large number of articles of various kinds. One of the novels, *A Fool's Errand, by One of the Fools* (1879), was a "best-seller," its sale reaching nearly a hundred thousand copies within a year of publication. Tourgée did not, however, confine his writing to the Negro question. He wrote novels or other works upon Christian Socialism, Labor and Capital, the methods of trusts, independence in politics, the consular system, the Gold Standard, and other subjects, to say nothing of his work as editor of more than one publication and his long series of articles for the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* (1884–1895).

Such a subject as Tourgée necessarily precludes one kind of scholarship. "Research," insofar as that term means the

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examination of all that has been thought, said, or conjectured upon the subject, in countless dissertations, brochures, articles, and books, is out of the question. The author of such a book is a biographer, an expositor, and a critic.

Mr. Dibble is a good biographer. Enough is told of Tourgée's ancestry, his education, his experiences in the Civil War and in North Carolina during Reconstruction days, his rise and fall as a popular writer, to humanize him and to explain the large autobiographical element in his novels. The narrative is clear and vivacious, and it contains passages from Tourgée's diary and letters that add much to the vividness of the portrait. It is apparently accurate, and is as thorough as is needed for the subject.

The exposition of the work of Tourgée is adequate as regards synopses of his principal publications. The synopses are less satisfactory in the case of his minor works. For example, in speaking of *John Workman's Notions* (p. 115), Mr. Dibble says that "John Workman professes to be a great friend of the laboring classes. He discusses the historical background of his subject, and then applies the lessons drawn from his study of modern conditions. There can be little doubt that Tourgée was mainly indebted to Ruskin for most of his ideas on political economy, for he reaches much the same conclusions as Ruskin had reached twenty years earlier, and advocates many of the same fantastic remedies which the great Victorian had suggested." This would be much clearer exposition, if Mr. Dibble had told just what conclusions Tourgée reached and just what remedies he advocated. Ruskin's concrete suggestions were numerous.

Moreover, the book does not contain as clear an exposition as could be wished of Tourgée's views upon Reconstruction and the whole Negro problem. The general statement (pp. 64–66) and the discussion of the subject at other places hardly give a complete view of what the problems of Reconstruction were in their entirety. Tourgée, in his *An Appeal to Caesar* (1884), says that it is not strange that race prejudice should exist (p. 97), that the Southern slave-master was not, as a rule, cruel to his slave (p. 98), that it makes no difference, in the solution of the race problem, whether this racial prejudice is acquired or instinctive (p. 91), that it is not peculiar to the South (p. 88), that there is trouble ahead in the economic competition of the races (pp. 106, 184–198, 219), that the Southern white man has kindly feelings toward the Negro. Some of these, at least, must seem to Mr. Dibble to be points of no importance, for he makes no mention of them. But it is necessary to know that these were the views of Tourgée in order to understand the high praise of *A Fool's Errand* by Professor C. Alphonso Smith (quoted by Mr. Dibble on p. 70 from the *O*

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Henry Biography): "After reading many special treatises and university dissertations on the kind of Reconstruction attempted in the South I find in *The Fool's Errand* the wisest statement of the whole question yet made." (Professor Smith is a native of Greensboro, North Carolina, for several years the home of Tourgée.) It is necessary to know these views of Tourgée in order to evaluate properly recent illuminations and solutions of the Negro question. Perhaps the last word on the Negro question is the article upon "Racial Minorities" in *Civilization in the United States*, by Mr. Geroid T. Robinson. Diligent search in this fails to show any argument that is not in Tourgée. Proper exposition of the views of Tourgée would help us to understand just what the school of Boas, Lowie, Seligmann has added to the scientific knowledge of the Negro question. Mr. Dibble makes a sincere effort to state the question without bias, however, and his work is happily free from any attempt at propaganda. His work is almost at the opposite pole as regards feeling upon the question from that of such fervid persons as Mr. Robinson and Mr. Seligmann on one side and Mr. Thomas Dixon on the other. One hardly knows what to think of what seems to be Mr. Dibble's summary of the whole matter, in which he speaks of "some tremendous social convulsion whose surgings are soon calmed by legislative measures, or simply by the progress of time with its accompanying increase of more charitable, because less interested,opinions" (p. 132). Neither has calmed Mr. Dixon or Mr. Seligmann.

The novel subject of Mr. Dibble is to be justified largely by his ability as a critic. A scholar who is writing upon Chaucer, for example, may write with apparent critical intelligence by merely following the best of the numerous guides who have led the way in the treatment of Chaucer. One who is writing upon Tourgée has no such guides. His own critical judgment will appear for what it is, and it may range all the way from mere impressions to judgment by the most rigid of rules. Mr. Dibble's method seems to be a combination of judgment by the rigid code of the naturalists with the spirit and the flippancy of the anti-Victorian group. Tourgée is criticised for his romanticism and his use of melodramatic incident, idealized types of character, and the happy ending. All this is done in the name of realism, and it all belongs to the hard and fast code that, if applied consistently, would condemn Scott and Shakespeare almost as much as Tourgée. On the other hand, Mr. Dibble has no sort of patience with Tourgée's didacticism, partly on aesthetic grounds but more, it seems, because it is Victorian, and the Victorians had as the "chief article in their creed: the interpretation of everything terrestrial by what they conceived to be celestial standards" (p. 133).

The following excerpts from Mr. Dibble's critical judgments

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will indicate that he has faithfully studied the methods of the anti-Victorian School of Critics:

"....a sentimental sop for the public at the end, for virtue is rewarded and vice punished with the most exasperating mechanical inevitability" (p. 72). "....in an endless variety that still had unity in the fact that these effusions were all largely cant, after the manner of most popular magazines" (p. 86). ".... the same debonair, patronizing, uncle-to-nephew tone that had characterized the first two series" (p. 101). "....hosts of marriages that have taken place in fiction between sentimentality (in this case both of love and religion) and Gothic Romance" (p. 105). ".... the production of a chain of age-worn truisms, which rolled unceasingly from his affably condescending and unconsciously tiresome pen" (p. 108). "....gushing sentiment and religious piety frequently and fervently kiss each other" (p. 112). "It is quite possible that Tourgée may have got from Roe hints of the device, so frequently used by that perpetrator of several viciously virtuous pieces of fiction, of hurling many souls into the hopper of atheism, whence they finally emerge, after a severe jostling and grinding process, as uniformly orthodox Victorian Christians" (p. 112). "...after indulging in the usual amount of emotional acrobatics, is thoroughly cleansed of his former nefariousness...." (p. 114). "....piety is fortunately almost completely absent" (p. 118). "Needless to say, it is raised, villainy is properly punished, and poverty-stricken, spotless virtue is amply recompensed for its unswerving adherence to the straight and narrow path" (p. 122).

Tourgée was only a skilful humanitarian journalist. He had no new thoughts about that which is permanent in human nature; he created no outstanding figures in fiction; he had, as Mr. Dibble points out, no sense of humor; he did not say best what has often been thought. For these reasons, he is a small figure in American literature and not because he was didactic, not because he employed the happy ending, not because he believed that virtue will be rewarded in this world (in fact, in his works, virtue may be murdered by the Ku Klux). Moreover, the age of H. G. Wells and Bernard Shaw and Edgar Lee Masters has not entirely rejected didacticism.

Mr. Dibble is not a scholarly critic in other directions. He says that Tourgée "neither followed nor started any very distinct literary traditions" (p. 147). But Tourgée clearly belongs with the humanitarians among his contemporaries and predecessors. He should be classed with Harriet Beecher Stowe, with Dickens, with Charles Reade, with Charles Kingsley, with Victor Hugo. Mr. Dibble does little more than mention the possible relationship in the case of Kingsley, and pays no attention at all to Reade and Victor Hugo as influences upon Tourgée.

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This dissertation indicates the possibilities of a new field for research, but it does not fully realize them. Such a study should develop a sound critic as well as a capable biographer. If such a field simply leads to writing that is clever rather than sound, to judgments based upon the fashionable prejudices of the moment rather than those based upon fundamental principles of art, it may be well for the candidates for the doctorate to revert to Chaucer and Caedmon.

VIRGIL L. JONES
University of Arkansas

THE POETRY OF CHAUCER. A Guide to its Study and Appreciation. By Robert Kilburn Root. Boston. Houghton Mifflin Company; revised edition, 1922. Pp. xii+306.

At a time when anything and everything may be said about Chaucer with impunity, it is comforting to find that the author of this sane and comprehensive study has found it worth while to publish a new edition. For a long time the book has been a favorite with students. According to the estimate in the preface "more than one quarter of the present volume" is new; only to mention the outstanding changes, entirely new chapters have been inserted for the *Troilus* and the *House of Fame*, and other scattered pages appear for the purpose of bringing the material up to date. If there is any fault in the book as it now comes before us, it is only the inevitable lack of finish, due to the fact that the author did not have a completely free hand in making alterations, so that what at worst may seem a spotty treatment might have been remedied, as, for instance, in the present order of the new chapters (in view of the dates assigned in the "Chronological Survey" to the respective poems concerned), and in putting interesting detail in the Appendix which belongs in the body of the discussion (like that of the argument on the *Parliament*, p. 64, or the details about Sir Philip la Vache, p. 73).

In his attitude toward new theories Professor Root shows the same cautious spirit that characterized his earlier edition,—wisely, it would seem, in regard to Miss Rickert's interpretation of the *Parliament* and even Tupper's identifications for the *Anelida*. Perhaps he goes too far in his conservatism in his view of the indebtedness of the *Legend* to the *Lay de Franchise* and the *Paradys d'Amours* (p. 139), and in his estimate of the extent to which Dr. Cummings has shaken Professor Young's theory of the influence of the *Filocolo* on the *Troilus* (if this too is conservatism; p. 99, note 1; cf. p. 300). There are some candid changes in point of view, as, for instance, in the material on the prologues of the *Legend*, where the theory advocated by

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Lowes is now accepted. Again, the date of the *Knight's Tale* is now put as late as 1385 (pp. 168, 295), which comes closer to the opinion recently expressed by Koch, but which will probably not suit everybody. The evidence that the prologue of the *Legend* cites the story of Palamon and Arcite as "knowen lyte" cannot be of great value, since the reference occurs in the same way in both forms of the prologue.

The chapter devoted to the *Troilus* incorporates many points of recent criticism. The date is now given as between 1382 and 1384. The section on the Troy story is in part quoted verbatim from the earlier edition, in part modified to include recent material. The discussion of the characters shows a keen insight, as, for example, where we are told of Criseyde that: "To herself she must seem to have yielded only to inevitable fate; but to her lover she wished to be not a helpless victim but an offering of free love." In view of the truth of this observation there is a touch of ambiguity in the statement that "Criseyde, with all her native self-assurance, never takes a single step of her own volition." It is not entirely clear what the author means by saying that "the idea of marriage is never once suggested." Criseyde is our untrammeled, emancipated woman, "unteyd in lusty lese," and she herself settles the question explicitly: "Shal noon housbonde seyn to me 'chek-mat!' " (II, 754). It will give satisfaction to many readers of Chaucer that Professor Root calls this poem "in some ways" Chaucer's "supreme masterpiece." One recalls the *dicta* of earlier critics, such as that in D'Israeli's *Amenities of Literature* that "The creative faculty in Chaucer had not broken forth in his translations."

Of the *House of Fame* Mr. A. A. Jack (*Chaucer and Spenser*, Glasgow, 1920, p. 44) tells us that "It has a grip of its own dull kind at the close." For such an opinion Professor Root's discussion is a corrective; it might have been longer, but at least it bears witness to the fact that "Not even in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* is Chaucer's humor more irresistible." The account of the sources unfortunately neglects to mention the *De Genealogia Deorum*, which contains some of the pertinent passages from Virgil and Ovid, and probably brought them freshly to Chaucer's mind, and the *Panthère d'Amours*, to which the structure of the poem seems to be much indebted.

If we are going to ask for other additions to the volume we may require a fuller treatment of the problem of sources and analogues for the *Squire's Tale*, or more bibliography for the "marriage group," and, with special reference to that cycle, a more pointed discussion of the *Clerk's Tale*. It is idle to touch on further articles and studies which should have received notice; for there will always be a quarrel about inclusions, and in the field of Chaucer a proper choice is especially difficult.

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Many readers will be left unsatisfied by the discussion of Boethius, which takes no account of the essential kinship between the *Consolatio* and scholastic philosophy. From him undoubtedly Chaucer "drew the major part of his philosophy," and Chaucer "remained, in his beliefs and hopes, in all essentials, a Christian and loyal Catholic." Why, then, does the author still incline to the belief that Boethius was not a Christian (p. 81)? On what authority, on the other hand, is it said that he was canonized? It is only fair, however, that we should not let such points as these have too much emphasis. There is an abundance of material in the book that requires no special comment but only appreciative enjoyment. In general it is necessary to confine my criticisms here to the new sections.

HOWARD R. PATCH

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Küssenpfennig M. 'Geizhals' in der Sprache des 15.-17. Jahrhs. Zusammensetzung im Sinne eines Wahlspruchs wie die gleichbed. Synonyma **Drückenpfennig** und **Nageranft** im 16./17. Jahrh.: eigtl. "mein Wahlspruch heisst, ich küsse, bete an das Geld." Ähnliche Wahlspruchworte vgl. unter **Störenfried** und **Wagehals.**

Nachruf M. bei Zesen um 1650 gelegentlich als Übersetzung für 'Echo' versucht; in der heutigen Bedeutung 'Nekrolog' erst in der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhs. durchgedrungen, aber im Zeitalter Campes 1809. 1813 noch unbekannt.

Osterhase M. wird von keinem nhd. Wb. gebucht bis auf Sanders 1860 mit einem Beleg aus Keller 1854 Grün. Heinrich 2, 175 (**Osterhäschen**) und Lexer 1889 DWb. mit einem Beleg aus Usteri 1831 Dichtungen I 265. Das Wort hat als modern zu gelten und gehört ursprgl. dem deutschen Südwesten an. Frühster Beleg im Schweiz. Idiot. II 1668 aus der Schweiz. 1789 National-Kinderlieder "war's schon seit Olims Zeiten doch Gebrauch und ist es noch, nach frohem Mittagsschmaus [an Ostern] hochlärmend durch das ganze Haus zu jagen—was?

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den Osterhasen." Der schwäb.-bayr. Jugendschriftsteller Christoph v. Schmid behandelt die Sitte der Ostereier und die Kinderfabel vom Osterhasen in seiner Erzählung "Die Ostereier" 1816, durch die er seinen Ruf als Volksschriftsteller begründet hat, aber er bietet noch keinen Beleg für **Osterhase.** Süddeutschland scheint die Heimat der Kinderfabel zu sein. Für Schwaben bezeugt den Osterhasen E. Meier 1852 Deutsche Sitten, Sagen und Gebräuche aus Schwaben S. 392. Bodenständig in der Schweiz scheint die Redensart, einen neuen Osterhasen jagen" Keller 1886 Salander Kap. 14.

Pelikan M. mhd. **pellicân** nach lat. **pelicânus.** Als Zange der Zahnärzte gebucht bei Campe 1813. Belege: Cron 1717 Barbier-Geselle S. 184; Heister 1739 Chirurgie S. 586; Schiller 1781 Räuber II 3 und J. Paul 1796 Siebenkäs S. 332. Entsprechend neuengl. **pelican** und frz. **pélican.** Wegen der Ähnlichkeit der Zange mit dem Schnabel der Kropfgans. Das Wort gehört wohl in das Latein marktschreierischer Zahnbrecher des 16. Jahrhs.

Potenzen Plur. 'Busen' neueres Wort des Pennälersprache, zufrühst gebucht bei Eilenberger 1916 Pennälersprache S. 24. Beleg: Ludw. Thoma 1904 Lausbubengesch. S. 25. Wohl unter Einfluss von lat. **sinus** 'Busen' in der Mathematik.

Schadenfreude F. im 18. Jahrh. allgemein üblich, aber bei Stieler 1691 noch fremd (nur erst **schadenfroh**). Frühster Beleg, aber unklar, Ostermann 1591 Vocab. analyt. II 15 "libitinariorum vota, schadenfreud" (die Quelle bezieht sich auf Leichenbräuche und stammt aus Lauingen an der Donau).

Springinsfeld M. in der 2. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhs. allgemein üblich, aber erst seit Campe 1810 gebucht; im 16./17. Yahrh. sehr selten belegt; zufrühst in Niederdeutschland. Über die Wortbildung vgl. **Gernegross** und **Wagehals.**

Streckebein M. älterer Euphemismus des 16./17. Jahrhs. für 'Tod' z. B. Weise 1673 Erznarren S. 156. Seit Stieler 1691 gebucht und seit Luther oft belegt. Vgl. auch **Knochenmann** und **Sensenmann.**

taubstumm Adj. dafür im 17./18. Jahrh. "taub und stumm"; vgl. auch Luther Marc. 7, 38 "einen Tauben, der stumm war" und bei Eck 1537 "einen Tauben und stummen." Die Zusammenbildung **taubstumm** erst seit Campe 1810 gebucht. Worttypus wie in **dummdreist** und **sauersüss.** Beleg für **taubstumm:**

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Kindleben 1781 Studentenlex. S. 204 "ein Institut für Taubstumme in Leipzig."

Taugenichts M. seit Strieler 1691 (mit der Nebenform **Nichtstaug**) gebucht und im 18. Jahrh. öfter belegt; im 17./18. Jahrh. überwiegt die Nebenform **Taugenicht** mit der Mehrzahl **Taugenicht(e)** z. B. Defoe 1720 Rob. Crusoe I 375, 379, 417 (aber II 54, 87 **Taugenichts**). Entsprechend mndl. **deughniet** Kilian 1599 und mndd. **dôgenicht. Taugenichts** ist ein Satzwort im Sinne eines Wahlspruchs: "ich tauge nichts." Vgl. **Wagehals.**

Tunichtgut M. 'Nichtsnutz, Taugenichts' von Haus aus Satzwort mit der Bedeutung eines Wahlspruchs "ich tue nichts Gutes." Zufrühst **Thukeingut** Pape 1586 Bettel. u. Gartteufel. S. O 2 b; bei Stieler 1691, ein Thunichts sive Taugenichts." Bis auf Adelung und Campe noch nicht gebucht und im 17./18. Jahrh. nur selten bezeugt. Vgl. **Springinsfeld.**

Unstern M. 'Unglücksstern' schon seit Stieler 1691, sowie bei Adelung und Campe gebucht; im 30 jährigen Krieg (Schottel 1663 Haubtsprache S. 651a) als etymologische Nachbildung von frz. **désastre** aufgekommen. Das deutsche Wort bleibt etymologisch durchsichtig, während frz. **désastre** in die allgemeine Bedeutung 'Unglück' übergegangen ist. Belege: Wieland 1771 Amadis V Str. 10; Hölty 1772 Ged. I 76; Wieland 1774 Abderiten S. 150; Schiller, Werke I 300 (Goedeke); J. Paul 1807 Schmelzle S. 16.

verkümmeln Ztw. 'verkaufen' bis ins 18. Jahrh. noch unbekannt; durch das 19. Jahrh. seit 1822 in den Wbb. der Studentensprache öfter gebucht. Literaturbeleg: v. Maltitz 1828 Der alte Student II 2. Ursprgl. ein rotwelsches Wort (Rotwelsch I 392), das als **verkimmern** 'verkaufen' schon 1510 im Liber Vagatorum gebucht wird; vgl. auch **kimmern** 'kaufen' (Rotw. I 54. 55).

Waffenstillstand M. noch nicht bei Stieler 1691, erst seit Adelung 1780 gebucht; im 18. Jahrh. zumeist (z. B. Lessing) **Waffenstillestand,** im 16. Jahrh. dafür meist "Stillstand der Waffen" oder bloss **Stillstand.** Belege für **Waffenstillstand:** Birken 1669 Brandenburg. Ulysses S. 64; J. Paul 1793 Grönl. Prozesse S. 121; Kant 1797 Zum ewigen Frieden S. 5, 93; J. Paul 1807 Katzenberger S. 131.

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THE PROBLEM OF EVIL IN *PARADISE LOST*

Death and life, evil and good, sin and repentance, suffering and joy, condemnation and redemption are perennial problems of man, on which Milton, as an interpreter of the mysteries of life, meditated long and deeply. Many have endeavored to set forth his teachings, yet they have not fully explained his conception of the problem of evil.[1]

In the introductory verses of *Paradise Lost*, the poet announces his subject:

> That to the highth of this great argument
> I may assert eternal providence,
> And justify the ways of God to men.

These words have been weighed. To "assert" is to declare with assurance, or state positively, and to "justify" is to maintain as just. Milton intends to affirm that God's providence is just. Some readers, overlooking the word "assert," have taken "justify" to mean "prove the justice of." One of these is Bagehot's mathematician, who after reading the poem remarked: "But after all, *Paradise Lost* proves nothing." He ignorantly stated an important truth: *Paradise Lost* is not a piece of argument, but a poem, and hence an imaginative work which cannot prove anything. Milton was familiar enough with the nature of poetry to understand that, and indicates that he uses the poet's rather than the logician's method by employing the word "assert," which conveys the idea of a declaration unsupported by argument. Moreover, even the poet's assertion of justice is not unqualified. He has been at some pains to give emphasis to the phrase "to the highth of this great argument" by placing it in the forefront of his clause. It may be paraphrased, "so far as my subject, the story of Adam and Eve, makes possible." Milton was too conversant with

[1] Professor C. A. Moore, in an excellent article on *The Conclusion of Paradise Lost* (*Publications of the Modern Language Association* 36. 1) refers to much of the preceding literature. A recent book of importance is *La Pensée de Milton* (Paris 1920) by Dr. Denis Saurat. [See also the discussion of the influence of Jakob Boehme upon Milton's conception of Evil in *Milton and Jakob Boehme* by Dr. M. L. Bailey (Oxford University Press. New York, 1914), p. 148 ff.—Editor.]

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the myths of Plato to believe that a myth was a logical proof, and from Lucretius he had observed that the fully didactic poet does not employ narrative. He ranked himself with the singer of heroic actions rather than with the establisher of systems, comparing his subject with "the wrath of stern Achilles," and the wanderings of "the Greek and Cytherea's son." Yet certainly, he did not think himself a mere story-teller, and chose the subject of *Paradise Lost* partly because of the ideas implicit in it, just as he sought as the chief character for his projected poem on British history a knight who would be the "pattern of a Christian hero."

When once Milton's story had been chosen, certain things could not be altered. Among these was the temptation of Eve by the serpent, which must be interpreted as Satan. To speak of Satan led to giving the account of his fall. But to narrate the war in heaven was not part of Milton's primary purpose. He does not mention it in the first few lines of the poem, and the account of the rebellion is episodic; not part of the main story, but a narrative to explain why Adam and Eve may fear Satan. It serves other purposes as well, adding action on a large scale, developing the character of Satan, and showing how evil leaders hold their influence in spite of the protests of the more acute of the mass—represented by Abdiel. Yet to take the Fifth and Sixth Books as offering a serious explanation of the origin of evil is as absurd as to take the allegory of the birth of Sin as an adequate explanation of it. Milton, however, evidently expected that his audience would not be limited to the fit though few, and for the purpose of guiding aright the prosaic he has remarked more than once that in telling of events in heaven he proceeds

> By lik'ning spiritual to corporal forms,
> As may express them best.[2]

A poet could hardly say more clearly that he was writing allegorically.

From Milton's allegory emerge certain facts of belief: Evil has come into and is now in the world; evil is opposed to good, and yet subservient to it, for good is absolute over the universe. *Paradise Lost* is a song of faith and hope, yet not of

[2] 5.573-4. Cf. 6. 893 and 7. 112.

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the perverse faith that denies the reality of sin and suffering. The majority of men assent to Milton's propositions in their abstract form. To such the difficulties of the poem are allegorical. They may admit that good rules, and that evil has its use, in that, as Ruskin[3] says, "good... is developed to its highest by contention with evil," but when they read that God, in something like human form, permits Satan, also in something like human form, to attack and injure an innocent creature, some revolt, asking: Why did not God keep Satan chained in hell? or even, instead of accepting Satan, they ask: Why did not God keep Satan good? These two questions are fundamentally one.

Milton's answer to the second is incidental, because his serious concern is not with Satan *per se*. However, we learn that the rebel angels were free to stand or fall, and

> by their own suggestion fell,
> Self-tempted, self-depraved.[4]

Their will was to choose evil rather than good, and they are satisfied with their choice, though they object to its consequences of eternal punishment. Satan has looked his sin in the face and decided that evil shall be his good. He may be thought of as a type of the unpardonable sinner of the Middle Ages, who has despaired of the mercy of God, and hardened himself in his sin. This hardened and conscious sinner, whose surpassing egotism cannot admit any law but his own will, possesses characteristics which, though perverted, were originally admirable. Capacity for leadership, such as Satan possesses, is in itself a magnificent trait, though its exercise may be evil. Milton was not a romantic sentimentalist, and hence did not feel that he must make Satan good at last, like the villain in the last scene of a comedy.

But however admirable Milton's study of Satan as a highly gifted egotist, the Devil is chiefly the allegorical presentation of the evil of the world, in its alluring and in its hideous aspects. Hence Satan is used not to show the origin of evil so much as to personify its present existence. Milton was so familiar with this conventional personification that he felt no hesitation in using it. Satan—wonderful character that he is—is a poetical

[3] *Lectures on Art, The Relation of Art to Morals.*
[4] *P. L.* 3. 129–30.

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character, and not the keystone of Milton's theology. His activity in *Paradise Lost* is necessary to a vivid story, but not to man's continued ill-doing. Indeed, after he has started man on a career of evil, he might as well have retired permanently from the world, for the poet has no further need for him. Man is then quite able to provide enough wickedness and suffering without the assistance of Satan. Though the Devil furnishes the deceptive arguments leading to man's first transgression, he makes no change in man's mind. Man's fall is partly the result of "his own folly."[5] Eve is before Satan's appearance provided with the love of wandering, with pride, and with other dangerous or evil dispositions that need but an outlet. And Adam has already deserved the angel's warning that he shall not yield his reason to his admiration for Eve. These tendencies might have brought about disobedience without Satan's intervention, just as the descendants of Adam and Eve need no supernatural stimulus to evil.

And the same ability of man to sin for himself is recognized in the treatise *On Christian Doctrine*, in which Satan hardly more than appears. In the brief section *Of the Special Government of Angels* we read that Satan and his followers were, like the good angels, created by God, and that they are "sometimes permitted to wander throughout the whole earth, the air, and the heaven itself, to execute the judgments of God," and that Satan is "the author of all wickedness, and the opponent of all good." Yet in the chapter *Of the Fall of Our First Parents* we learn that the first sin originated not alone "in the instigation of the devil," but also "in the liability to fall with which man was created, whereby he, as the devil had done before him, 'abode not in the truth,' John 8. 44, 'nor kept his own habitation,' Jude 6." The primal sin was a "transgression of the whole law":

> For in it what sin did man not perpetrate? deserving condemnation for trust in Satan and equally for lack of trust in God, unfaithful, ungrateful, disobedient, gluttonous, Adam uxorious, Eve too inconsiderate of her husband, and each one too inconsiderate of his children, the whole human race; each one a murderer of his children, a thief, and a plunderer of what was not his own, a sacrilegious person, a liar, a crafty and unworthy seeker for divinity, proud and arrogant.[6]

[5] *P. L.* 3. 153.
[6] *Christ. Doct.* 1. 11.

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In further discussion of the Fall, Milton attributes it to the "evil concupiscence" of man, and elsewhere speaks of the original matter of the world as contaminated "through the enticements of the devil, or those which originate in man himself."[7] Thus in Milton's system of theology Satan, though mentioned, is of so little consequence that we get no hint of the brilliant personification of *Paradise Lost*. We must infer that Milton includes the literal Satan in his system through deference to Scripture, and not because he had a real need for a Devil in his philosophy. The treatise would not be greatly affected if Satan were wholly left out. This bringing of the Adversary into his system of theology out of deference to the faint dualism of the Bible is Milton's nearest approach to Manichean doctrines.[8]

On the contrary, Milton not only represents Satan as created by God and absolutely under divine sway, but one of his chief philosophical tenets[9] is the antithesis of dualism. This tenet is almost independent of literal interpretation of Scripture, notwithstanding Milton's assertion that his theological treatise is based on Scripture.[10] It is thus expressed:

> That matter should have been always independent of God . . . is inconceivable. . . There remains but one solution of the difficulty, for which moreover we have the authority of Scripture, namely, that all things are of God. . . The original matter of which we speak is not to be looked upon as an evil or trivial thing, but as intrinsically good, and the chief productive stock of every subsequent good. It was a substance, and derivable from no other source than from the fountain of every substance. . . Matter, like the form and nature of the angels itself, proceeded incorruptible from God; and even since the fall (*post peccatum*) it remains incorruptible as far as concerns its essence. Since . . . God did not produce everything out of nothing, but of himself, I proceed to consider the necessary consequences of this doctrine, namely, that if all things are not only from God, but of God, no created thing can be finally annihilated.[11]

[7] *Christ. Doct.* 1.7, p. 180.

[8] In this I dissent from Professor Moore (*op. cit.*), who believes that Satan is important in Milton's theology.

[9] This is discussed by Professor Saurat (*op. cit.* pp. 146 ff.).

[10] This assertion should not be taken absolutely, for Milton is indebted for both material and method to theological and philosophical predecessors. However, he has not blindly accepted the opinions of any one, but has taken only such suggestions as were in harmony with his own thought and his own interpretation of scripture.

[11] *Christ. Doct.* 1.7, pp. 178–81.

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Though to his creatures, Satan and man, the Almighty has given freedom of action, and hence the power of contaminating, though not of fundamentally changing, the original material, the world is absolutely God's.

But why, in Milton's allegory, did God allow Satan to attack man? The answer is that Milton saw that evil was active in the world, that it was persistent, and that there was no sign that man soon would be free from sorrow and suffering. If evil was to be personified at all, it must be by a character who expressed its nature; hence Milton's Satan—the embodiment of the troubles which afflict mankind.

This personification brings before us the truth that evil—call it what we will, imperfection or maladjustment—is present, and that the directing power of the universe gives it a chance to work. Such a view of the world not infrequently meets objections. Some men stigmatize as immoral a directing power that allows an evil or imperfect world to keep on going, nay more, that keeps the world imperfect. More definitely, they say that Milton's God seems very slow in expressing his omnipotent goodness, or even that he seems not to be omnipotent.

Such supposed objections to Milton's scheme are not objections; on the contrary, they say, in un-Miltonic language, what Milton himself would have said; indeed, if he had not said such things he would not have written his poem. He had felt in many a dark hour that evil was persistent and overwhelming, that Satan was going forth conquering and to conquer.

But he also had attained the belief that, however men might be afflicted, mankind—and even individual men—need not wholly despair. In *Paradise Lost* he aimed to paint the world as it is, in all its blackness and all its hope. This hope is based on the faith that, however often the contrary appears true, good is ultimate. Individuals may perish, yet there is a chance for man to emerge through affliction. Evil is not dominant; though wickedness is strong, righteousness gains the mastery. Consequently, wherever evil appears, good is also to be found in intimate relation to it; and yet more, the actions of the forces of evil often result in good, because the general tendency of the universe is good.

This intimate connection of good and evil is again and again alluded to and exemplified in the poem. It first appears in

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the mouth of Satan, as he declares that his purpose must be contrary to that of God:

> If then his providence
> Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,
> Our labor must be to pervert that end,
> And out of good still to find means of evil;
> Which oft times may succeed, so as perhaps
> Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and disturb
> His inmost counsels from their destined aim.[12]

Satan here correctly defines the position of the Almighty as well as his own. When the Adversary speaks these words he lies prostrate on the burning lake of hell, from which he rises to work evil only by divine sufferance:

> nor ever thence
> Had risen or heaved his head, but that the will
> And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
> Left him at large to his own dark designs,
> That with reiterated crimes he might
> Heap on himself damnation, while he sought
> Evil to others, and enraged might see
> How all his malice served but to bring forth
> Infinite goodness, grace and mercy shewn
> On man by him seduced, but on himself
> Treble confusion, wrath and vengeance poured.[13]

This is the main idea of the poem; taken from its allegorical language, it means that evil is self-destructive, and that good is ever-living. By placing this passage here, Milton warns his reader that the diabolical activity to follow, though sufficiently harmful, is not so terrible as the devils believe. The next statement of the final impotence of evil is put, curiously enough, in the mouth of the sophistical Belial, who counsels his fellows to sit inactive because they cannot hope to foil the Almighty:

> He from heaven's highth
> All these our motions vain, sees and derides;
> Not more almighty to resist our might
> Than wise to frustrate all our plots and wiles.[14]

Yet Beëlzebub, though willing to admit the power of the Almighty, still believes that the divine vigilance may be evaded,

[12] *P. L.* 1.162–8.
[13] *P. L.* 1.210–20.
[14] *P. L.* 2.190–3.

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and proposes that the devils seek out and attack man. They adopt this plan, hoping

> to confound the race
> Of mankind in one root, and earth with hell
> To mingle and involve, done all to spite
> The great creator.[15]

Milton comments:

> But their spite still serves
> His glory to augment.

In pursuance of their resolution, Satan sets out to discover the realm assigned to man by God, and after a perilous voyage approaches the universe. As he draws near, God beholds him with all-seeing eye, and foreknows the success that will attend his efforts for the perversion of man. The success of Satan is not the result of divine failure, for man, the Almighty asserts,

> had of me
> All he could have.[16]

Man has been equipped to resist Satan, and has received reason, with the power of choice, and free will. Yet in spite of his adequate equipment, man will be deceived. And because he is deceived and has not, like the devils, deliberately resolved on evil, he can be restored to his normal and natural state of goodness. Yet this restoration, like the fall, depends on man's choice. And as a ransom of man from divine justice, which exacts full punishment, the Son offers himself.

> So heavenly love shall outdo hellish hate.[17]

While this plan, assuring the restoration of at least a portion of the human race, is being perfected in heaven, Satan is passing on toward the earth to begin his evil work. By the arrangement of events here, Milton, in dramatic fashion, declares his belief in the supremacy of good, as when Satan rose from the burning lake he had plainly stated it. The reader is henceforth aware that however successful Satan's efforts may be for the moment, they are forestalled before they are undertaken.

[15] *P. L.* 2.382–6.
[16] *P. L.* 3.97–8.
[17] *P. L.* 3.298.

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Having thus emphasized the limited power of evil, Milton for a time does not explicitly mention it. Then he comments on the war in heaven:

> All heaven
> Had gone to wrack, with ruin overspread,
> Had not th' Almighty Father where he sits
> Shrined in his Sanctuary of heaven secure,
> Consulting on the sum of things, foreseen
> This tumult, and permitted all, advised:
> That his great purpose he might so fulfill,
> To honor his Anointed Son avenged
> Upon his enemies, and to declare
> All power on him transferred.[18]

And in a speech immediately following, the Almighty declares that he has so governed the tumult as to manifest the Son

> worthiest to be heir
> Of all things.[19]

This tells us allegorically that the forces of evil are not independent even at the height of their fury, and that the same power can overcome them as is concerned with the recovery of man. When the narrative of the overthrow of Satan in heaven has been finished, the poet comments on its main idea, of which the allegorical application is evident, by saying that the evil was

> soon
> Driven back redounded as a flood on those
> From whom it sprung, impossible to mix
> With Blessedness.[20]

The positive form of this assertion appears in the angelic songs celebrating the intended creation of man:

> to him
> Glory and praise, whose wisdom had ordained
> Good out of evil to create, in stead
> Of spirits malign a better race to bring
> Into their vacant room, and thence diffuse
> His good to worlds and ages infinite.[21]

[18] *P. L.* 6.669.
[19] *Ibid.* 6.707.
[20] *P. L.* 7.56.
[21] *P. L.* 7.186–91.

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The words "good out of evil to create" are probably to be taken not literally, but as explained by what immediately follows them. At the end of the creation, which especially represents the replacement of evil by good through the substitution of man for the fallen angels, the angelic song repeats the thought:

> Who seeks
> To lessen thee, against his purpose serves
> To manifest the more thy might: his evil
> Thou usest, and from thence creat'st more good.[22]

This is well realized by Satan, who, when seeking for man in the garden, soliloquizes on him as

> son of despite
> Whom us the more to spite his Maker raised
> From dust.[23]

And Satan knows also the self-destructiveness of evil:

> Revenge, at first though sweet,
> Bitter ere long back on itself recoiles.[24]

Yet to know this does not shake his determination to have revenge. After Satan's success, Sin and Death follow him to the world. As they draw toward it the Almighty, beholding them, speaks among the angels:

> See with what heat these dogs of hell advance
> To waste and havoc yonder world, which I
> So fair and good created, and had still
> Kept in that state, had not the folly of man
> Let in these wasteful furies, who impute
> Folly to me (so doth the prince of hell
> And his adherents) that with so much ease
> I suffer them to enter and possess
> A place so heavenly, and conniving seem
> To gratify my scornful enemies,
> That laugh, as if, transported with some fit
> Of passion, I to them had quitted all,
> At random yielded up to their misrule;
> And know not that I called and drew them thither
> My hell-hounds, to lick up the draff and filth
> Which man's polluting sin with taint hath shed
> On what was pure.[25]

[22] *P. L.* 7.613-17.
[23] *P. L.* 9.178-8.
[24] *P. L.* 9.171-2.
[25] *P. L.* 10.616-32.

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Again we observe the self-destructive character of evil. After the fall, Adam in his vision sees the future of the world, and learns the conditions of human life. Having seen, he exclaims:

> O goodness infinite, goodness immense!
> That all this good of evil shall produce,
> And evil turn to good; more wonderful
> Than that by which creation first brought forth
> Light out of darkness.[26]

God is

> Merciful over all his works, with good
> Still overcoming evil, and by small
> Accomplishing great things, by things deemed weak
> Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise
> By simply meek.[27]

Thus far the poet's story has given him ample opportunity to assert that evil is self-destructive, and that good continually overcomes evil. But his belief went further than that; he held that in the present order evil has its necessary place. This settled conviction is stated in the *Areopagitica:*

> It was from out the rinde of one apple tasted that the knowledge of good and evil as two twins cleaving together leapt forth into the world. And perhaps this is that doom which Adam fell into of knowing good and evil, that is to say of knowing good by evil. As therefore the state of man now is, what wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear, without the knowledge of evil? He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world; we bring impurity much rather; that which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary. That virtue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure; her whiteness is but an excremental whiteness. Which was the reason why our sage and serious poet Spenser, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas, describing true temperance under the person of Guyon, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon and the bower of earthly bliss, that he might see and know, and yet abstain. Since therefore the knowledge and survey of vice is in this

[26] *P. L.* 12.469–73.
[27] *P. L.* 12.565–9.

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> world so necessary to the constituting of human virtue, and the scanning of error to the confirmation of truth, how can we more safely, and with less danger scout into the regions of sin and falsity than by reading all manner of tractates, and hearing all manner of reason?

This is also the opinion of Eve, expressed when she wishes to go forth alone on the morn of the temptation:

> And what is faith, love, virtue unassayed
> Alone, without exterior help sustained?[28]

It is difficult to feel that Milton did not sympathize with Eve, though he has Adam assure her that "trial will come unsought." The highest character is, then, the one developed to

> the better fortitude
> Of patience and heroic martyrdom,[29]

which Milton believed the highest theme for poetry, and which he celebrated in *Paradise Regained.* The truth that human perfection comes only through suffering is especially apparent in Jesus, of whose life as it is revealed to him Adam remarks:

> I learn . . . that suffering for truth's sake
> Is fortitude to highest victory,
> And to the faithful death the gate of life;
> Taught this by his example whom I now
> Acknowledge my redeemer ever blest.[30]

Michael replies:

> This having learnt, thou hast attained the sum
> Of wisdom. . . . only add
> Deeds to thy knowledge answerable, add faith,
> Add virtue, patience, temperance, add love,
> By name to come called charity, the soul
> Of all the rest; then wilt thou not be loath
> To leave this paradise, but shalt possess
> A paradise within thee, happier far.[31]

The last two words are especially worth noting. The Adam who has sinned and through effort risen again is "happier far" than the sinless Adam of the garden. The nature of man was, it is true, originally good and pure, but the wisdom of human experience and the excellence gained through suffering

[28] *P. L.* 9.335–6.
[29] *P. L.* 9.31–2.
[30] *P. L.* 12.561–73.
[31] *P. L.* 12.575–87.

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are still better. Nor is this an outburst of over-enthusiasm on the angel's part, for in the treatise *De Doctrina Christiana* we read:

> The Restoration of Man is the act whereby man, being delivered from sin and death by God the Father through Jesus Christ, is raised to a far more excellent state of grace and glory than that from which he had fallen.[32]

This describes man not in heaven, but when dwelling on the earth after redemption and renovation. Adam, when he realizes the good to come and its association with evil, finds his repentance mixed with and overcome by joy, and exclaims:

> full of doubt I stand,
> Whether I should repent me now of sin
> By me done and occasioned, or rejoice
> Much more, that much more good thereof shall spring,
> To God more glory, more good will to Men
> From God, and over wrath grace shall abound.[33]

The same truth is also expressed in the words of the Almighty to the Son:

> Because thou hast, though throned in highest bliss
> Equal to God, and equally enjoying
> God-like fruition, quitted all to save
> A world from utter loss, and hast been found
> By merit more than birthright Son of God,
> Found worthiest to be so by being good,
> Far more than great or high; because in thee
> Love hath abounded more than glory abounds,
> Therefore thy humiliation shall exalt
> With thee thy manhood also to this throne;
> Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shalt reign
> Both God and man, son both of God and man,
> Anointed Universal King; all power
> I give thee, reign for ever, and assume
> Thy merits.[34]

Though throned in bliss from his creation, the divine Messiah is rendered nobler and more powerful by his willingness to enter the conflict with evil.

Even death, ordained as man's punishment, like other sufferings is finally a blessing. It cannot be otherwise consis-

[32] 1.14 (Sumner's translation).
[33] *P. L.* 12.473-8.
[34] *P. L.* 3.305-19.

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tently with Milton's belief in the grace that brings good out of evil. By the gate of death man, purified by suffering, enters on a second life better than the present one. This is stated by the Father:

> I at first with two fair gifts
> Created him endowed, with happiness
> And immortality; that fondly lost,
> This other served but to eternize woe,
> Till I provided death; so death becomes
> His final remedy, and after life
> Tried in sharp tribulation, and refined
> By faith and faithful works, to second life,
> Waked in the renovation of the just,
> Resignes him up with heaven and earth renewed.[35]

And the state of the new earth shall be better than that of the unpolluted garden, for the Son will come

> to reward
> His faithful, and receive them into bliss,
> Whether in heaven or earth, for then the earth
> Shall be all paradise, far happier place
> Than this of Eden, and far happier days.[36]

This future state is without evil; yet it is to be possessed only by those who are faithful in the struggle against evil. The utmost happiness is dependent on and conditioned by the evil of the world.

Yet Milton is not considering the origin of evil, or trying to justify its entrance into the world; his concern is with the world as it is. He does not feel that a world with wickedness in it is inconsistent with a wise and good God, and his belief in omnipotence does not cause him to hold that the Almighty could have brought forth the highest good without the contrast of bad. The virtue developed by the contest with evil justifies the presence of evil. The high experience associated with suffering is more than compensation for it.

> 'Tis better to have loved and lost
> Than never to have loved at all.

In the eyes of Achilles the short life of hardship, with glory, was better than the long and prosperous life of the inglorious

[35] *P. L.* 11.57-66.
[36] *P. L.* 12.461-5.

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man. Milton did not imagine a divine power that could make man wise with the wisdom of experience, happy with the happiness of attempt and accomplishment, except through contact with evil. Hence he has God allow evil, in allowing Satan to come from his dungeon in the "utter darkness" of Chaos into the world,

> That with reiterated crimes he might
> Heap on himself damnation, while he sought
> Evil to others.[37]

This is sometimes considered an injustice to Satan, but the Adversary is not obliged to wreak revenge on man. He is left to his own designs, and his seeking of evil for others is in itself his damnation.

> Which way I fly is hell; myself am hell,[38]

he exclaims as he meditates revenge. Moreover, we have seen that he is not Milton's primary concern; the poet takes him as given, with the explanation that he chose evil at the beginning, and continues to choose it.

Having seen that the work of Satan is not the keystone of Milton's theory of sin, we better understand the poet's belief that God is not the author of evil, though evil beings are his creation. Their evil is their own, to which God abandons them when they have no desire for salvation. Indeed, God's "government of the universe . . . should be understood as relating to natural and civil concerns, to things indifferent and fortuitous, in a word, to anything rather than to matters of morality and religion."[39] "The end which a sinner has in view is generally something evil and unjust, from which God uniformly educes a good and just result, thus as it were creating light out of darkness."[40] Suffering is also employed by the Almighty as a punishment for sin. It is sometimes absolute, as in hell, sometimes—as in Dante's Purgatory—"a saving medicine, ordained of God both for the public and private good of man."[41] Even to the righteous, affliction may come in the form of temptation "for

[37] *P. L.* 1.214–16.
[38] *P. L.* 4.75.
[39] *Christ. Doct.* 1.12, p. 268.
[40] *Christ. Doct.* 1.8, p. 204.
[41] *Reason of Church Government*, Book 2, chap. 3.

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the purpose of exercising or manifesting their faith or patience, as in the case of Abraham and Job; or of lessening their self-confidence, and reproving their weakness, that both they themselves may become wiser by experience, and others may profit by their example."[42]

The chief punishment for sin is, however, the sin itself, which brings spiritual death. "This death consists, first, in the loss, or at least in the obscuration to a great extent of that right reason which enabled man to discern the chief good, and in which consisted as it were the life of the understanding. . . . It consists, secondly, in that deprivation of righteousness and liberty to do good, and in that slavish subjection to sin and the devil, which constitutes, as it were, the death of the will."[43] Michael impresses this loss of the "good of the intellect," as Dante puts it, on Adam:

> Since thy original lapse, true liberty
> Is lost, which always with right reason dwells
> Twinned, and from her hath no dividual being:
> Reason in man obscured or not obeyed,
> Immediately inordinate desires
> And upstart passions catch the government
> From reason, and to servitude reduce
> Man till then free.[44]

And the Almighty thus describes the fate of the man willfully evil:

> This my long sufferance and my day of grace
> They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste;
> But hard be hardened, blind be blinded more,
> That they may stumble on and deeper fall;
> And none but such from mercy I exclude.[45]

Milton sums up his position in the words:

> It ought not to be doubted that sin in itself alone is the heaviest of all evils, as being contrary to the chief good, that is, to God.[46]

The justice of a punishment which naturally results from the sin, and is not arbitrarily inflicted, is evident.

[42] *Christ. Doct.* 1.8, p. 209.
[43] *Christ. Doct.* 1.12, p. 265.
[44] *P. L.* 12.83-90.
[45] *P. L.* 3.198-202.
[46] *Christ. Doct.* 1.12, p. 266.

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But though sin becomes the Almighty's instrument of punishment, "God, who is infinitely good, cannot be the doer of wickedness or of the evil of sin; on the contrary, of the wickedness of men he produces good."[47] Sin is the result of man's choice, for God has put man into the world without making "infringement on the liberty of the human will; otherwise man would be deprived of the power of free agency, not only with regard to what is right, but with regard to what is indifferent, or even positively wrong."[48] Milton wholly rejects predestination, putting in the mouth of the Almighty the words:

> No decree of mine
> Concurring to necessitate his fall,
> Or touch with lightest moment of impulse
> His free will, to her own inclining left
> In even scale.[49]

Milton well realized that many make bad use of their precious freedom; they do not triumph over evil, and fail to share the joys of the conqueror. Yet these have been given the choice between good and evil, for however foolish the use they make of their freedom, a world in which

> will and reason (reason also is choice)
> Useless and vain, of freedom both despoiled,
> Made passive both, had served necessity,[50]

is satisfying to neither God nor man. As Milton believed that earthly rulers of church and state had no right to exercise compulsion in matters of religion, so he did not doubt that it was better for men to be free, even though freedom led to damnation, than that they should be virtuous by compulsion.

Milton does not consider the class whom we now regard as the helpless victims of heredity and environment. He was not careless of their existence, as he shows by such remarks as that for want of proper education the English nation "perishes," and that those who should be the teachers of the Church are "grievous wolves" who neglect their "hungry sheep." But for the individual, Milton does not set the standard of attainment

[47] *Christ. Doct.* 1.8, p. 201.
[48] *Doct. Christ.* 1.8, p. 200.
[49] *P. L.* 10.43–7.
[50] *P. L.* 3.108–10.

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necessary to salvation very high, requiring no more than genuine effort.

> To prayer, repentance, and obedience due,
> Though but endeavored with sincere intent,
> Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut,[50a]

declares the Father. Milton's heaven is open to the Englishmen perishing for want of suitable instruction, secular and religious. Learning is not essential to salvation; the poet can look with approval on a clergy without university training. Hence the number of men who can secure salvation if they will is large, for "God undoubtedly gives grace to all, if not in equal measure, at least sufficient for attaining knowledge of the truth and final salvation," and "an adequate proportion of saving grace" is "withheld from no man."[51] Even at the last Judgment "the rule of judgment will be the conscience of each individual, according to the measure of light which he has enjoyed."[52] If Milton laid a heavy responsibility on the individual, he allowed even the most ignorant and unfortunate the dignity of mastering their own fate.

Yet even with the fullest opportunity, the number who fail of salvation is very large. Milton does not, however, feel that this derogates from the justice of God, for justice consists in giving man the power of choice, with which he is nobler, even happier, under condemnation, than he would be if saved by irresistible necessity. Milton is not an unflinching optimist, and has no thought of a present world wholly good. His eyes take in all its evil; indeed, he was severe in his judgments, and inclined to see more evil than do many more recent observers.

He was the more able to trust in faith and good works because he was concerned with the race and not with the individual alone. He judges the human race by its best examples, and takes comfort from the blessedness it attains in a few individuals, Job[53] or Jesus himself. To produce a few consummate men is worth all the world's evil, for it is an

[50a] *P. L.* 3.191–3.
[51] *Christ. Doct.* 1.4, pp. 66–8.
[52] *Christ. Doct.* 1.33, p. 483.
[53] *P. R.* 1.147.

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affirmation of the truth that by nature every man is fundamentally good, "natura bonus et sanctus,"[54] and through suffering and conflict can attain not merely the original perfection of his nature, but a still higher stage proportionate to his struggle. The great assertion of the perfectibility of man is Jesus, whose manhood showed how the race could rise superior to the attacks of evil, and "regain the blissful seat."

The poet's scheme for *Paradise Lost* is not a scholastic theology. On the contrary, he desires to represent the world simply and truly, to express a faith that sees and is not overwhelmed. His theology is as simple as he can make it, as in the treatise *On Christian Doctrine* he endeavored to refrain from subtlety, and present only what is justified by good sense; of the mysteries of theologians who would presume to "confine th' interminable," he prefers to remain "wisely ignorant." And the modicum of theology satisfactory to himself he does not wish to force on others.

What applies to his basis of belief in his theological treatise naturally applies still more to his poem. In *Paradise Lost* Milton seeks not to prove, but to assert; not to argue, but to picture. Hence he does not ask the reader to accept his theology, and does not expect his work to present the consistency of a rational system, but does hope to represent the truth about the world. He does not wish the reader to take literally his account of Satan, but he does wish to make Satan a personification of evil not out of accord with Scripture or common belief. And likewise in his representation of the Almighty he did not expect to be received as a theologian. He did not hold that the "literal and figurative descriptions of God" in the Bible itself exhibited God "as he really is," but granted that he was spoken of "in such a manner as may be within the scope of our comprehensions,"[55] and thought we "must apply to God a phraseology borrowed from our own habits and understanding."[56] Hence Milton does not expect his reader to believe any of the descriptions of God in *Paradise Lost*, for they are but attempts to render in a figure what cannot receive definite

[54] *Christ. Doct.* 1.10.
[55] *Christ. Doct.* 1.2, pp. 16–17.
[56] *Christ. Doct.* 1.3, p. 39.

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form. Man was created in the image of God not in physique, but in

> Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure.[67]

Milton felt that his scheme was justified theologically, Biblically, and poetically, in that it gave the truth about life. The whole poem is the work of a man of high courage who was willing to work out his own salvation with fear and trembling, and who expected to bear the penalty of his own mistakes and those of other men. A reader who feels that a God who offers man only a fair chance is not a God of love does not agree with Milton, who is willing to see infinite goodness in the assurance that faith is well-founded. Yet the man of spirit will derive stimulus from the contemplation of a mythical world representing a real world in which victory, though not easy, is possible to him who will endure the toil of conflict, overcoming the strong things of the world with those that are weak. Milton was making no effort to construct a pleasant theology, but was endeavoring to assert that man's burdens are not more than he can bear, for faith is founded on a rock; death, the grim terror, is swallowed up in victory, and becomes the gate of a better life; the wrath of man serves the goodness of God; and though sin terribly abounds, grace yet more abounds.

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[67] *P. L.* 4.293.

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ELIZABETHAN GHOSTS AND HERZOG HEINRICH JULIUS OF BRAUNSCHWEIG

The lineage and descent of the Senecan ghost in Elizabethan drama have been traced with skill and painstaking minuteness.[1] And yet in all the long list of revenge plays, in which ghostly apparitions pull the wires and influence the action, there are but very few examples which even remotely justify the frequently quoted description of Tragedy found in *A Warning to Fair Women* (1599):[2]

> How some damn'd tyrant to obtain a crown
> Stabs, hangs, impoisons, smothers, cutteth throats
> . . . .
> Then, too, a filthy whining ghost,
> Lapt in some foul sheet or a leather pilch
> Comes screaming like a pig half stick'd
> And cries, Vindicta!—Revenge, Revenge!

One is reminded, perhaps, of *Richard III*, or, considering primarily the ghosts, of *Locrine*, or of *Caesar's Revenge.* Agreeing even more closely are the somewhat later Latin university tragedies *Perfidus Hetruscus* and *Fatum Vortigerni.*[3] But even these tally but poorly. On the other hand it is almost startling to find in a German tragedy, published in the year 1594, a play which fits the description almost to the crossing of the *t's* and the dotting of the *i's*—the *Tragoedia von einem ungeratenen Sohn* by Herzog Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig.[4]

[1] Cf. especially C. E. Whitmore, *The Supernatural in Tragedy*, 1915. It is to be regretted that Whitmore, as well as his predecessors, limits his discussion almost exclusively to the classical, Senecan tradition. There is, so far as I know, no comprehensive study of popular superstitions and beliefs about ghosts.

[2] A. H. Thorndike, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Asso.*, 17, 129.

[3] *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XXXIV, 250ff. and 258ff. Possibly *The Devil's Charter* (Bang's *Materialien*, Bd. 6) should be also mentioned. It certainly reeks with blood and murder, but the ghosts introduced are not of the revenge type.

[4] Edited by Holland, *Die Schauspiele des Herzog Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig* (*Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, Bd. 36.) Also by Tittmann, *Die Schauspiele des Herzogs Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig* (*Deutsche Dichter des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Bd. 14.)

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Ghosts were not unknown to the German stage before Heinrich Julius, but there is no hint of the revenge-ghost in the medieval drama of Germany nor yet in the sporadic appearances of ghosts during the 16th century.[5] Furthermore, the connecting link between Herzog Heinrich Julius and the Elizabethan drama is well known. Early in the year 1592 an English actor, Robert Browne, headed a small group of players in a tour of Germany. Apparently their first stop was at the Braunschweig court. It has even been suggested that the trip was made on invitation of the Duke. Of the repertoire of this first troupe but little is known. We are told, however, that in the summer of 1592 they played in Frankfurt a. M. dramas of the "dort im Inselland gar berühmten Herren Christopher Marlowe" as also "das lustige Spill Gammer Gurtons Needle."[6]

Evidently inspired by the performances of these players the Duke published in the two years 1593 and 1594 a series of ten plays, all of which bear in a greater or less degree the hall-mark of the Elizabethan drama. They differ widely in style, technique and form from anything that precedes or follows in the strictly German tradition. By far the most interesting from the point of view of Elizabethan influence is *Der ungeratene Sohn.*

In the following investigation I shall attempt:

1. To show that this play, published in 1594, contains a more perfect exposition of the popular Elizabethan revenge-ghost than any extant English drama.

2. To render the inference at least plausible that it represents, as a whole, an imitation of a lost type of popular Pre-Shakespearean melodrama.

As a work of art *Der ungeratene Sohn* ranks very low, but as a hodge-podge of traditional motifs and situations familiar to the student of Elizabethan drama it is exceedingly interesting. No direct source of the plot has been found, indeed, it is generally regarded as original. This is true, however, only in the

[5] Keller, *Fastnachtspiele*, no. 68, Des Entkrist Vasnacht, where the ghost of the King of Bohemia appears to his son. Also Hans Sachs (*Sämmtliche Fastnachtspiele*, ed. Goetze, no. 67, l. 84ff.)

[6] For further details cf. Herz, *Englische Schauspieler und Englisches Schauspiel zur Zeit Shakespeares in Deutschland* (Litzmann, *Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen*, XVIII), 1903, and Creizenach, *Die Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten* (Kürschners *Deutsche National-Litteratur*, Bd. 23).

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sense that it may represent a new combination of old materials. It is a blood and murder play of the crassest sort, a veritable charnel house. Of the eighteen characters that participate nine are murdered, two slay each other, one takes poison, one cuts his own tongue out, and one is fetched by the devils. At the end but four characters remain alive and of these four three are devils, who in the nature of the case cannot die. In the words of the Prologus of *The Devil's Charter*:

> Gracious spectators doe not heere expect,
> Visions of pleasure, amorous discourse:
> Our subiect is of bloud and Tragedie.

The story runs as follows: The aged Duke Severus, with one foot already in the grave, desires to turn over the reins of office during his own life-time. In consultation with his three councillors, Justus, Verax and Constans, also with a faithless chamberlain, Garrulus, in hiding in order to overhear, Severus determines to surrender the government to his elder son, Probus; to the younger, Nero, shall be given a sum of money, likewise he shall be sent on travels with suitable companions, in order, as he is somewhat wild and troublesome, das jme das Gelbe vom Schnabel gewischet werde.

[The situation of the aged ruler settling his kingdom before his death is very familiar. It occurs in *Gorboduc*, *Locrine* and in the old *King Leir* as well as in the Shakespearean version. Also the idea, that when "he had seen the world, he would learn to know himself better" (Gascoigne's *Supposes*) is frequent.][7]

The two sons are summoned. Probus appears promptly. He is modelled after the older son in the parable of the Prodigal, while Nero, the younger son, is well characterized in the words of old Baiazet, speaking of his youngest son Selimus:[8]

> Is he a Prince? ah no he is a sea,
> Into which runne nought but ambitious reaches,
> Seditious complots, murther, fraud, and hate.

[7] In these parallel motifs and situations from Elizabethan drama I cannot hope for completeness. Doubtless closer students of this period can multiply the examples, but I believe that sufficient is offered for the inference which I wish to draw.

[8] *Selimus*, Malone Society Reprints, vol. 9, l. 1861f.

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Nero has learned from Garrulus what is in store for him. He has to be summoned twice before he will appear and then acts and speaks defiantly. When his father bids him—Holland, p. 344: Hörstu woll, Das du das Maul haltest. (Nero helt seinem Vatern zu trotze mit den Fingern das Maul zu und sihet gar trotzlich und saur aus.)

[The same action occurs in another of the plays, the first and longer version of *Susanna*—Holland, p. 8: (Johan Klandt weinet, und heldt das Maul mit dem finger zu, . . .). And in the opening stage direction of the following scene: Johan Clant (hat ein Schlosz fürm Maule . . .). Figuratively the expression "I'le set a locke on my lips" is to be found in *The True Tragedie of Richard III*, (Furness, *Variorum*, 516.)]

The aged father exhorts his sons to concord. As a practical example of its significance he has brought in a bundle of horse-hair and a bundle of hazel rods. Probus tries in vain to break the bundles, but the single hair or the single rod he breaks easily. Nero stands by and ridicules.

[Cf. the Dumb Show before the first act of *Gorboduc:* ..."came in upon the stage six wild men clothed in leaves; of whom the first bare in his neck a faggot of small sticks, which they all, both severally and to-gether, assayed with all their strength to break, but it could not be broken by them. At the length one of them plucked out one of the sticks and brake it, and the rest plucking out all the other sticks one after another, did easily break them, the same being severed; which being conjoined they had before attempted in vain. . . . Hereby was signified, that a state knit in unity, doth continue strong against all force; but being divided is easily destroyed." In the German play Severus in the course of his exhortation quotes das alte Sprichwort: Concordia parvae res crescunt, Discordia maximae dilabuntur.

A reminiscence of the same fable appears in Goethe's *Götz*, III, xiii: *Ritter* . . . Ihr seid noch der Knoten von diesem Bündel Haselruten; löst ihn auf, so knickt er sie Euch einzeln wie Riedgras.]

In righteous anger at Nero's insolence Severus, again in consultation with his councillors, decides that unless he show very shortly fruits of repentance he shall be closely confined.

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Nero learns of this through his spy Garrulus. He goes out into the woods to escape notice and here meets with friends of his own complexion—Seditiosus and Hypocrita. Swearing them to secrecy by a solemn oath [one of the most frequent of motifs in the English revenge-plays] he tells them what has happened and how it is his ambition to take father, brother and the faithful councillors by the heads and seize control of the government. Hypocrita, true to his name, advises him to use hypocrisy, pretend deep repentance, and simulate humility and friendship. By this means an opportunity will soon be provided to work his purpose, adding that it will then be als wie der verlorne Son wider zu Hause kam. Following this counsel Nero seeks humbly permission to appear before his father. On entering Nero—Holland, 359—(Stellet sich, als wann er weinet, fellet auff die Erden, und küsset sie, reuffet die Haar, reisset das Wambs auff, und sagt) Ach ich bitte umb gnade, Ich habe zuviel gethan, Der Trunck hat mich verführet, Es ist mir alles leid aus grundt meines Hertzen, was ich gethan habe, Es soll nun und nimmermehr geschehen. (Fellet dem Vater fur die Fusse, und küsset jhn.) Ach lieber Vater, vergebet es mir ein mal, ich wils alle mein lebtag nicht mehr thun. (Fellet jhm darnach umb den Halsz, und spricht.) Ach lieber Vater, sol es dann vergeben sein, Ich wil mich gerne nach ewer Lehr und vermhanung schicken, Und wie jhrs verordnet, durchaus wol zu frieden sein. . . .

While Severus delivers himself of a tedious homily, Nero stands wringing his hands, tearing his hair and moaning. Of course his pretence is successful, he is fully reconciled with father and brother. He even begs the forgiveness of the three councillors.

[Hieronimo and Hamlet assume madness to gain their ends, but in the feigned repentence of Selimus there is a close parallel (*Selimus*, Malone Society Reprints, vol. 9. l. 1589 ff.):

Seli.: Father, if I may call thee by that name,
Whose life I aim'd at with rebellious sword:
In all humilitie thy reformed sonne,
Offers himselfe into your graces hands . . .
Behold I open unto you my brest,
Readie prepar'd to die at your command.
But if repentance in unfained heart,

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> And sorrow for my grievous crime forepast,
> May merit pardon at your princely hands,
> Behold where poore inglorious *Selimus*,
> Upon his knees begs pardon of your grace.]

Nero tells his friends, Seditiosus and Hypocrita, the joyful news of his success, and plans with them the series of murders which shall open the way for his accession. His aged father—Holland, 363—pflegt gemeinlich in den Garten zugehen, Und darinnen zuschlaffen, und nimpt niemandts mit sich, Als meines Bruders Son. Here in the garden Nero plans to murder both father and nephew, likewise his mother, whom he will entice into the garden by simulating the voice of Severus crying for help.

[The resemblance to the situation in *Hamlet* is rather striking, all the more so, when we remember that in Belleforest's tale, as in the English translation, the murder of Hamlet's father takes place under totally different conditions, and that this German play dates from the year 1594:

> Sleeping within my orchard,
> My custom always in the afternoon, etc.

Der bestrafte Brudermord (Creizenach, *Schauspiele*, 155, 17 ff.) reads: Wisse, dasz ich den Gebrauch hatte, welchen mir die Natur angewöhnet, dasz ich täglich nach der Mahlzeit zu Mittage in meinem Königlichen Lustgarten zu gehn pflegte, um allda mich eine Stunde der Ruhe zu bedienen.]

When the plans have been laid, Nero suddenly becomes timorous; his lifelong he has never slain a living animal. But Hypocrita has a remedy. All that is necessary is for Nero to procure the heart of a child, broil it upon burning coals and eat it. Then he will suffer from no lack of courage. Nero has an illegitimate son that he is quite ready to sacrifice. The two now enter, the boy carrying a flask about his neck and a pot with coals in his hands. He is full of evil forebodings, as well he might be, for Nero throws him to the ground—Holland, 368—(. . . setzet jhme das Knye auff den Hals, das er nicht mehr ruffen kan, der Knab aber grunselt gleichwol.) Warte, ich wil dir das grünseln bald verbieten, (Streichet die Ermeln auff, nimbt ein Messer, und schneidet seinen Leib auff, und schepffet mit einem Schälichen jhme das Bluth aus seinem Leibe, und setzt es bey sich, Darnach nimpt er das Hertze jhme aus dem

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Leibe, und wirfft den Cörper in ein Loch, Nimbt darnach das Gläsichen, und vermischet das Bluth mit Wein, und trinckts aus, Das Hertze legt er auff die Kolen, bratet das, und frissts auff, Wann er das so alles verrichtet, gehet er abe, und spricht.) Nun deucht mich, ich sey so keck, Wann mich der Teuffel begegnete, ich wolte mich an jhnen machen.

[The motif itself is a very strange one. In some particulars the situation recalls the sacrifice of Isaac, especially as represented in the medieval German passion plays.[9] The revolting, gory details are well matched in the slaughter of Tamora's sons in *Titus Andronicus*, especially in the version of the English Comedians.[10] As a threat or punishment the cutting out of the heart was not uncommon.[11] The cutting out and eating the hearts of various animals is frequent in folk-lore but nowhere have I found anything with the least resemblance to the present case.]

We come to the murders. As he expected, Nero finds the father together with his little grandson, Innocens, asleep in the garden.—Holland, 368 ff.—(Severus setzet sich bey einem Baum, und Innocens bey dem anderm bey jhme nieder und schlaffen.) —Holland, 370—(Nero kompt, und hat eine Barte in der Hand, gehet in den Garten, schleicht gar heimblich zu seinem Vater, setzt jme den Pfrim auff den Kopff, und schlegt jn mit der Barten darauff.) The awl he drives into his father's head and the old duke dies, committing his soul into God's hands, whom he calls upon to avenge this innocent blood and cites Nero to appear before the judgment seat.—Holland, 370—*Severus.* Nun wolan, Kans dann nicht anderst sein, So bevhele ich dir Gott meinem HErrn meine Seele in deine Hende, Bevhele dir die Rache, Und bitte Du wollest dieses mein unschüldig Blut rechen, Und eben Dich Neronem wil ich citiren vor das gestrenge Gericht Gottes, Da soltu Rechenschafft geben von diesem meinem Blut. (Nero schlegt jhn in den Nacken, das er ligen bleibet, und zeugt jhme den Pfriem aus dem Kopff, und

[9] Cf. Milchsack, *Egerer Fronleichnamsspiel*, 1881, ll. 765-778.

[10] Creizenach, *Schauspiele*, 48.

[11] H. F. Schwarz, *Alphonsus Emperor of Germany*, 1913, xxvi. Also the words of Richard III in the *True Tragedie:* (Furness, *Variorum*, 544) *King* . . . this verie day, I hope with this lame hand of mine, to rake out that hateful heart of Richmond, and when I have it, to eate it panting hote with salt, and drinke his blood luke warme.

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streichet das Loch am Kopff mit Erden zu,[12] und spricht:) Was hat der alte Schelm ein hart Leben.

[The method Nero here employs is again very strange. The nearest resemblance is in the Biblical story of Sisera murdered by Jael, *Judges*, 4, 21 and a play on the same subject by Hans Sachs—Keller-Goetze, 10, 130 ff. Reginald Scot in *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584 (Nicholson's reprint, London, 1886, p. 285) relates how "To thrust a bodkin into your head without hurt," adding p. 291, an illustration of the bodkin.]

Upon the death of his father Nero strangles his little nephew with a cord, then simulates his father's voice and when his mother, Patientia, rushes in, he throws her upon her back and cuts her throat with her own knife.

It is the beginning of a perfect day.

The elder brother, Probus enters, disturbed by vague forebodings. He has dreamed that his father, mother and own son have been murdered.

[The frequency of prophetic dreams and presentiments or forebodings of impending misfortune in the Elizabethan drama have been often commented upon—I need only to recall Calpurnia's dream in *Julius Caesar*. A contemporary explanation of the belief is to be found in Scot's *Discoverie* (Nicholson's reprint, 144). This is the only example of a

[12] The purpose is clear from a previous passage—Holland, 363—jhme einen Pfrim in den Kopff schlagen, und wieder heraus ziehen, Also, das man an jme nichts sehen solte, Damit wann die Leute hernacher jhne sehen, anderst nicht meinen, Er sey sonsten gehling am Schlage gestorben. Compare with this the words of the Geist to Hamlet in *Der bestrafte Brudermord*—Creizenach, *Schauspiele*, 155, 26ff.: Diesen Saft (the poison) gosz er mir, als ich schlief, in meine Ohren, sobald dasselbe in den Kopf kam, muszte ich augenblicklich sterben, hernach gab man vor, ich hätte einen starken Schlagflusz bekommen. In Shakespeare, I, v, 35f., the attempted deception is retained but the details differ:

'Tis given out, that, sleeping in mine orchard,
A serpent stung me.

Cf. also *Woodstocke*, (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XXXV), V, i, 11ff., and two somewhat similar instances in *The Devil's Charter* (Bang's *Materialien*, Bd. 6), 673ff., 2568f.

It is needless to add that the ruse is, for the time, completely successful, as are also Nero's similar attempts to cover up the murder of his nephew and mother. The citation to appear before the judgment seat is repeated with each of the murders, but one example will suffice.

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dream in the German play, but I noted at least six examples of premonitions.]

The bodies are discovered and Nero joins vociferously in lamenting the dead and in cursing the miscreant. He is still "an outward saint, an inward Devill."

[This hypocritical sorrow and rage on the part of the murderer when his victim is discovered, is well matched in *Alphonsus Emperor of Germany* (edited by Schwarz, 20, 6 ff.), and two excellent examples in *The Devil's Charter* (Bangs, *Materialien*, Bd. 6, l. 721 ff. and 1851 ff.]

From a Medicus, who also swears a solemn oath of secrecy, Nero now procures a poison so violent that even the odor will prove fatal to a woman, for es ist nur auff ein Frawes Person zugerichtet. This he administers to Pudica, his brother's wife, who is on the point of childbirth, by rubbing it on an apple which he picks for her.

[On the prevalence of poisoning in Elizabethan England, with many references to the drama and examples taken from contemporary history cf. Schwarz, *Alphonsus Emperor of Germany*, vii-xvi. A fairly close parallel to the case in point may be found in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, IV, v, where Barabas administers poison by offering his victim a flower to smell. In *Selimus*, Abraham, the Jew, provides Selimus (l. 1724f.) with

> potions of so strong a force,
> That whosoever touches them shall die.]

The brother Probus is now alone in his way. In Nero's own words—Holland, 383—Ich habs nun Gott lob auff zwey augen gebracht. Probus is run through with his own sword while walking in the woods to overcome his melancholy.[13] Nero leaves to order a banquet, for he admits that it has been a full day—Holland, 387—Dann auff einen bösen tag, gehöret ein guter Abendt, Wann ich die Warheit sagen sol, Habe ich mich alle müde gearbeitet.

The day, however, is not yet over. The three good councillors, Justus, Constans and Verax, discover the body of

[13] In Scot's *Discoverie* (Nicholson's reprint, 287f.) most minute explanations are given how "To thrust a dagger or bodkin into your guts verie stranglie and to recover immediatlie."

Probus. Unfortunately they also meet Nero, who promptly accuses them of the deed and orders their heads off.

Now the wheel of fortune begins to turn in the other direction. Garrulus, the faithless chamberlain who has acted as Nero's spy, has experienced a change of heart—though why, it were hard to say. He has sinned with his tongue, therefore his tongue shall suffer and he cuts it out—Holland, 390—(Schneidet sich selber die Zunge aus dem Halse, und fellet zu boden.)

> [One is reminded especially of the action of Hieronimo in the *Spanish Tragedy*, IV, iv. Cf. also H. T. Schwarz, *Alphonsus Emperor of Germany*, 1913, xxix ff., where examples are cited to show that "in the Elizabethan age the hand was looked upon as a responsible agent" and that "self-inflicted punishment was at times visited upon it . . . for its activity in a cause that led to humiliating or other evil results." Apparently from Garrulus' action the same notion holds true for the tongue.]

The banquet is in full swing, Nero and his friends are celebrating lustily and loudly.—Holland, 391: (. . . Entlich, wie sie zum aller lustigsten sein, verlieren sich auff dem Tische aus dreyen Schüsseln die Essen, und erscheinen an stadt desselben die Drey abgehawene Köpffe, Hierüber erschrecken sie alle, springen vom Tisch auff, die Köpffe verschwinden, Nero leufft in seine Cammer, die andern gehen auch alle abe.)

> [Scot, *Discoverie*, Nicholson's reprint, 286 f., and 293 illustrations, gives full and minute directions for this trick, which he classes among the "desperate or dangerous juggling knacks," namely, "To cut off one's head and to laie it in a platter, etc.: which the jugglers call the decollation of John Baptist."]

The banquet breaks up in disorder. Nero betakes himself to his own quarters. Hypocrita, Seditiosus and Medicus are beside themselves with terror, although they are not entirely clear as to what they have seen—Holland, 391 f.:

Seditiosus. Ich habe es so eigentlich nicht erkennen können, Was es war.

Medicus. Ich lies mich schier bedüncken, Es waren drey Menschen Köpffe, Aber im hastigen auffsteigen, kondte ich sie nicht erkennen.

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Seditiosus. Ich habe fur mein Person nichts gesehen, Aber so viel sahe ich wol, das sich unser Herr gewaltig entsatzte, wie er so plötzlich auffstundt . . .

Hypocrita. Ach was sol ich viel davon sagen, Es weren der dreyen Räthe, welchen der Kopff abgehawen worden, Gesichter.

[It is one of the recognized articles of Elizabethan ghost-lore that a ghost is "very rarely visible to more than one person, although there are several in the company." Also in Scot's *Discoverie*, Nicholson's reprint, 449, we read: "Also they (i.e. apparitions) never appeare to the whole multitude, seldome to a fewe, and most commonlie to one alone: . . . Also they are oftenest seene by them that are readie to die: . . . also they may be seene of some, and of some other in that presence not seene at all." In this connection one is at once reminded of the ghost in the scene between Hamlet and his mother; also of *Macbeth.*]

The three unprofitable servants go to the woods, where Seditiosus and Hypocrita fall to quarreling as to which is responsible for the evil counsel. Swords are drawn and they slay each other.

[A similar motif occurs in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, III, ii; in *Der bestrafte Brudermord*, IV, i; Cf. also Greene's *Frier Bacon and Frier Bungay*, ll. 1948 and 1953.]

The worthy Medicus eliminates himself by taking his own poison. Nero has passed a restless night. He has heard ein solch geklümper und getümmel that he could not sleep. He has seen nothing.

[A popular belief which occasionally found echo in the drama is, according to Brand, *Popular Antiquities*,[14] that "the coming of a spirit is announced some time before its appearance, by a variety of loud and dreadful noises." In *Der bestrafte Brudermord* lightning accompanies one of the appearances of the ghost (Creizenach, *Schauspiele*, 170, 18); in *Locrine*, *Woodstocke*, *Bussy D'Ambois*, ghosts are preceded by thunder or thunder and lightning.][15]

[14] W. C. Hazlitt, *Dictionary of Faiths and Folklore*, 1905, 270.

[15] In one respect the general tradition of the Elizabethan stage ghost seems to run contrary to popular belief; that is, as to the time of day of its appearance. Scot tells us in a marginal note (Nicholson's reprint, 219): "Note that you read

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Nero passes out into the garden and lies down under a tree to sleep. Holland, 394 f.—(Wann er sich niedergelegt zuschlaffen, so kompt seines Sons Infans Geist,[16] unnd hat am Halse hengend eine Flessche, und in einem armen einen Topff mit Kolen, und ist vorn in der Brust auffgeschnitten, und blutig, und spielet auff einer Cithern, und gehet umb Neronem drey mal herumb, spricht aber kein wort, entlich wachet Nero

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never of anie spirit that walked by daie." I can find no evidence, however, that this holds true for the great majority of the plays. In these the ghosts seem to appear as the action demands, whether it be day or night. Lessing in his famous polemic (*Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, Elftes Stück) against the ghost of Ninus in Voltaire's *Semiramis*, which appears am hellen Tage, overshoots the mark not merely from the standpoint of classical antiquity but also from that of the dramatic traditions of Elizabethan England. In *Der ungeratene Sohn* there is no direct intimation of the time, but Nero speaks of the apparition of the three heads as occurring "gestern." We may then assume that the following apparitions take place in broad day-light.

[16] Only in this play does the Duke allow ghosts actually to appear on the stage. There is, however, in an earlier piece, the first and longer version of the *Tragica Comoedia von der Susanna*, a good example of the "subjective" ghost, where a character seems to see the ghosts of his victims before him.—Holland, 155:

Midian (one of the wicked judges, just before he is stoned.) Ach wie wehe und bange ist mir, Ach wie wehe ist mir, Ich kans mit Worten nicht aussprechen, Denn es bedüncket mir gentzlich, ich sehe die jenigen vor meinen Augen stehen, welchen ich unrecht gethan habe, und nicht verhelffen wollen. Jha mir daucht, ich höre die jennigen, so ich unschuldiger weise umbs leben habe bringen lassen, wie sie mich vor dem Richtstule Gottes anklagen, und ceter mordio uber mich schreien. Mir dünckct, ich höre und sehe die Trenen, so die Susanna meinet halber uber die wangen vergossen, und fliessen lassen, gehn Himel steigen, unnd ceter mordio uber mich schreyen.

This type of ghost is also well-known in Elizabethan drama. Cf. Lodge and Greene's *A Looking-Glasse for London and England*, l. 2238ff.:

Usurer. Groning in conscience, burdened with my crimes,
The hell of sorrow hauntes me up and downe.
Tread where I list, mee-thinkes the bleeding ghostes
Of those whom my corruption brought to noughts,
Do serve for stumbling blocks before my steppes;
The fatherlesse and widow wrongd by me,
The poore, oppressed by my usurie;
Mee-thinkes I see their hands reard up to heaven,
To crie for vengeance of my covetousnesse.

Also *The True Tragedie of Richard III* (Furness, *Variorum*, 542), and the best of all examples, *Macbeth*.

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auff, wischet in die Höhe, erschrecket sich, schlegt ein Creutz[17]

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[17] Is this action of Nero in crossing himself, together with the immediate disappearance of the ghost, to be connected with the old belief that these apparitions were in reality disguised devils? Cf. T. A. Spalding, *Elizabethan Demonology*, 1880, p. 53: "Before the Reformation, the belief that the spirits of the departed had power at will to revisit the scenes and companions of their earthly life was almost universal. The reforming divines distinctly denied the possibility of such a revisitation, and accounted for the undoubted phenomena, as usual, by attributing them to the devil." Also p. 60f.

The unknown writer who made the additions to the 1665 edition of Scot's *Discoverie* knew of this belief but did not share it: "The opinion of many is, *That the Devill in their likenesse is all that appears:* But the more Learned have sufficiently demonstrated, through Example, and Experience; *That the apparition is really proper to the person deceased.*"

One recalls the words of Hamlet (I, iv, 40f.):

> Be thou a spirit of health or goblin damn'd,
> Bring with thee airs from heaven or blasts from hell, . . .

Or again (II, ii, 574f.):

> The spirit that I have seen
> May be the devil.

In *Der bestrafte Brudermord* the 2. Schildwache, on receiving the box on the ear, cries out (Creizenach, *Schauspiele*, 152, 18): Da spielt der Teufel leibhaftig mit.

There is then some evidence linking ghosts and devils together both in popular tradition and in the drama. Is there, however, any evidence to show that in these revenge-ghosts the Elizabethan dramatists were consciously creating figures parallel to the "Furies" of Greek tragedy? Psychologically they are exact parallels, symbolizing as they do the tortured conscience of the murderer. Warr (*The Oresteia of Aeschylus*, 1900) in a note to *Choephoroe*, v. 406, writes: "The Erinyes are significantly called 'curses of the dead,' as though they were ghosts permitted to avenge themselves on the living"; while Stoll, Objectivity of the Ghosts in Shakespeare (*Publ. of Mod. Lang. Asso.*, 1907, p. 229): "They (the ghosts) are the concrete representations of Nemesis, after the world-old conception of it by our forefathers as a blood-feud carried on beyond the confines of the grave."

In the plays an actual blending of the figures seems best exemplified in the anonymous *Caesar's Revenge* (Malone Society Reprints, vol. 25). In this the terms, *ghosts*, *furies* and even *devils* seem used synonymously.

Caesar's *Ghost* on entering says (1972ff.):

> Out of the horror of those shady vaultes,
> Where Centaurs, Harpies, paynes and furies fell:
> And Gods and Ghosts and ugly Gorgons dwell,
> My restless soule comes heere to tell his wronges.

Discord bids (2145f.):

> Furies, and Ghosts, with your blue-burning lampes,
> In mazing terror ride through *Roman* rankes.

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fur sich, und spricht:) Hilff Gott, Was ist das? (Der Geist verschwindet alsbaldt, und Nero legt sich wider nieder zuschlaffen. Inmittelst kompt seines Vaters Geist, und hat das Beil in der Handt, und den Pfriemen im Kopff, gehet umb jhn herumb, spielet auff einem Pandor oder Lauten, spricht aber

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Brutus (2270), full of dire forebodings:

> What hatefull furyes vex my tortured mind?
> What hideous sightes appalle my greeved soule,
> As when *Orestes* after mother slaine,
> Not being yet at *Scithians* Alters purged,
> Beheld the greesly visages of fiends
> And gastly furies which did haunt his steps,
> *Caesar* upbraves my sad ingratitude.

As the ghost of Caesar enters Brutus cries out (2284ff.):

> Stay what so ere thou art, or fiend below,
> Rays'd from the deepe by inchanters bloody call,
> Or fury sent from *Phlegitonticke* flames,
> Or from *Cocytus* for to end my life,
> Be then *Megera* or *Tysiphone*,
> Or of *Eumenides* ill boading crue.

Again Brutus (2328):

> Furyes I come to meete you all in Hell.

And (2511ff.) *Brutus the Ghost following him:*

> Drag downe this body to proud *Erebus*,
> Through black *Cocytus* and infernall *Styx*,
> *Lethean* waves, and fiers of *Phlegeton*,
> Boyle me or burne, teare my hatefull flesh,
> Devoure, consume, pull, pinch, plague, paine this hart,
> Hell craves her right, and heere the furyes stand,
> And all the hell-hounds compasse me a round
> Each seeking for a parte of this same prey.

A more complete blending of classical tags with medieval notions of hell and the devil than is contained in this last selection would be difficult to imagine.

(The "blue-burning lampes," 2145, recall one of the most frequent superstitions regarding ghosts. Cf. *Richard III*, V, iii, 212, and *Julius Caesar*, IV, iii, 319. In Hazlitt's edition of *Brand's Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* we read, p. 270: "If, during the time of an apparition, there is a lighted candle in the room, it will burn extremely blue: this is so universally acknowledged, that many eminent philosophers have busied themselves in accounting for it, without once doubting the truth of the fact." It is somewhat surprising to find an apparent reminiscence of this superstition in the *Klassische Walpurgisnacht* of *Faust*, l. 7033: Feuer brennen blau.)

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kein wort, Nero erwachet entlich davon, wisschet auff, erschrecket sich, und bleibet sitzen, schlegt ein Creutz fur sich, und der Geist verschwindet. Nero legt sich wider nieder, und schlefft, in dem kompt seins Brudern Sons Geist, hat einen Strick am Halse, und schaum vorm Maul,[18] spielet mit der Cithern umb jhn her, er erwacht davon, erschrecket hefftig, windet den Kopff in den Mantel, und beginnt wieder zuschlaffen, und der Geist verschwindet wiederumb. Inmittelst kompt seiner Mutter Geist, hat ein Messer in der Kehlen, gehet umb jhn her, und spielet auff einem Pandor, er erwachet davon, und erschrecket, legt sich doch entlich wider nieder zu dem schlaff, und der Geist verschwindet. Darnach kompt seines Brudern Gemahls Geist, hat ein klein Kindechen auff den armen, und einen Apffel in der Handt, spielet auff einem Pandor, und gehet umb jhn herumb, Er erwachet davon auff, und erschrecket, der Geist verschwindet, und Nero legt sich wider schlaffen. Inmittelst kompt seines Brudern Geist, hat eine Wehr im Leibe, und mit jhme seine Drey Räthe ohne Köpffe, und tregt ein yeder seinen Kopff in der Schüssel, gehet umb ihn herumb, unnd spielet auff der Lauten. Nero erwachet davon, erschrecket hefftig.

[It is to be noted that these ghosts appear to Nero in his sleep in the exact chronological order of their death. One is reminded of *Richard III*, V, iii, where "on the eve of the decisive battle, as the guilty monarch tries to snatch a few hours of repose, one by one, or in groups of two or three as they suffered, and in exact chronological order, the spirits of his victims pass before him."[19]

An even better example is contained in the Latin university drama *Fatum Vortigerni* (*SJB*, 34, 258 ff.). In the last scenes of this the doomed Vortigernus falls asleep against his will. Whereupon Death enters announcing the end and then one after another the ghosts of his nine victims, each accusing him of murder and each ending with the curse: *despera et peri* (Cf. *Richard III*, the similar repetition of

[18] In his plans to kill his nephew Nero says (Holland, 363f.): Den wil ich flugs mit einem Stricke würgen und auch ligen lassen. Und wil jhme von Seiffen ein wenig Schaum in dem Mundt machen, Damit man meinen sol, Er sey an der schweren Kranckheit gestorben. Cf. also note 12.

[19] Helen H. Stewart, *The Supernatural in Shakespeare*, 1908, p. 50.

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"Despair and die." Vortigernus awakes in terror, with the *despera et peri* ringing in his ears. Again Mors and the ghosts appear, each one foretelling of the terrible punishments which await him.

I would call special attention to the fact that in this Latin play the ghosts appear first to Vortigernus asleep and then later to him awake, just as is the case in *Der ungeratene Sohn*.

As to the external appearance of the ghosts of the earlier Elizabethan plays, I found no details, as the stage directions are very brief and general. From popular tradition, as also from the later practice of the drama, I think it may be inferred that they too were all bloodbespattered and "befouled with the dirt of the death struggle." The apparitions in the German piece certainly tend to confirm the assumption. The addition of musical instruments is, so far as I know, quite new and apparently an innovation of the author.[20] As a possible explanation, it might be stated that the earliest English players in Germany were musicians as well as actors. Hence the worthy Duke may have attempted in this way to make use of all the talents at his disposal. That the innovation was a happy one no one would maintain, indeed, the total effect of the scene, at least to our modern feeling, is burlesque in the extreme.]

Nero can no longer remain in the garden, he goes out into the woods. And here he comes upon the bodies of his three councillors, Hypocrita, Seditiosus and Medicus. Holland, 395, —(wie er hinzu kompt, richten sich die Toden auff, mit verkerten Augen, und auffgesperrten Meulern, fallen wider nieder, und verschwinden, und sprechen nichts. Nowhere can he find rest. He walks up and down in terror, tearing his hair. —Holland, 396—Inmittelst erscheinet ihme sein Sohn, und hat in einer Handt das Glasz, daraus sein Vater das Blut getruncken hat, am Halse tregt er die Flässche, und im Arme den

[20] Music in ghost scenes is found somewhat later in Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, V, v, following l. 119: *Music, and the Ghost of* Bussy *enters, leading the Ghosts of the* Guise, Monsieur, Cardinal Guise, *and* Chatillon: *they dance about the dead body, and exeunt.*

It should, however, be noted that the ghosts here do not themselves furnish the music.

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Topff mit Kolen, In der andern Handt hat er das gebratene Hertze, und ist vorn auffgeschnitten, unnd gar blutig, Rufft laut.)

Infantis Geist. Rache Uber dich, Der du dein eigen Fleisch gefressen, Und dein eigen Blut getruncken hast.

As before the ghosts appear separately and in the same order, but this time without musical instruments. Instead each cries aloud for vengeance, summons Nero to appear vor dem gestrengen Gerichte Gottes, to give rechenschafft von unserm Blute, and disappears.

When the first ghost, that of his illegitimate son, disappears, Nero erschrecket hefftig, und wil davon lauffen, so begegnet jhme der Geist seines Vatern, und helt jhn, auff das er nicht weg kan.

[Of the "objectivity" of this ghost there can be no question. Such manifestations of physical force on the part of ghosts are, however, very rare in the drama. In *Locrine*, IV, Humber is perishing from hunger, when Strumbo, a fantastical cobbler, enters bringing "his vittailes" with him. Humber demands of him meat, else he will dash out his "cursed braines." (l. 1669): "Let him (i. e. Strumbo) make as though hee would give him some, and as he putteth out his hand, enter the ghoast of *Albanact*, and strike him on the hand, and so *Strumbo* runnes out, *Humber* following him." The only other similar instance which I can cite occurs in *Der bestrafte Brudermord*, where the ghost of Hamlet's father giebt von hinten der Schildwache eine Ohrfeige, dasz er die Musquete fallen läszt.[21]

In Hazlitt's edition of Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, p. 269, it is stated: "We sometimes also read of ghosts striking violent blows; and that, if not made way for, they overturn all impediments, like a furious whirlwind. Glanvil mentions an instance of this, in Relation 17th of a Dutch lieu-

[21] Creizenach, *Schauspiele*, 152, 17, also 151, 20f., where the 1. Schildwache reports that this ghost hat mich schon wollen zweymal von der Bastey herunterwerfen. In Peele's *The Old Wives Tale*, Jacke, the dead man, whose ghost returns to assist his benefactor, also takes a lively part in the action, but the character is conceived in a manner entirely divergent from that of the revenge-ghost. More closely related are the actions of certain ghosts appearing in the Latin university plays—cf. especially *Perfidus Hetruscus* (*SJB*, 34, 250) and *Nero* (*SJB*, 34, 267).

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tenant, who had the faculty of seeing ghosts; and who, being prevented making way for one which he mentioned to some friends as coming towards them, was, with his companions, violently thrown down, and sorely bruised."

On the other hand, the unknown author of the 1665 additions to Scot's *Discoverie* is firmly convinced of the insubstantiality of ghosts (Nicholson's reprint, 502f.): "Many such apparitions do for many years continue to be seen in one particular place; ever watching for opportunity, to discover some murther, or Treasure hid: And the cause of the difficulty of the said discovery, consists in the nature of their substance; for could they make use of the organ of the Tongue, they might quickly discover it: or if they had the outward benefit of Hands, they might produce the said Treasure, or Carcase murthered, but this they are seldome able to accomplish; being destitute of the outward Organs, and mediation of Hands to hold withall, or Tongue to vent their grievances: And that this is true, the manner of their appearance doth confirm it: For all that they are able to effect, if they have been murthered, is commonly to appear near the very place, where their body lies, and to seem as if they sunk down, or vanished in the same; or else to appear in the posture of a murthered person, with mangled, and bloudy wounds, and hair dissheveI'd: But it is rarely known, that any such apparitions have plainly spoken, or uttered by words, the time of their murther, with the cause, the persons name, or place; unless the murther, by circumstances hath been more than ordinary, horrid, and execrable: then the remembrance of the same doth sometimes enable the apparition to frame a voice, by the assistance of the Air, and discover the fact."[22]

In the plays, however, I noticed but two instances where the ghosts themselves seemed actually conscious of this lack of physical substance and energy: *Caesar's Revenge*, (Malone Society Reprints, vol. 25, l. 2010f.), where Caesar's ghost cries out:

> Alasse poore *Caesar* thou a shadow art,
> An ayery substance wanting force and might.

[22] This description recalls rather forcibly Belasco's play, *The Return of Peter Grimm*, 1911.

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Also *Woodstocke*, V, i, 65f. (*SJB*, 35, 107), where the ghost of the Black Prince exclaims:

> Oh, I am nought but ayre!
> Had I the vigour of my former strength, *etc.*]

In his terror Nero cries aloud.—Holland, 397—(Stellet sich als wolte er weg gehen, So erscheinen jhme die Geister semptlich in voriger gestalt, und schreien nach einander.)

Die Geister. Vindicta, Vindicta, Vindicta. Rach, Rach, Rach, Ceter. Ceter. Ceter Mordio Vber dich vor dem Gestrengen Gericht Gottes, der du so viel unschuldig Blut vergossen hast. (Verschwinden.)

Nero (Erschrecket, raufft die Haar, laufft geschwinde auff und nieder, windet und krümmet sich, reisset das Wambs auff und brüllet grewlich wie ein Ochsz, und spricht:) Nun befinde ichs erstlich, was ich gethan habe. Nun wachet das Gewissen in mir auff, O wehe mir, O wehe, O wehe, O wehe, O wehe Uber alle wehe, (Gehet herumb, krümmet und windet sich.) O wann ich nur todt were! Ach das ich nie geboren were.

Loud and long he recites the catalog of his crimes, specifying each particular murder and each in the order in which it was committed. Bitterly he laments the innocent blood which he has laden upon himself.

—Holland, 398f.—(Gehet und grünselt, winselt, krümmet sich, und zerreisst die Kleider. Die Geister erscheinen wieder, wie vorhin, und ruffen:)

Geister. Ceter, Ceter Mordio, vor dem gestrengen Gerichte Gottes, da soltu kommen, und rechenschafft geben, von disem unschüldigen blut. (Verschwinden wiederumb.)

Nero. (Brüllet.) O wehe mir; Ich bin verdampt und verloren, Und bin des Teuffels da ich gehe und stehe. Meiner Sünde ist mehr dann der Stern am Himmel und des Sandes am Meer. O wehe mir verdampten und verlornen Menschen. (Schweiget stille, Gehet, krümmet sich, brullet wie ein Ochs, und raufft sich in Haaren. Die Geister erscheinen wieder, und ruffen:)

Geister. Vindicta, Vindicta, Vindicta.

Nero. (brüllet und schreyet:) O Wehe mir, Wehe mir, Wehe mir, O Wehe uber alle Wehe. (Schweiget ein wenig stille.) Nun wolan, Weil es dann nicht anderst sein kann, so wil ich mir auch, nun selber der quale abhelffen. (Zeucht

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den Tolch aus, und wil sich selber erstechen, Er kan es aber nicht vollenbringen, dann der Tolch bricht entzwey. Spricht weiter.) Wil das nicht helffen, so mus ichs anderst machen. (Nimpt einen Hosenband, und wil sich selber hengen, es wil aber auch nicht sein, dann er bricht auch. Spricht weiter.) Wil dann das alles nicht helffen, so mus das helffen. (Und zeucht aus den Kleidern heraus ein Glasz mit Gifft, wie ers aber vor den Mund nemen wil, entfellet es jhme auff die Erden, Darnach spricht er.) O Wehe mir, Kan ich dann nun keine Mittel haben, dadurch ich mir das leben nhemen, und die grosse qual in meinem Hertzen verkürtzen konne. (Brüllet wie ein Ochsz, und krümmet sich. Die Geister erscheinen wieder und schreyen.)

Die Geister. Rache, Rache, Rache Uber unschüldiges Blut.

[The dagger, cord and poison are again the traditional properties of a suicide in the Elizabethan drama. Cf. Posthumus in *Cymbeline*, V, v, 249: O! give me cord, or knife, or poison. Schick in a note to III, xii of *The Spanish Tragedy*, speaks of this as a "constantly occurring *motif*" and refers to Schröer, *Titus Andronicus*, p. 77 seq., and to F. I. Carpenter, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xii, 257 sqq. Cf. also Boas, *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, p. 405, note to Act III, Scene xii.]

In his desperation Nero calls upon the elements to overwhelm him: O Erde thue dich auff, und verschlinge mich, O jhr Berge, fallet uber mich, O jhr Winde, führet mich hinweg, O jhr Wasser, kommet und erseuffet mich, O ihr Beume, fallet auff mich, und schmeisset mich zu bode. O Feuwr, so Sodoma und Gomorrha verzehret hat, falle auff mich.

[This appeal to the elements reminds one of Humber's dying dirge in *Locrine*, 1746ff., or even more strongly of the words of the Usurer in *A Looking-Glasse for London and England*, l. 2250ff.:

> Hell gapes for me, heaven will not hold my soule.
> You mountaines, shroud me from the God of truth: . . .
> Oh burthen, more then Aetna, that I beare.
> Cover me hilles, and shroud me from the Lord;
> Swallow me, Lycus, shield me from the Lord.

Also Marlowe's *Faustus*, V, iv:

> Mountains and hills, come, come, and fall on me,
> And hide me from the heavy wrath of heaven!

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The origin is doubtless Biblical; cf. Luke 23,30; Is. 2,19; Hosea 10,8; Revel. 6,16.]

As the elements pay no heed the ghost-ridden Nero again goes through his calisthenics.—Holland, 399—(Gehet krümmet und windet sich, und stellet sich grewlich an, brüllet wie ein Ochs, fellet zu der Erden, kratzet mit Henden und Füssen von sich, Stehet wider auff, und leufft herumb, als wenn er gar von Sinnen were. Die Geister erscheinen jhme wieder, und sagen:)

Geister. Ceter, Ceter, Ceter Mordio, Kom Und gib Rechenschafft von unserm Blute, Kom in das Thal Josaphat,[23] Dahin wir dich hiemit wollen Citiret haben.

Nero. (brüllet, und stellet sich grewlich an, und spricht.) Weil es dann nicht anders sein kan, Ich auch kein ander Mittel habe, Mich mein leben zuverkürtzen, Und kein Element mir zu Hülffe kommen wil, Ich auch sonsten keinen andern Raht weis, So mus ich andere hülffe suchen. (Brüllet wie ein Ochse, und schreyet gar laut.) O jhr Teuffel, kompt und helffet mir der quale abe, Dann ich wil mit ins Thal Josaphat, dahin ich Citiret bin. O kompt baldt, und macht nicht lange zu. (Die Teuffel kommen mit grossem, grewlichem geschrey, und führen jhn hinweg.)[24]

[The end has some slight resemblance to Marlowe's *Faustus*, but devils were very familiar figures to sixteenth century German audiences.]

Such a play as this seems doubtless absurd enough to us and was also, as the evidence of the "filthy, whining ghost" mentioned in *A Warning to Fair Women* indicates, ridiculed by the intellectuals of Elizabethan England, but for the "groundlings, who loved nothing better than for

> each particular hair to stand an end,
> Like quills upon the fretful porpentine,"

it represented the very acme of dramatic art.[25]

[23] Cf. Joel 3, 12 and 14. In Luther's translation: Thal des Urteils.

[24] It will be evident from these quotations that Duke Heinrich Julius frequently repeats himself, hence it is not surprising to find close, verbal parallels in his other plays. With the above cf. especially the despair and death of the Marckmeister in the *Fleischawer*, Holland, 783f.

[25] Considering the popularity of the revenge-ghost in England and also the fact that the English Comedians in Germany gave preference in their

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I believe that I have established my contention that there is preserved in this German play, published in 1594, a more full and complete treatment of the revenge-ghost, essentially a "creation of the Elizabethan age,"[26] than is to be found in any extant English play. That the German author received his inspiration from the contemporary Elizabethan stage is also beyond all question. Furthermore, I hope I have, by the introduction of parallel situations and motifs, taken very largely from Pre-Shakespearean plays, rendered the inference plausible, that *Der ungeratene Sohn* is at least a fairly close imitation of a lost type of Early Elizabethan ghost-play, reeking with blood and murder, and which in the heaping of horror upon horror easily surpassed anything that has been preserved in the vernacular.[27] Certain of the Latin university plays, apparently of a somewhat later date, seem to have stood closer to these monstrosities than any of the extant dramas in English.

From a literary view-point the loss causes no regret. Had they survived, they would have been of interest merely as historical and cultural documents; as additional proof that Elizabethan England revelled quite as much in bear-baiting as in the plays of Shakespeare.

Incidentally some little evidence is advanced which tends to confirm my belief that *Der bestrafte Brudermord*[28] is an adaptation not of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* but of the earlier, so-called *Ur-Hamlet*.

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repertoire to plays of the blood and murder type, we might expect to find numerous examples of these ghosts in the extant plays. But such is not the case. While a very few examples of ghostly apparitions are to be found, they are not, with the exception of the Geist des alten Königs in *Der bestrafte Brudermord*, of the revenge type. It is also significant that Ayrer in his adaptation of the *Spanish Tragedy* (Keller, *Ayrers Dramen*, p. 883ff.) completely omits the figures: "Ghost of Andrea" and "Revenge."

[26] Whitmore, *The Supernatural in Tragedy*, 233: "We may fairly say that the developed revenge-ghost is the creation of the Elizabethan age."

[27] It almost seems as if there were but one alternative: either (1) Herzog Heinrich Julius grafts upon a more or less original plot traditional motifs and situations taken from the whole range of Pre-Shakespearean tragedy, which seems hardly probable; or (2) *Der ungeratene Sohn* is an adaptation of a lost English play.

[28] Evans, *Der bestrafte Brudermord, Sein Verhältnis zu Shakespeares Hamlet* (Litzmann, *Theatralische Forschungen*, Bd. 19.)

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SOME PHASES OF AMERICAN PRONUNCIATION

A. Two Phonetic Tendencies

The pronunciation of educated Americans is in many respects more archaic than that of educated Englishmen. Nor in this fact is there anything at all surprising; for the phonetic basis of American pronunciation rests chiefly on the speech of Englishmen of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Jamestown, let us recall, was founded in 1607, Plymouth in 1620, and Philadelphia in 1682; the first printing office in America was established at Cambridge in 1639, and the first New York newspaper was published in 1725; between 1732, the year of Washington's birth, and the time when England acknowledged the independence of the United States lies a period of fifty-one years.

Remembering these and similar dates in our colonial history, we shall be able to explain the existence of many American speech-sounds without invoking the aid of phonetic laws or recent linguistic changes. Nevertheless it is important to note that separation from the mother country has not only arrested the development of some early modern English sounds, but also projected others in a different direction from that which they have pursued in England. Of the two forces exerted by such separation—the first tending to retard the growth of our speech, and the second tending to accelerate it in novel ways—the latter is probably the more noteworthy. I will therefore illustrate it now, and later adduce some proofs of the former.

B. Vowels That Diverge from Their British Orbits

A striking example of divergence from London English may be seen in a frequent American pronunciation of the "a" in words like *pass*, *blast*, *path*, *grant*, etc. To words of this type —with the exception of those ending in "ss"—Cooper in 1685 assigned the value of **æ:** ; but by 1784 the front **æ:** had begun to suffer retraction to **ɑ:**, the sound which London English has maintained to this day. Some Americans have kept the seventeenth-century **æ:** intact; whereas many others, instead

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of retracting the **æ:** towards the back **ɑ:**, have slightly raised and shifted the **æ:** farther forward. And inasmuch as this raised **æ:** is not yet narrow, but remains wide, it may in time pass successively from the low through the mid to the high-front-wide position. Compare the present Cockney **kè(:)b** with mid-front-wide **è** <**kæb.** If, however, the wide **æ:** becomes narrow, then the development will probably take place according to the series **æ:** > **ɛ:** > **e: i** >**èi.**

The American **æ:**, whether it be raised or not, also merits attention because of the light it throws on the rise of **ɑ:** in the present London pronunciation of *pass*, *path*, etc. That this **ɑ:** sprang directly from an earlier **æ:** of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is the view which seems to have prevailed until the appearance of Jespersen's *Modern English Grammar*, Vol. I, in 1909. Here Jespersen has advanced the novel, though not absolutely new, theory that the evidence hitherto cited in support of the earlier **æ:** is vague and unreliable; and that the present London **ɑ:**, far from having **æ:** as its source, has actually survived from an early modern English **ɑ:**.

If we accept Jespersen's view, how are we to account for the American **æ:**? Some Americans, it is true, pronounce an **ɑ:** or **a:** in the *path-staff-last*-group of words; but this **ɑ:** (or **a:**) is neither extended in use nor so old as the American **æ:**, not indeed having been recognized by Webster until 1806; and it owes its existence chiefly to the artificial influences of the schools and the dictionaries. We must therefore conclude that the sound of the vowel in the usual American pronunciation of *last*, *path*, *staff*, etc., is altogether at variance with the theory which finds in the current London **ɑ:** nothing but a survival of an **ɑ:** of the sixteenth century. He who accepts Jespersen's theory will certainly be confronted by the difficulty of explaining the origin of the American **æ:**.

In American English a raised variety of **æ:** is also very common in such words as *bad*, *band*, *bag*. *gas*, *hang*, *jam*, *lamb*, *language*, *mash*, *pan*, *salve* (ointment). In some other words, as in *drank*, *sample*, the same high **æ** may be used; but here the vowel is generally short or at most half-long, because of the shortening influence of the voiceless stops that follow the nasals. Even, however, in the latter class of words some Southerners lengthen the **æ**.

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That originally short **æ** may likewise become long in the pronunciation of some cultured Englishmen is now generally recognized; but whether this **æ:**, as often used in *bad*, *glad*, etc., is formed as high as is the American **æ:**, I do not now recall. Nevertheless one must remember that the English **æ** is often modified slightly in the direction either of the low-mixed-wide or of the mid-front-wide vowel.[1]

A final word of explanation may be necessary with respect to the American **æ:**. The raised variety of this vowel must not be confused with the low-front-narrow or half-narrow **ɛ:** which many Americans use before the **ɹ** of words like *air*, *airy*. If any sound, on the contrary, has the characteristic timbre of a wide vowel, it is certainly the raised **æ:**. Is it possible that this kind of **æ:** existed in Early Middle English as the transition-sound between Old English **ǣ1** and the later low-front-narrow vowel?[2]

C. The Vowel in *Come*

Far apart as is the American **æ:** from the English **a:** in *past*, etc., the cleavage follows practically the same path as that which is now leading the American **ʌ** away from the English. A majority of the authorities on British speech, while differing as to the exact formation of the English **ʌ**, unite in calling it a back vowel. Whatever be the correct analysis of the English **ʌ**, it produces unmistakably the acoustic effect of a back vowel; and Palmer is not far wrong in the comment that the French **a** in *dame* is hardly distinguishable from the **ʌ** of Southern England.[3] The French **a** I hold with Sweet to be low-out-back-wide.

But such is not the sound of **ʌ** in the usual American pronunciation. To my ear the American **ʌ** has a quality wholly unlike that either of a front or of a back vowel. I cannot detect in our **ʌ** even a remote resemblance to a pure front **æ** or **ɛ:**, nor should I think for a moment of comparing **ʌ** with my **ɑ:**. The American **ʌ** is essentially different from the back **ɑ:**, because in the formation of **ʌ** the tongue, though retracted to the inner position, retains the neutral shape of a mixed vowel.

[1] Sweet, *Primer of Phonetics*,[3] §542.
[2] Cf. Luick, *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*, I, §361.
[3] *A First Course of English Phonetics*, p. 25.

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If the tongue were retracted a little farther,—that is to say, to the full in-position,—the resulting sound would virtually correspond to that indicated by No. 38 in Sweet's table of vowels. The American **ʌ** is generally inner mid-mixed-narrow.

There are some Americans, however, in whose speech the back articulation of **ʌ** predominates, the tongue taking the slope from back to front which is typical of a back vowel. This type of **ʌ** bears so close a resemblance to the English vowel that I hesitate to distinguish the one from the other: in the English vowel the back timbre may be a little more marked. The back **ʌ** is rarely used by educated speakers in the Southern States, nor does it seem common in any other extensive area of our country. This kind of **ʌ** is found, however, in Maine.[4]

D. Archaic Character of American English

If the American **æ:** and **ʌ** are moving steadily away from the development of the corresponding vowels in British English, other vowels have in extended areas remained almost or quite the same as in the Early Modern English periods. It is to a few of the latter vowels that I now wish to call attention.

Among these perhaps none is more conspicuous than the mid-narrow **o:** before **r** or **ə**. This **o:**, which made its appearance in England about the middle of the seventeenth century, has been preserved by many Americans, whereas in the nineteenth century it was lowered to **ɔ:** by Southern Englishmen. The American **o:** is found in a large number of words, such as (1) *core, corps, door, floor, fore, four, gore, hoar, more, oar, pore, pour, score, store, swore, tore, wore,* (2) *board, borne, coarse, course, court, force, ford, forge, fort, forth, fourteen, fourth, hoarse, mourn, porch, pork, port, source, sport, sword, sworn, torn, worn,* and (3) *Dora, Cora, Nora(h), glory, gory, hoary, porous, story, tory.*

Though it would be irksome and perhaps impossible to ascertain exactly which States or localities preserve the eighteenth-century **o:** before **r** and **ə**, yet I have information sufficiently precise to confirm me in the belief that many Americans still use this **o:**. I can certainly speak with confidence as to the survival of the **o:** in my own dialect. The

[4] Cf. Grandgent, *Old and New*, p. 138. (Harvard Press, 1920.)

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South generally has **o:ə** in the first two word-groups and **o:r** in the third group, the rule being that **o:** is heard in those words which had **ɔ:** in Middle English or **u:** in Early Modern English. The South therefore distinguishes *borne* **bo:ən** from *born* **bɔ:ən, bɔ:n,** *coarse*, or *course* from *corse*, *hoarse* from *horse, mourn* from *morn*. To pronounce *more* as **mɔ:** (**r**) or *door* as **dɔ:(r)** is as foreign to a Southerner as it is characteristic of a Southern Englishman.

Still evidence is not altogether lacking that the Southern **o:** may gradually undergo the same change as did the eighteenth-century **o:** in England. In the speech of the younger generation I have occasionally heard a vowel which, though by no means so low as **ɔ:**, has started in the direction of the latter vowel. This lowered **o:**, as found now and then in words like *hoarse*, **ho:əs** *glory*, **glo:ri** *tore*, **to:ə(r)** differs in timbre from every type of **ɔ:**—not only from the fully low **ɔ:**, but also from the **ɔ:** that may be raised and advanced. To my ear this variety of **o:** bears a close resemblance to the vowel that one sometimes hears in French *or*, *port*, *tort*, etc., and hence may be regarded as mid-back-narrow-round, slightly lowered. It is rare—so rare that I have observed it only as an individual peculiarity and as occurring not in historical word-groups but merely in isolated words.

Inasmuch as the slight lowering of the Southern **o:** is clearly modern, the course of the change must not be identified with that of the low **ɔ:** or **ɔə:** which some Southerners use in *forge* and forms like *sworn*, *torn*, *worn*. In *forge* the usual pronunciation with **o:ə** springs from earlier **u:** <ME **o:** ; the rarer **fɔ:ədʒ** or **fɔ:dʒ** from ME *forge* with short open "o." In *sworn* and *torn* **o:ə** points to ME *swǫren*, *tǫren*, but it may have come from early modern **u:** <ME variants with long close **o:** before **-rn:** compare Cooper's **u:** in *sworn*. In the occasional Southern **ɔ:ə** or **ɔ:**, however, of *sworn*, *torn*, we have the reflex of ME variants with short open "o," which underwent lengthening to **ɔ:** in the seventeenth century, just as did the short vowel in ME *corn*, *north*, *thorn*, etc. The evolution of such forms as *sworn* and *torn* is further complicated by the possibility of analogy with the diphthong **o:ə** of the related preterits, to say nothing, on the other hand, of the contrary influence exerted by the spelling, which would tend to throw *sworn* and *torn* into

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the same class with *corn*. As for *worn*, it is purely analogical in origin; there is no corresponding strong participle in Old or Middle English. Cooper, by the way, assigned **u:** to *worn*.

Two variations remain to be noted for the Southern pronunciation of **o:** before a written "r." The first consists of a very faint point-modification of the **ə** of **o:ə** in **do:ə, bo:əd,** etc., and marks the speech of a considerable number of Southerners. The second variation is absolutely opposed to the first: some speakers, especially those of the older generation, permit the **ə** to be absorbed by the preceding **o:**, and so fail to distinguish *door* from *doe*, pronouncing both words with diphthongal **o:**. One may compare the development of the earlier **dɔ:ə** of Southern England into the now more common **dɔ:**.

The phenomenon of **r**-linking may be dismissed with a word. Many speakers as a rule pronounce the **r** in a word-group like "The oar is broken"; others just as regularly drop the **r**. In this respect the usage of our South does not differ essentially from that of Southern England.

The South, conservative as it is in its speech-habits, is not unique in the retention of mid-narrow **o:** in *door*, *glory*, and similar words. Thus my friend Professor William P. Shepard, of Hamilton College, writes me that he is familiar with **o:**, but not with **ɔ:**, in *door* and *glory;* and Professor J. H. Wharton, of Syracuse University, likewise considers **o:** to be the usual vowel in New York State. In the speech, too, of New Hampshire I am assured that the **o:** is still common. "In the words *door* and *glory*," writes Professor Francis L. Childs, "I have never heard any sound but that of long "o"; I am certain no native of this section would ever give them the "aw"-sound." Similarly, Professor Henry S. Canby, of Yale, has discovered "practically no instances" of the "aw"-sound for *door* and *glory* among his students from Connecticut. Again, Miss Martha Hale Shackford, of Wellesley College, writes me that she found a group of about twenty students unanimously in favor of **o:** and not **ɔ:** in *door* and *glory*.

From the Middle West I have a few replies which indicate how firmly the **o:** in that region has resisted the influence of the following **r**. "Nebraska students," says Miss Louise Pound, "who level *hoarse* and *horse* are rare or lacking. Typically, they have **ho:rs, ho:ə̣rs** and **hɔ:rs, hɔ-ə̣rs**. And they have

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do:(ə̯)r, flo:(ə̯)r, never **dɔ:r,** etc." In Kansas also the **o:** prevails, Miss Josephine M. Burnham writing me that her students were "much amused by the idea of any one's using the "aw"-sound in *door* and *glory*." Missouri too, I presume, is strongly in favor of **o:**; Professor A. H. R. Fairchild found among twenty-two students only one who used **ɔ:** in *door* and *glory*. As to the dialect of Iowa I have a line from Professor James C. Bowman. "Students from Iowa," he says, "are quite uniform in their pronunciation: they have **o:** in *door* and *glory*."

In the Far West the **o:** is still heard, being found in Washington, Oregon, and Utah, according to information that I have received respectively from Professor Padelford, Professor Gibson, and Professor Arnold.

The question whether any Americans lower **o:** before **r** and **ə** may now arise, and can be at once answered in the affirmative. Thus Professor E. S. Sheldon, a native of Maine, pronounces **ɔ:ə** in *hoarse, horse, mourning, morning, four, more, soar,* and *sore*. In *gory* also he has **ɔ:ə** or **ɔ:**, because of its connection with *gore*, **gɔ:ə**; but he retains the earlier **o:** in such words as *decorum, glory, story, tory*.[5]

The striking blend of the old and the new that appears in Professor Sheldon's pronunciation is not found to any extent in the dialect of New York City. There the vowel is usually **ɔ:**, according to information that I have received from Professor A. D. Compton. Another well-known authority, Professor E. H. Babbitt, has noted that the New York **ɔ:** before "r" is often higher than the **ɔ:** of forms like *law* and *saw*, in which the vowel is not followed by "r." "r" itself is not sounded as a consonant except when a vowel follows without pause.[6]

In Philadelphia the **o:** has generally been replaced by **ɔ:**, but in singing and in the dialect of the pulpit one may sometimes hear **o:**. **"r"** has its accustomed consonantal value. Professor John L. Haney, to whom I am indebted for this information, also assures me that the speech of Philadelphians is in many respects different from that of other natives of Pennsylvania. The fact that **ɔ:** has appeared in New York City and Philadelphia may serve to remind us of Grandgent's comment on the

[5] See *Dialect Notes* II, page 35.
[6] *Dialect Notes* IX, page 462.

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tendency of the **o:** of *pore* and *port* to succumb to **ɔ:**, especially in the cities of New England.[7]

E. Nuances of "O" Before "R"

I wish to call attention in the next place to certain variations from a pure mid **o:** and a fully low **ɔ:** that I have observed in the speech of friends and colleagues of mine. These variations fall into three fairly well-marked groups: (1) mid **o:**, slightly lowered; (2) low **ɔ:**, somewhat raised and advanced, but clearly different in timbre from every type of mid **o:** : (3) mid-back-wide-round **ǫ**, found in words that have **ɔ:** in Southern England. In testing the pronunciation of the various speakers, I added a fourth word-list, which embraced *born*, *cord*, *corpse*, *fork*, *gorge*, *horse*, *lord*, *morn*, *north*, *sort*, *storm*, *thorn*. In these words the Southern States, I should add, have **ɔ:ə** or **ɔ:**, with an occasional faint point-modification of the **ə**-glide.

The following are the types of pronunciation that I have had the opportunity of studying:

Pronunciation of Professor John Q. Adams (Michigan)

In practically all the words of groups 1 and 2 Professor Adams pronounces **o:ə̣**; in *forge* alone he has **ɔ:ə̣**. In group 3 he uses **o:r**, whereas in group 4 he introduces variations that illustrate the mixed character of American speech, assigning a slightly raised **ɔ:** plus **ə̣** to *born*, *cord*, *horse*, *morn*, *fork*, *lord*, and *storm*, but a mid-back-wide round **ǫ** plus **ə̣** to *gorge*, *north*, *sort*, and *thorn*. Naturally, his wide **ǫ** wavers in quantity according to the nature of the following consonant. His **ə̣** is merely point-modified; it is not inverted.

Pronunciation of Dr. Charles H. Bean (Ohio)

In almost all the words of groups 1 and 2 Dr. Bean pronounces **o:ər**, a combination in which he makes the **ə**-glide so brief as to render it well-nigh imperceptible. The word *mourn*, however, he distinguishes from *morn* by the use of a raised and advanced **ɔ:** in the former plus a faint rounded glide, which is scarcely more audible than is the normal vanish of low **ɔ:**. The word *forge* he transfers to group 4. In group 3 he has **o:r**; in group 4, **ɔ:r**, in which **ɔ:** is quite as low as is the

[7] *Op. cit.*, page 130.

ɔ: of Southern England and ends, like the latter, in a quick rounded **ə**. His *r* is clearly articulated in all positions.

Pronunciation of Professor Clarence H. Christman (Illinois)

In the pronunciation of Professor Christman the words of the first three groups have **o:r,** in which a pure mid **o:** is followed by a vigorous **r.** If there is any **ə**-glide, it is so faint as to be negligible. In group 4 this speaker uses **ɔ:r,** except in the word *horse,* which he pronounces **hǫrs,** with a short mid-back-wide-round **o.**

Pronunciation of Professor Roy H. Gearhart (Pennsylvania)

In all four word-groups Professor Gearhart uses an **ɔ:** which to my ear sounds a trifle higher and more advanced than does the usual **ɔ:** of Southern England. But he does not drop or vocalize his **r;** on the contrary, he pronounces it clearly in all positions, letting it follow his **ɔ:** without any trace of a glide. Perhaps this speaker's long familiarity with Spanish may have made his **r** more vigorous than it would otherwise have been.

Pronunciation of Professor Elbert L. Jordan (Wisconsin)

Professor Jordan uses the combination **o:ə̣** in all the words of the first and second group except forge **fɔ:ə̣dʒ.** In group 3 he has **o:r** and in group 4 **ɔ:ə̣.** **r** appears in linking, and changes the quality of the preceding **ə,** though there is no marked inversion. The pronunciation of this speaker has been modified by fourteen years' residence in the South.

Pronunciation of Professor Edward J. Mathie (Wisconsin)

In the first three groups Professor Mathie uses the combination **ɔ:r,** advancing the vowel slightly and sounding the **r.** To most of the words in group 4—to *cord, corpse, fork, gorge, lord, north, sort, storm, thorn*—he assigns an **ɔ:** plus **r,** a combination in which I hear the same vowel as that of Southern England. But *born, horse,* and *morn* he pronounces like *borne, hoarse,* and *mourn* respectively, using **ɔ:r** with the advanced variety of **ɔ:** in both classes of words. It will be seen that Professor Mathie's pronunciation differs considerably from Professor Jordan's.

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Pronunciation of Mr. J. O. Peery (Missouri)

Mr. Peery's pronunciation differs from that of most Southerners chiefly in the use of an unmistakable point-modification of the **ə**-glide before "r." He does not pronounce an **r** except before a vowel. Thus he has **o:ə̣** in groups 1 and 2, **o:r** in group 3, and **o:ə̣** in group 4. Before a vowel in the next word **o:ə̣** and **o:ə̣** add each an **r.**

Pronunciation of Professoer Delmar T. Powers (Indiana)

Professor Powers uses **o:ə̣** in group 1. In group 2 he likewise assigns **o:ə̣** to *board*, *ford*, *fourteen*, *porch*, *port*, *source*, *sport*, and *sword;* but in the other words of this group he pronounces a slightly lowered **o:** plus a point-modified **ə.** In group 3 he has **o:r;** in group 4, **ɔ:ə̣.** **r** appears in linking, and **ə** never loses its point-modification.

Pronunciation of Professor Lewis C. Slater (Kansas)

Professor Slater uses a slightly lowered **o:** plus **ə̣** in *borne* and *corps;* but he has **o:ə̣** in all the other words of groups 1 and 2. In group 3 he pronounces **o:r;** in group 4, **ɔ:ə̣.** **r** is heard in linking; and while his **ə̣** is point-modified, it lacks the timbre I associate with inversion.

Pronunciation of Professor Carl Wheaton (Minnesota)

The pronunciation of this speaker illustrates changes that are now doubtless going on in the dialect of Minnesota. Thus he uses **o:r** in the first two groups, except in *borne*, *corps*, *court*, *force*, *fort*, *hoarse*, and *pork*, in all of which he substitutes a slightly **o:** plus **r.** In all the other words of these two groups he has **o:r.** The most remarkable feature of his speech, however, lies in his almost complete rejection of the pure low **ɔ:**. This sound he has, indeed in *corpse*, *gorge*, and *north;* whereas in the other words of group 4 he pronounces a slightly lowered **o:** plus **r,** thus leveling such pairs as *hoarse* and *horse*, *borne* and *born*, under the same type of vowel that one sometimes hears in the pronunciation of French *or* and similar words. In all positions Professor Wheaton's **r** is clearly enunciated; and if there is any glide-vowel, it is too brief to require a separate symbol.

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Whether the data I have just given are sufficient to justify definite conclusions as to the dialect of any particular State is highly doubtful. Nevertheless it is evident that some of the speakers from the Middle West sound **r** when it is final or precedes a consonant, and that others replace it by a point-modified glide. That none of these Middle Westerners uses inverted vowels is furthermore remarkable; for it is precisely the speech of the Middle West that is said to show inversion. I have heard, by the way, inverted vowels in the pronunciation of natives of Iowa.

It would seem also difficult to assign **o:** to one historical word-group and **ɔ:** to another for the dialect of the Middle West. Such a division is of course still largely possible for the dialects of Scotland and the Southern States.

The spelling with "o" has had nothing to do with the American preservation of **o:** in *glory*, *story*, and similar words. In some localities the **o:** is indeed so firmly established that it may even resist the influence of the spelling, as, for instance, in the name *Moore*, which many Southerners do not distinguish from *More* **mo:ə(r)**. In this connection I recall the comment in Walker's dictionary (1791) that *moor*, a marsh, is sometimes heard rhyming with *store*; but that more correct speakers pronounce it regularly, rhyming with *poor*. Walker has **o:** in *store* and **u:** in *poor*.

Parallel with the retention of **o:** goes that of Early modern **e:** as in *Cary*, *dairy*, *Gary*, *Mary*, *prairie*, *vary*, *Mayor*, *Sarah*. Here the South strongly favors **e:**, some speakers going so far as to pronounce even *fairy* as **fe:ri**, in spite of the spelling and the formal association of the word with *fair*. *Fairy*, however, is generally **fæ:ri**. *Mayor* **me:ə(r)** is sometimes **mæ:ə(r)**. *Marion* is **me:riən** as well as **mæriən**. *Parent* is **pærənt**, but often **pe:rənt**, especially among speakers of the older generation.

The lowering to **ɛ:**, which has taken place in England, as in *Mary* **mɛ:əri**, is almost unknown in the South. Even when an **ɛ:** is heard, the vowel as a rule is but half-narrow, and the glide is either very faint or quite inaudible. Elsewhere, too, in America the **e:** is not uncommon; but many Americans replace it by a narrow or half-narrow **ɛ:**.

The **e:** that America has inherited before "r" probably arose in England before the close of the seventeenth century

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—to be exact, by 1670. Cooper has it, if we accept Jones's view, in such words as *Mary* and *vary;*[8] and it is also recorded by Pell 1735, Miege 1750, and Robinet-Dehaynin 1765. To account, therefore, for the American **e:**, as in *Mary*, we need merely fix our attention on the English ancestor of this sound during the period 1670–1765. Scotland, too, has kept the old **e:**. I note here that Walker, with the conservatism typical of the lexicographer, assigns **e:** to words like *chary*, *Mayor*, *parent*, *vagary*, *vary*, and *wary*.

As many Americans have preserved mid-narrow **o:** before "r," so they assign to the long "o" in *no*, *rode*, and similar words the value of a diphthong consisting of **o:** plus the same sound modified by high lip-rounding. My symbol for it is **o:**. This I believe to be the usual American diphthong. It differs sharply from the diphthong of Southern England, because the latter not only is almost always wide, but also is often formed with its first element in the out position. This advanced type of the English long "o" sounds highly affected to an American. In our diphthong, too, the first element is the longer; in the Southern English diphthong, on the contrary, the second element is longer than the first.[9]

It is likewise the narrowness of the first element that chiefly distinguishes the American diphthong, as in *say*, from the corresponding diphthong of Southern England. In both diphthongs the first element is longer than the second, which usually consists of lowered high-front-wide **i.** But in the pronunciation of some Americans the first element becomes wide or half-wide, and the second element a pure wide **i.** This latter type of the American diphthong is undoubtedly the one with which Sweet was the more familiar. It is almost unknown in the Southern States, nor can I say to what extent it prevails in other parts of America. It is interesting, however, to observe that Pierce, in the *International French-English and English-French Dictionary*, assigns to *say* a diphthong composed of a mid-front-wide and a mid-front-narrow element. Grand-

[8] See John D. Jones's Edition of Cooper's *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae*, pp. 21*-22*. (Halle, 1912.)

[9] See Sweet's admirable review of Meyer's *Englische Lautdauer*, in Brandl and Morf's *Archiv.* CXII, 3/4, p. 416 ff.

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gent too, in his brilliant essay on *New England Pronunciation*, states that *bait* begins like *bet*.[10]

F. A Question of Stress

Most writers on American pronunciation have noted the contrast between the American and the British pronunciation of words like *auditory*, *matrimony*, *melancholy*, *military*, *cemetery*, *Canterbury*, etc. It is well known that Americans generally stress the first syllable and also retain a medium stress, together with a strong vowel, on the syllable next to the last; but that Englishmen discard the medium stress, and either weaken the penultimate vowel or drop it altogether. Thus we get American military **militèri** versus British **milit(ə)ri.**

The old-fashioned character of the American stress does not seem to have been sufficiently emphasized. Yet the history of this stress is not obscure. In 1621 Alexander Gill has a short "o" in *melancholy* and either **æ** or a palatal **a** for the second "a" of the word *sanctuary*. In 1685 Cooper's *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* gives important testimony as to the stress of words like *adversary*, *sedentary*, *acrimony*, *allegory*, *necessary*, *septenary*, *alimony*, *auditory*, etc. These, says Cooper, page 153, "duos possident accentus, unum in quartâ vel quintâ syllabâ, alterum priore languidiorem in penultimâ." Cooper's statement is virtually repeated in 1695 by the anonymous author of *The Writing Scholar's Companion*. Passing by other writers on English pronunciation and coming down to the second half of the eighteenth century, I find that in 1765 James Elphinston still prescribes both strong and medium stress in *Adversary*, *antimony*, *melancholy*, and *explanatory*. The end of the eighteenth century, however, saw the loss of the medium stress and the consequent weakening of the vowels in some of the words under discussion. Thus Sheridan and Walker have what I interpret to be the practical equivalent of **ə** or, in more careful speech perhaps **ŏ**, for the sound of the "o" in the endings *-ory*, *-ony*, as in *auditory*, *matrimony*, the few exceptions I have observed in Walker's dictionary (1791) being due apparently to errors on the part of the printer. In this

[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

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connection one should not overlook Walker's comments, under *domestick,* on the sound of the "o" in *-ory.*

But Sheridan has **-èri** in words like *baptistery, cemetery, deletery, monastery,* and *presbytery.* So, too, has Walker, in most words of this type; though for *monastery,* an adaptation of eccl. Latin *monastērium,* he allows either **'monəstèri** or **monəstri.** The latter pronunciation, however, has arisen not from the former, but from ME. *monaster* (<OF. *monastere*), a form which subsequently appears sometimes as *monastry* through suffix confusion with *monastery.* I should add that Sheridan and Walker are not always consistent in their transcription of *-ery;* that their treatment of *-ary* is quite perplexing; and that they retain strong vowels in the penultimate syllables of *miscellany* and *melancholy.* These and other details of a like nature I cannot enlarge upon in this paper. Suffice it to say here that the usual American method of stressing *military, cemetery,* and similar words, far from being novel or eccentric, has obviously survived from the English of the seventeenth century; and that furthermore this kind of stress, if considered from a rhythmic point of view, is actually preferable to that which has become current in England.

G. Additional Old-Fashioned Pronunciations

Ally (noun)

Jones notes, in his *English Pronouncing Dictionary,* that the pronunciation of the noun *ally* as **'ælai** "appears to be spreading rapidly" in the South of England.[11] This noun, formed from the corresponding verb in the fourteenth century, was often stressed on the first syllable in the seventeenth century, obviously under the influence of numerous word-pairs like *'conduct* (sb.)—*con'duct* (vb.), *'torment* (sb.)—*tor'ment* (vb.), *'transfer* (sb.)—*trans'fer* (sb.), in which the substantive was distinguished from the verb by the position of the accent. The pronunciation **'ælai** (sb.) is the one that most Americans have inherited and seem still to prefer.

Diamond and Similar Forms

Syncope of the medial vowel, as in *butler* < *boteler, captain* < *capitain,* etc., is so well known that one need not be surprised

[11] London and Toronto, 1917.

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to hear *diamond* **daimənd** more frequently than **daiəmənd** in the conservative speech of the Southern States. **daiəmənd** is of course **a** spelling-pronunciation.

The forms *dimond, di'mond* appear from the seventeenth until the close of the eighteenth century. The syncopated pronunciation of *diamond* is recognized by *The English Scholar* 1687, by Sheridan 1780, by Nares 1784, by Elphinston 1787, by Webster 1828, and by Knowles 1837. The three-syllable pronunciation, however, is advocated by Walker 1791, and is the only one given in Jones's *English Pronouncing Dictionary,* 1917.

Here I should like to ask, Is the pronunciation *Niagara* **nai'ægərə** at all common in America? I do not remember ever to have heard any other pronunciation than nai'ægrə. The proper name *Roanoke* is either **'ro:əno:k** or **'ro:no:k.** Some old-fashioned Southerners pronounce *Daniel* as **dænl.** Other Americans are not all innocent of this peculiarity; and I recall that the most famous jumping frog of modern times is named *Dan'l.* The loss of the old medial **i** in *Daniel* is established for the seventeenth century by such spellings as *Danel* and *Dan-il,* in which *el* and *il* mean nothing more than syllabic **l.**[12] Milton's pronunciation I take to have been that with syllabic **l** in *Daniel,* as found in *Paradise Regained* 11, 278, 329.

Polka

It was not until 1843 that *polka* made its appearance in English. The pronunciation **po:lkə** has the sanction of good usage and the dictionaries; but in popular speech one also hears **po:kə,** which by reason of its loss of **l** before **k** reminds one of the history of **l** in words like *folk* and *yolk.* In these the loss of l dates back to the sixteenth century.

Suggest

With reference to the word *suggest,* Walker in 1791 says that "though we sometimes hear it sounded as if written *sudjest,* the most correct speakers generally preserve the first and last *g* in their distinct and separate sounds." I am inclined to believe that Walker's pronunciation is more common in America than

[12] See Ekwall's edition of Jones's *Practical Phonography,* §511. (Halle, 1907.)

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that with **-dʒ-**. I have at any rate heard cultured speakers from Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin assign **-gdʒ-** to *suggest;* while among a hundred Southern students I found only sixteen who used the pronunciation with **-dʒ-**. The American **-gdʒ-** is not due to affectation, but results from the influence of the spelling.

The prevalent British pronunciation with **-dʒ-**, on the other hand, owes its **-dʒ-** either to the influence of the noun *suggestion*, which was adopted from AF. *suggestioun* in the fourteenth century; or, as *suggest* is itself an early modern adaptation of the Latin past participial stem of *suggestus*, the **-dʒ-** rests on the Early Modern English custom of retaining the Anglo-French sound of "g" before "e," "i," and "y," in the pronunciation of Latin loan-words. Examples may be seen in the history of such words as *agitate*, *cogitate*, *exaggerate*, *geminate*, *generate*, *genial*, and *gymnasium*.

H. Remarks on Some of the Consonants

The Voiceless Stops

The stops **p**, **t**, and **k** are weaker in America than they are in England. In America these stops are often followed by so slight an escape of breath that they actually bear in this respect a closer resemblance to the French voiceless stops with voice glides than to the aspirated English stops. I have often had occasion to observe that Americans have little trouble in acquiring a correct pronunciation of the French "pure" stops. In medial positions especially the difference between the American and the English voiceless stops instantly arrests one's attention. In words like *letter*, *upper*, and *shocking* the English **t**, **p**, and **k** produce on an American ear almost the effect of long or "double" consonants.[13]

Palatalized Stops

The old-fashioned palatalized stops in such words as *car*, *garden*, and *guide* may still be heard in some parts of America. It seems not to have been observed, however, that palatalized

[13] On the aspiration of these medial stops, cf. Meyer, *Englische Lautdauer*, p. 84 ff. (Upsala, 1903.)

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"g" is not at all uncommon in the American pronunciation of the word *together*. In this word many Americans use either the ordinary back stop or the more advanced sound indifferently. Wallis in 1653 noted the occurrence of palatalized stops before front vowels, giving as examples the words *can*, *get*, and *begin*.

A Point-back Nasal

After a back stop a nasal is often formed with simultaneous point and back contact. This type of nasal evidently results from a blend of the group **kᵊn** (**gᵊn**) and the group **kŋ** (**gŋ**). In the former a faint ə-glide precedes a pure point **n**; in the latter the point nasal has undergone assimilation to the place of the back stop. A considerable number of my students pronounce a syllabic point-back nasal in the name of the State *Arkansas;* others have **'ɑ:kənsɔ:**, with a more or less audible glide before the point nasal; and many others **'ɑ:kɪnsɔ:**, in which the weak **ɪ** is so low as strongly to suggest the mid-front-wide vowel. A fourth pronunciation **'ɑ:kŋsɔ:**, with a pure back nasal, is not excluded.

In *drunkenness*, *Brobdingnag*, *sunken net*, *knitting needle*, and similar words or groups the point-back nasal is likewise not uncommon. Here several varieties of pronunciation are possible. Thus one may pronounce **'drʌŋkənnès (nīs)**, with an ə-glide between the **k** and the double[14] point nasal; or, secondly, **drʌŋkŋnès (-nis)**, with a back nasal followed by a point nasal; or, thirdly, **'drʌŋknnès (-nis)**, in which the symbols **nn** actually represent a double point-back nasal. Again, in the nasal group **ŋn**, as in *Brobdingnag* 'brabdiŋnæg, two distinct articulations may keep the back ŋ separate from the point **n**, especially in slow or careful speech. It is thus that the French generally pronounce two successive consonants formed in different places, as, for instance, **kt** or **gd**, where a slight glide separates the first stop from the second. But ordinarily partial assimilation takes place in the ŋn of *Brobdingnag;* that is to say, the back ŋ is held until the point of the tongue makes the contact for the beginning of the next syllable. This method of formation is similar to that of two successive stops, as in *football*, where no explosion follows the first stop, because the lips are closed for

[14] For my use of the term "double" consonant, cf. Sievers, *Grundzüge der Phonetik*,[5] §555 ff. (Leipzig, 1901.)

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the **b** before the point of the tongue releases its contact for the **t**.

In acoustic effect the point-back nasal differs from the simple back nasal very much as do the old-fashioned palatalized **c** and **ɟ**, as in *car*, *garden*, from the ordinary back stops; or, as does the clear palatalized **l** in *million* from the dark velar **l** in *mill*. The point-back nasal is higher in pitch than the back nasal.

The American **l**

Sweet very properly maintains that "French and German **l**, as compared with the deeper-sounding English **l**, may be regarded as front-modified; in them the tongue is more convex than in English, its upper surface being arched up towards the front position of **j**."[15] The American **l** is identical with the English; and the nearest approach that our **l** makes to the acoustic effect of the French or German **l** may be detected in words like *million* and *value*, where the **l** is front-modified by the following **j**. Hence it is important to observe that although both clear and dark varieties of **l** occur in American English, the former are lower in pitch and sound less sharply palatal than the usual French or German **l**. The so-called "dark" **l**, which is used finally and before a consonant, owes its hollow timbre to depression of the front and simultaneous elevation of the back of the tongue. Compare Meyer's diagram of the **l** in English *ill*.[16] Various shades of **l** intermediate between the clear and the dark extremes are of course found. **l** is also frequently uni-lateral in formation.

In the American **l** the point of the tongue rests on the teeth-ridge; but in combination with "th" the contact is made against the upper teeth. Some Americans of Scandinavian origin may form the contact against the hard palate. This cerebral type of **l** I have never heard.

In the pronunciation of some Americans a word like *little* sounds almost like **lidl**. Here the end of the **t** has undergone partial assimilation to the following voiced **l**. The opposite course is followed in cultured British English, the first part of

[15] *The Sounds of English*, §134 (Oxford, 1907); see also Sweet's *Primer of Phonetics*,[3] §§185, 216.

[16] *Untersuchungen über Lautbildung*, p. 52 (Marburg, 1911).

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the **l** being devocalized by the aspiration of the voiceless stop.

The American r

I wish to make here but two brief comments upon the American **r**: First, that this consonant, though regularly untrilled, is always pronounced with a very slight trill after **θ**, as in *throat;* and that, secondly, **r** is so often accompanied by lip-rounding that many speakers who as a rule change short "o" to **ɑ** preserve the "o," under the influence of the rounded **r**, in words like *majority* and *torrent*. I may add that I have not thought it worth while to use a special symbol for our untrilled **r**.

S vs. *Z*

In a paper on some variant pronunciations[17] I discussed the appearance of **s** by the side of **z** in such words as *Chinese, designate, isolate, explosive, parse, persist, Texas,* etc.,; the rise of **ʒ** in words like *Asia, equation, excursion;* and especially the pronunciation of the title *Mrs.*, as **ˈmiziz** or **miz**. To my list of words with **s** or **z** I might have added others, such as *bassoon, Missoula, pansy, Rossetti,* and *usage.*

In *bassoon, Missoula,* and *Rossetti* the sound of **-z-** illustrates the operation of the Vernerian law in English, according to which **s** becomes, or tends to become, **z** when preceded by a weak syllable and followed by a stressed vowel. **-z-** is rare in the American pronunciation of *bassoon* and *Rossetti;* but it is used in *Missoula* by natives of Fort Missoula, whereas outsiders, misled by the spelling, often pronounce the name with **-s-**.

The word *pansy*, in spite of its derivation from French *pensée*, has given up its **-s-** in favor of **-z-** under the well-known law of assimilation. One may compare the probably similar source of **-z-** in a common pronunciation of *Kansas:* thus **kænsəs** > **kænzəs**. But *pansy* long maintained its historically correct **-s-**, and was therefore for several centuries spelled *pancy;* the latter form may be due in part to fancied kinship with *panacea, panacey*.[18] The spelling with "c" does not appear until 1530, whereas *pansy* is found certainly as early as

[17] See *Dialect Notes* for 1911, p. 511 ff.

[18] See Nares, *Elements of Orthoepy*, p. 303.

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1467.[19] Sheridan, in 1780, writes *pancy* by the side of *pansy* and records only the pronunciation with **-s-**. So too does Walker, in his dictionary (1791); but in his *Preface* to that work he classes *pansy* with those words in which the **s** has its "flat" sound. Webster, in 1828, still assigns **-s-** to *pansy;* Worcester, in 1831, gives the **-z-** sound only, though he records the two forms *pancy* and *pansy;* and Knowles, in 1837, follows the example of Worcester.

I have made these comments on *pansy* for the purpose of calling attention to the comparatively recent origin of **-z-** in the word. The history of **-z-** and **-s-** in *usage*, the last word in my list, is perhaps more interesting. The **-z-** is inherited from AF. *usage*, and is the original sound in English, whereas the variant pronunciation with **-s-** in American English owes its rise to analogy of the related forms *use* (noun), *useful(ly)*, *uselessness*, *usefulness*. The stress in Middle English lay at first on the second syllable, and even in Chaucer's verse had not become fixed on the first syllable. Thus in the *Prologue*, line 110, the word is pronounced in three syllables, and the stress lies on the "a":

> A not-heed hadde he, with a broun visage,
> Of wode-craft wel coude he al the usage.

But in the *Legend of Good Women* 2337, *The Pardoner's Tale* 899, and *The Parlement of Foules* 15, Chaucer shifts the stress to the first syllable and lets the final "e" remain silent.

The contrast between **-s-** in *usage* and **-z-** in *visage* illustrates the force exerted by analogy on the former word. In both *usage* and *visage* the same shift of stress took place in Middle English; but *visage* has steadily maintained its **-z-**, inherited from AF. *visage*, because there are no cognate forms with **-s-** under which the **-z-** might be leveled. The change in the position of the stress has had nothing whatever to do either with the origin or with the maintenance of the **-s-** in a frequent American pronunciation of *usage*. If the shifting of the stress to the first syllable were responsible for the **-s-** in *usage*, one would expect **-s-** also in a host of words like *cousin*, *music*, *prison*, *raisin*, *reason*, *season*, *treason*, *visit*, etc. But these, in

[19] See Skeat, in *The Athenaeum* for November 12, 1910, p. 597.

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spite of the change of stress to their first syllables, are always pronounced with **-z-**.

It would be difficult to determine exactly when the **-s-** began to establish itself in the American pronunciation of *usage*. Benjamin Franklin, it is true, has **-s-** in *usage*,[20] but as he transcribes *present* both with **-s-** and with **-z-**, and is so careless as to use **s** in the final syllables of words like *sentences*, *thousands*, *ages*, *yours*, he may have committed a similar error in his transcription of *usage*. Those who have access to the various editions of Webster's *Dictionary* may amuse themselves by noting when that work first admitted the **s**-sound in *usage*. Here it may be sufficient to observe that in some parts of America the **-z-** seems to be well-nigh obsolete. Among 160 students from the Southern States I found none who used the **z**-sound.

Whether the pronunciation of *usage* with **-s-** has made its appearance in England, I am unable to say. The word is not found, so far as I have observed, either in Sweet's *Primer of Spoken English* or in Lloyd's *Northern English*. But it has **-z-** alone in Jones's *English Pronouncing Dictionary*.

I. Aspects of Some American Vowels

"a" in *Father*

Professor James F. Broussard warns us not to identify the French "**ɑ**": with the sound of "a" in father.[21] And very properly so, because the latter is not pronounced by all Americans in the same way. The following are the chief variations in the sound of this vowel:

Here in Louisiana the "a" in *father* is low-back and either wide or narrow, thus being identical with the **ɑ**: that one often hears in Cockney English. In the latter dialect, however, the vowel now frequently undergoes rounding, a change that I have not observed in the pronunciation of Louisianians. To an untrained ear, of course, the low-back-narrow **ɑ**: sounds very much like, or even exactly like ɔ: The wide variety of **ɑ**:, let me add, closely resembles the vowel in such French words as *âme*, *pâle*.

In Boston the vowel is noticeably different from both of the Louisiana types. "Our Boston a: in *father*, *hard*, etc., is about

[20] See Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation* IV, 1062.

[21] *Elements of French Pronunciation*,[1] p. 6.

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midway between French *pâte* and *patte*," Professor Grandgent writes me. "It is, according to my ear, identical with the usual Italian **a** in *padre*. In Sweet's table there is no good place for it: it would fall a little under and a little behind his low-mixed-wide." Accepting this eminent authority's analysis of the Boston **a:**, I should think that it differs, then, in acoustic effect from the corresponding vowel of London English in being a bit less muffled and slightly higher in pitch.

In my own pronunciation, which was formed chiefly in Southwest Virginia, **a:** is not so much advanced as it is in Boston, nor is it so low or so much retracted as it is in Louisiana. It is, however, not a mid vowel: it is clearly low-back-wide. This type of **a:** is found in many parts of the South.

In Philadelphia **a:** usually belongs as Professor John L. Haney informs me to the mid-back-wide type. The Philadelphia **a:** must be practically the same as Sweet's London **a:**.

I also have reliable information with regard to the sound of **a:** in the speech of some natives of Ohio. Professor O. F. Emerson writes me that the **a:** of Northern Ohio is "slightly higher in pitch than British **o** (*hot*), slightly lower than ʌ (*but*) and of course than **æ** (*hat*)." The vowel that he describes is clearly low-back-wide lying between Sweet's mid **a:** and the low, retracted **a:** of French words like *âme*, *pâle*.

To sum up: The American **a:** has a considerable number of nuances, which range, like the similar vowel in French, between an advanced and a retracted variety. The former, with its clear, palatal effect, is heard in Boston; the latter, with its dark, velar timbre, is characteristic of Louisiana, where it may be either wide or narrow. Between these two extremes—the Boston low-mixed-wide with slight retraction, and the Louisiana low-back-wide (narrow) with the farthest possible retraction of the tongue—American English shows other gradations of **a:**, which may be classed, some as mid-back and others as low-back-wide.

All varieties of the American **a:**, when fully long, tend to end in mid-mixed-wide **ə**.

The Vowel in *Bird*

Sweet calls the long vowel in London *bird* **bʌ:d** low-mixed-narrow. In New England and the Southern States the **r** in *bird* has lost its value as a consonant. In the Western pro-

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nunciation the vowel has either inversion or clear point-modification, or it is followed immediately by **r**. Generally speaking, I should say that the American **ʌ:** is a trifle higher than the British. Of this vowel there are in the Southern States at least three distinct types. In the first type the vowel is rounded enough to acquire a quality somewhat like that of the weak **ə** in French *le;* in the second it has faint point-modification as well as lip-rounding; in the third and decidedly the rarest type the vowel may be regarded as the same as that of Southern England. But some Southerners, like many natives of New York City, replace the vowel by a diphthong consisting of mid-mixed-narrow plus high-mixed-narrow.

Point-Modified Vowels

Before a pause or a consonant **r** may lose its consonantal value, but at the same time impart to the preceding vowel a peculiar **r**-like quality. When the point of the tongue is merely raised towards the foremost part of the hard palate, we get a vowel modification which is characteristic of the Middle Westerner's speech, and which may also be observed, though in a less marked degree, in the pronunciation of some natives of East Tennessee and Texas.

There are of course many nuances. according to the position of the point of the tongue. Thus the vowel in *heart* may have point-modification in the Middle West, much fainter modification in East Tennessee, and none at all in East Virginia. And here it is necessary to distinguish between vowels which have some degree of point-modification and those which are formed while the point of the tongue is thrown back and directed toward the rear of the hard palate, or even the front of the soft palate. In the formation of the latter vowels the breath passes between the lower surface of the tongue-blade and the roof of the mouth with such friction as to produce a nasal resonance which is comparable to that ordinarily associated with a slight lowering of the soft palate. It is this nasal quality, rather than any likeness to the point-**r**, which to my ear is typical of the true "inverted" vowels. Some Middle Westerners invert every vowel before "r" when the latter is followed by a pause or a consonant; others have only a clear point-modification of the vowel; and still others pronounce both the vowel and the **r**.

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Retracted I

Some Americans retract **i** to the in or inner position after **r** preceded by another consonant, as in *pretty, Bristol.* Sweet has noted the frequency of this retracted vowel in the pronunciation of educated Englishmen.[22]

Vowel-Glides

Natives of the Southern States use, like the English and the French, the gradual beginning of vowels: the breath begins to escape before the glottis attains the position for voice. Occasionally a clear beginning or a weak glottal stop is heard, as in a word-group like *at all* when an effort is made to prevent liaison; or, as in an exclamatory warning *ah.*

Other Americans seem to use either the clear beginning or the glottal stop. The clear beginning readily passes into the glottal stop in energetic, emphatic articulation; but this stop, as I hear it in the pronunciation of Middle Westerners, is not so forcible an explosive as is the glottal stop of North Germans.

Effect of Dissimilation on Some Weak Vowels

Lack of stress tends to make English vowels more open, or more obscure, or even silent. Examples of these sound-changes will occur at once to every one: the lowering of the vowel in the final syllable of *pity,* the frequent pronunciation of a mixed vowel in the second syllable of *possible,* the syncope of the medial vowel in *business.* Moreover, if two vowels are brought together, one of them may be absorbed and may disappear according to the law of assimilation, as when **lɔːəd** becomes **lɔːd.** In conflict with the changes wrought by lack of stress and assimilation lies the use of narrow vowels by reason of the unconscious effort a speaker may make to preserve significant distinctions. Here one has to do with the principle of dissimilation. Thus weak lowered **i** remains wide when followed by a pause or by a consonant, but appears as a high, narrow **i** when followed immediately by a vowel. Consequently a word like *beauty* has either **i** or **i** in its final syllable according to the nature of the initial sound in the next word. So, too, *pitiless* has wide **i** in the second syllable, but *piteous* and *pitiable* have each a narrow unstressed **i.** It is clear, indeed, that narrow

[22] *The Sounds of English,* §103.

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i is found before another vowel in a large number of words, as, for example, in *appreciate*, *archeology*, *area*, *aviation*, *curiosity*, *delineate*, *gymnasium*, *Louisiana*, *patriot*, *patriotic*, *radium*, *studying*, *the army*, etc.

This narrow **i** may interchange with **j** or consonantal **i**, as often in such words as *genial*, *Indian*, *piano;* but in many words Americans as a rule retain the vowel before **ə**, whereas Englishmen generally have **j**, as in *commodious*, *hideous*, *immediately*, etc. After **r**, as in *period*, the not uncommon London **j** contrasts yet more sharply with the American **i**. Since narrow **i:** is rare in the South of England, this **j** must generally spring from wide **i**; and the question whether weak narrow vowels are heard at all in that part of England depends on the extent to which vowels there are narrow when long and stressed. Those Southern Englishmen who pronounce, say, in *key*, a diphthong consisting of wide **i** plus the same vowel raised—and most of them do so—will certainly not use narrow **i** either before a vowel or anywhere else. Sweet, therefore, very properly assigns lowered wide **i** to the "a" of *Israel* and out-back-wide **v** to the "u" of *gradual*;[23] but those individuals who, according to the same authority, use narrow **i:** and **u:** doubtless retain the narrowness of these vowels under the same conditions as do many Americans. It is in the speech of this small class alone among Southern Englishmen that Jespersen's high-front-narrow **i** and **u** are found.[24] Those Americans, on the other hand, who have absolutely lost monophthongic **i:** and **u:** are not likely to pronounce narrow **i** and **u** in weak positions.[25]

As **i** is narrow before a vowel in the pronunciation of many Americans, so under similar circumstances **u** is often heard narrow and advanced, as in *conspicuous*, *fruition*, *to all*, etc. This **u** is, to be exact, high-out-back-narrow-round; it would be No. 46 in Sweet's table of vowels. The short or half-long **e** and **o**, however, which perhaps most Americans pronounce in words respectively like *chaotic* and *poetic* are not the result of dissimilation.

Some Southerners pronounce strong *to* with diphthongal narrow **o:**, and hence merely shorten this **o:** in the weak form before another vowel, as in *to attend*, *to organize*, etc.

[23] *The Sounds of English*, §217.
[24] Jespersen, *MEG* I, 15.14; 15.63.
[25] Cf. Grandgent, *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

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Omission of the Glide-Vowel **ə** before **r**.

Although the development of a glide before **r** began in Early Modern English, there are nevertheless some combinations in which the glide has generally not yet appeared in American speech. The following examples are typical of the differences between the pronunciation usually heard in America and that which prevails in Southern England:

	America	Southern England
Cary	ke:ri (—ri)	kɛ:əri
dowry	dauri (—ri)	dauəri
era	i:rə	Iərə
Jura	dʒu:rə	dʒvərə
parent	pærənt (pe:r—, pɛ:r—)	pɛ:ərənt
pirate	pairit	paiərit

For further details on the use and the omission of the glide, one may consult Grandgent, *German and English Sounds*, page 19, (Boston, 1892) and my paper on *The Southern R*, page 9. (Louisiana State University Bulletin, Feb., 1910.)

J. A Few American Place-Names

In studying the pronunciation of place-names, one must be careful to ascertain the original sources and the earliest spellings. Thus the **z** in *Kansas* **kænzəs**, which I have explained elsewhere as being the probable result of assimilation, may in fact have come into English from the French or Indian sources. Some French spellings from the eighteenth century are *Kancès*, *Cansés*, *Canzés*, *Canchez*, *Canzas*, *Canzez*;[26] and the variation between the medial **s** and **z** of the French may be reflected in Lewis and Clark's spellings *Kansas*, *Kanses*, *Kanzas* which date from 1804.

Connecticut and *Natchitoches* are two other place-names that show a gap between orthography and pronunciation. Hodge derives[27] the name *Connecticut* from the Indian Quinni-tukq-ut, 'at the long tidal river,' and gives such early spellings as *Connectacuts* 1639, *Quinticoock* 1643, *Conittekooks* 1655, and *Connegticuts* 1682. Another name of similar origin is *Connetquot*,

[26] See *Ethnology Bureau Bulletin* 30, Part I, p. 655 (Washington, 1907).
[27] *Ethnology Bureau Bulletin* 30, Part I p. 338.

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which was formerly spelled also *Cuniticutt* and *Conitucutt*. I do not think that the pronunciation of *Connecticut* **kə'nètikət** illustrates the loss of a **k**-sound by assimilation of **kt** to **tt** (=**t**). A later spelling of a place-name may actually be more primitive than an earlier type; and it is rather to forms like *Conittekooks* with medial **t** that we must look for the source of the modern pronunciation. Though the assimilation of **kt** to **t** is not entirely unknown in place-names, a moment's consideration of numerous words like *act*, *fact*, *insect*, etc., proves that English, unlike Italian, has no aversion to the group **kt**. **k** may of course be lost between two other consonants, as in a common pronunciation of *asked* **æ:st**. It is true also that the word *arctic* is sometimes pronounced as if written *artic;* but this pronunciation rests on Middle English *artik* and early modern forms like *artic*, *artick*, which in turn owe their existence to OF. *artique*. As late as 1791 Walker gives both *artick* and *arctick;* while Webster, in 1828, observes that some authors use *artic* by mistake for *arctic*. Etymological spellings of *arctic*, with "c" inserted in conformity with Latin *arctic-us*, did not indeed appear in English until the second half of the sixteenth century. They are responsible for the present pronunciation.

The case is different with the "c" of *indict* and *victuals*. These words, though refashioned respectively after late Latin *indictare* and the classic *victualia*, have never shown any evidence of a **k**-sound; they owe their pronunciation with **k**, on the contrary, to forms which were adopted from AF. *enditer* and *vitailles*. I conclude that the modern pronunciation of *Connecticut* points back in a similar way to primitive spellings with medial "t" or "tt."

As to *Natchitoches*, I am safe in saying that Louisianians always pronounce it **'nækitɑʃ**. Some early spellings as recorded by Hodge[28] are *Nachitoches* 1690, *Nactythos* 1699, *Natchitoches* 1700, *Nadchitoches* 1700, *Naquitoches* 1721, *Naketosh* (not dated), *Nakitoches* (after 1825). It is clear that we can account for the medial **k** in **'nækitɑʃ** without assuming any phonetic change in the English pronunciation of the word; and it is equally clear that the local pronunciation of the name rests not on the earliest French form *Nachitoches*, but on later forms like *Naquitoches* and *Nakitoches*.

[28] See *Ethnology Bureau Bulletin* 30, Part II, p. 37 (Washington, 1910).

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Another American place-name is of interest chiefly because of the light it throws on the time of a certain sound-change in English. *Maryland* was named after Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I; and the vowel in the first syllable of *Maryland* **mèrilənd** proves that the old **æ:** of the first element *Mary* had been narrowed to **ε:** before the shortening to **è** took place. The contrast between this **è** and the **æ** of *marigold* is instructive. In the latter the shortening doubtless began in Middle English, ME. **ā** passing then through **ă** to **æ**; and the shortening must at any rate have been completed before **æ:** (<ME. **ā**) became **ε:** ; otherwise the modern pronunciation would be **'mèrigo:ld.** Naturally, the fact that *marigold* was known to be a compound of *Mary* and *gold* may have blocked or retarded the shortening of the vowel in the pronunciations of some individuals. Note the significance of the hyphen in Shakespeare's spelling *Mary-buds, Cymb.* II, iii, 25, employed with reference to the buds of the marigold. In all probability Shakespeare knew not merely the pronunciation **mærigould,** with **æ**<ME. shortened **a,** but also **mæ:rigould,** with sixteenth-century **æ:** <ME. **ā:** by analogy of the stem vowel in *Mary.* The influence of the personal name is in fact, evident long after Shakespeare's day. Even Walker feels it necessary to defend his choice of **æ** in *marigold* against the long vowel that he asserts was the preference of Buchanan and Sheridan. In Walker's time this long vowel was of course **e:**, the descendant of the sixteenth-century **æ:**.

K. Conclusion

In the compilation of these random notes on American English my chief purpose has been to illustrate two conflicting tendencies—the one retarding the evolution of our speech-sounds, and the other directing it farther and farther away from the paths it has followed in the mother-country. I have not touched the important subject of intonation; and I have, moreover, purposely refrained from dwelling on linguistic phenomena that I have myself discussed elsewhere, or from making comments on American sounds that I believe to have been sufficiently described already by such accurate observers as Hempl, Emerson, Tuttle, and Grandgent.

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DIE BEHANDLUNG DER LAUTGRUPPEN *WE* UND *WA* BEI DEN ALTNORDISCHEN STARKEN VERBEN

Die Frage, ob postkonsonantisches (sowohl wie auch anlautendes) *we* und *wa* im Anord. je zu *o* geworden seien,[1] bedarf noch einer genaueren Untersuchung. Hier soll sie nur für die starken Verba aufgeworfen werden, also für die Fälle, wo in der Stammsilbe, ein *o* statt des nach dem regelrechten Ablautsschema zu erwartenden *we* und *wa* begegnet, d. h. bei den Verben I) *koma* (statt **kuema*=got. *qiman:* ahd. *queman* neben *cuman*) Inf., *kom* (neben *kuam*=got. *qam*) Prät. sg., II) *sofa* (statt **suefa*=angs. *swefan*) Inf., *sofinn* (statt **suefinn*= angs. *-swefen*) Part. prät., III) *ofinn* (statt **vefinn*=westgerm. *-weƀan-*) Part. prät. und IV) *sorinn* (neben *suarinn*=got. *swarans*) Part. prät.

I

Altnordisch KOMA

Bei anord. *koma* (Präs.) kommt die Frage nach dem Übergang eines postkonsonantischen *we* in *o* ebenso wenig in Betracht, als die Frage nach der Entstehung des got. *qiman:* ahd. *queman* (gegenüber gemeinnord.-und westgerm. **kuman*), weil anord. *koma*, ebenso wie westgerm. (angs.-alts.-altfries.) *kuman*, nicht auf urgerm. **kweman*, sondern auf die schwache Stufe urgerm. **kuman*[2] zurückzuführen ist. Anord. *koma: kominn* nimmt offenbar eine Sonderstellung ein, ebenso wie *troða: troðinn* (vgl. got. *trudan: trudans*).

Die Vollstufe des Ablautvokals liegt aber im Prät. sg. *kuam* (=got. *qam*) vor. Nur erhebt sich hier eine Schwierigkeit,

[1] Vgl. A. Heusler, *Altisl. Elementarbuch*, §82, 2: "Postkonsonantisch *wa* und *we* sind oft zu *o* geworden; die genaueren Bedingungen sind fraglich"; dagegen E. Sievers, "Das Verbum *kommen*," *P. B. Beitr.*, VIII, S. 84: "Ich leugne überhaupt, dass im nordischen je eine contraction von *ve* oder nach Paul, *veo* zu *o* eingetreten sei."

[2] Vgl. Streitberg's *Urgerm. Grammatik*, §200, II, "Die suffixbetonten *e/o*-Verba," 4; A. Heusler, *Altisl. Elementarbuch*, §309, 1; dagegen aber H. Paul *P. B. Beitr.*, VII, S. 169.

Für das Angs. im besonderen vgl. E. Sievers, "Das Verbum *kommen*," *P. B. Beitr.*, VIII, S. 80–89.

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insofern als neben dieser regelrechten Form *kuam* auch die Form *kŏm* mit einem *ŏ* der Stammsilbe begegnet.

In *kom* sieht Heusler (*Aisl. Elementarbuch*, §82, 2) einen lautlichen Übergang des postkonsonantischen *wa* in *o* (d. h. *kuam*>*kom*). Aber ein solcher Übergang findet sonst bei den starken Verben im Anord. keine Parallele[3] und ist daher auch hier kaum anzunehmen.

Dagegen schreibt Paul (*P. B. Beitr.*, VII, S. 169, Anm. 3) das *ŏ* in *kŏm* der Angleichung an den Stammvokal *ó* des Prat. plur. (*k*(*v*)*ómum*) zu, nur habe das Prät. sg. seine lautgerechte *Quantität* (vgl. *kuam*) beibehalten; dieser Ansicht scheint auch Sievers (*P. B. Beitr.*, VIII, S. 87–88) beizustimmen.

Pauls Annahme der Einwirkung des Plur. auf den Sg. scheint mir aber wegen des kurzen *o* in *kŏm* bedenklich; ich wüsste sonst keinen Fall im Aisl., wo bei der Angleichung des Prät. sg. an den Plur. der Stammvokal des Sg. seine eigene Quantität beibehalten hat.[4] Man wird wohl auch hier mit der Einwirkung des Part. prät. *kŏminn* (mit kurzen *o*) rechnen müssen, denn es gibt ja auch sonst genug Fälle,[5] wo der Stammvokal des Part. prät., und zwar vorzugsweise kurzes *o*, in das Prät. sg. eingedrungen ist, z. B.

aisl. *klŏf* (statt *klauf*): *klŏfinn* Part. prät.
anorw. *fŏk* (statt *fauk*): *fŏkinn* Part. prät.
aisl. *hŏlp* (statt *halp*): *hŏlpinn* Part. prät.

Ob nun in *kŏm* (Prät. sg.) das *ŏ* direkt aus dem Part. prät. *kŏminn*, gerade wie z. B. das *ŏ* in *hŏlp* aus *hŏlpinn*, oder aus dem Plur. *kómum* unter Mitwirkung des kurzen *ŏ* im Part. Prät. *kŏminn* zu erklaren sei, lässt sich schwer entscheiden. Jedenfalls weist die aschw. Form *kŭm* (neben *kŏm*) sicher auf die Einwirkung des Part. prät. (*kŭmin*: *kŏmin*) auf das Prät. sg. hin. Man muss aber Paul recht geben, insoweit er annimmt, dass aisl. *kom* nicht aus *kuam* (vgl. Heusler) ent-

[3] Über die Annahme, *sorinn* Part. prät. zu *sverja* sei aus **swar-an-* entwickelt, wird später behandelt werden (s. IV).

[4] Vgl. *nám:nómum*, *bád:bǫ́dum*, *sát:sǫ́tum*, *vár:vǫ́rum* (vgl. Noreen, *Aisl. Grammatik*,[3] §486, Anm. 4; §488, Anm. 7). Das von Egilsson, Wimmer, Noreen, Holthausen u. a. angeführte aisl. (*v*)*ŏf* neben *vaf* Prät. sg. (vgl. (*v*)*ófum* Prät. plur.) scheint überhaupt nicht belegt zu sein (vgl. Sievers, *P. B. Beitr.*, VIII, S. 87).

[5] Vgl. A. Kock, *P. B. Beitr.*, XXIII, S. 496.

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wickelt, sondern als jüngere Analogiebildung[6] zu erklären sei, wonach sie natürlich nichts für Heuslers Annahme, postkonsonantisches *wa* sei hier zu *o* geworden, beweisen kann.

II

Altnordisch SOFA: SOFINN

Anord. *sofa:sofinn* statt des zu erwartenden **svefa*:**svefinn* (vgl. angs. *swefan*:-*swefen*) stellt Sievers (*P. B. Beitr.*, VIII, S. 84 ff.) auf gleiche Stufe mit *koma:kominn* und *troða: troðinn;* d. h. gerade wie diese Verba gehe *sofa* auf die schwache Stufe der indogerm. Wurzel (**svep-*, urgerm. **suƀ-*) zurück. Auch das Slawische kenne diese schwache Stufe im Präs. *sŭplja*, *sŭpati*, und Formen wie altind. Part. *svapánt-*, Imp. *svapántu* (neben *svápantu*) deuten sicher durch ihren Accent auf älteres **supánt-*, **supántu-* hin.

Heusler[7] hingegen sieht in *sofa* einen lautlichen Übergang des postkonsonantischen *we* in *o* (d. h. **sweƀan*>*sofa*). Wäre diese Annahme zutreffend, so bliebe immer noch unerklärt, weshalb sich dieser lautliche Übergang sonst bei den starken Verben im Aisl. nicht geltend gemacht hat, wie z. B. *kveða* >**koða*.

Paul[8] will *sofa* aus einem älteren **sveofa* herleiten; dem *sofa* liege die Vollstufe **sweƀan* zugrunde, **sweƀan* sei aber zunächst nicht, wie Heusler will, zu *sofa*, sondern zu **sveofa* geworden, woraus **svofa*>*sofa*. Das *eo* in **sveofa* sei durch die *a*-Brechung des *e* hervorgerufen; dieses *eo* sei dann weiter zu *o* geworden, vor dem das *v* ausfallen muss.

Über die vermeintliche *a*-Brechung des *e* in **sveofa* sagt Paul (*ebend.*, S. 168–169): "Das bekannte Gesetz, dass nach *v* die Brechung unterbleibt, gilt nur vor doppelconsonanz, dagegen vor einfacher ist der gebrochene vocal (*eo*) zu *o* geworden, wovor natürlich dann das *v* ausfallen muste."

[6] Dagegen vgl. K. Ljungstedt, "Anmärkningar till det starka preteritum i germanska språk," *Uppsala Univ. Årsskrift*, 1888, S. 112 f. Ljungstedt will in aisl. *kŏm*, aschw. *kŏm*, *kŭm*, ein Imperfekt-Aorist sehen, also von der Wurzel (Schwachstufe) **koman*. Der Beweis, dass aisl. *kom*, eine ursprüngliche und nicht eine sekundäre Entwickelung darstellt, ist ihm aber nicht geglückt.

[7] Vgl. A. Heusler, *Aisl. Elementarbuch*, §309, 1: "Das Pras. *sofa* hat *o* aus *we* nach §82, 2. Dagegen schwache Ablautsstufe ist anzunehmen in *troþa* 'treten' (got. *trudan*), *koma*, 'kommen' (as. *kuman*, ae. *cuman*)."

[8] H. Paul, "Altnordisch *o* aus *vo*," *P. B. Beitr.*, VII, S. 168–170.

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Es gibt aber, wie Sievers richtig bemerkt (*P. B. Beitr.*, VIII, S. 85), keinen zwingenden Grund, das bekannte Gesetz, dass nach *v* die Brechung gehemmt wird, nicht vor Doppelkonsonanten gelten zu lassen. In der Tat stösst Pauls Hypothese, anord. *sofa* sei aus **sveofa* entwickelt, auch sonst noch auf lautliche Schwierigkeiten.

Erstens erscheint die Form **sveofa* überhaupt misslich. Nach seiner in *Beitr.*, VI ("Zur Geschichte des germanischen Vocalismus," vgl. besonders S. 23 ff.) entwickelten Lehre über die *a*-Brechung nimmt Paul auch hier an, die *a*-Brechung des *e* habe ursprünglich *eo* ergeben, das erst später in *i̯a* übergegangen sei, also **sweƀan*>**sveofa;* Formen mit *i̯a*, wie z. B. *gjalda*, *bjarga*, seien jüngere Entwickelungen, d. h. **geldan*:**bergan*> **geolda*:**beorga*>*gjalda*:*bjarga*. Die Kontraktion *veo* zu *o* in **sveofa*>*sofa* sei also schon vor der Zeit des Übergangs von *eo* in *i̯a* vollzogen.

Pauls Annahme, dass der *a*-Brechung des *e* (d. h. *i̯a*) ein älteres **eo* zugrunde liege, lässt sich meiner Ansicht nach überhaupt nicht aufrecht erhalten.[9] Ausserdem liegt kein genügender Grund für die Annahme vor, dass sich im Aisl. die *a*-Brechung von *e* im Präs. der starken Verba je anderweitig geltend gemacht habe als vor Liq. (*l*, *r*)+Kons. (vgl. *gjalda*, *bjarga*).

Zweitens, wie könnte Paul die agutn. Form *sufa* erklären, wenn dieser ein **svofa* (aus älterem **sveofa*) zugrunde liegt? Dagegen verträgt sich aisl. *sofa* ganz gut mit agutn. *sufa*, indem die aisl. Form die *a*-Brechung des ursprünglichen (=agutn.) *u* erlitten hat (vgl. aisl. *koma* gegenüber anorw. *kuma*). Wenn in *sofa* und *koma* der Brechungsvokal durchgeführt ist, wie dies auch Paul[10] annimmt, wird dieser Vokal nicht auf ein älteres *eo*, sondern auf ein älteres *u* zurückzuführen sein, welches sich im Aisl. gegen ein *a* der Endung nur vor Nasal hält (vgl. *bundinn*:*numinn*=got. *bundans*:*numans*).

Anord. *sofa*:*sofinn* gegenüber angs. *swefan*:-*swefen* wird also gerade wie anord. *trođa*:*trođinn* gegenüber angs. *tredan*: -*treden* zu beurteilen sein; in anord. *sofna* (gegenüber angs.

[9] Hierüber hoffe ich mich später eingehend auszusprechen.

[10] Vgl. Paul, *P. B. Beitr.*, VII, S. 169: "Im praes. von *koma* und *sofa* ist der brechungsvokal durchgeführt wie in altschwed. *giata*, *stiala* etc."

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swefnan) sieht auch Paul[11] (*P. B. Beitr.*, VII, S. 170) schwache Stufe des Ablautvokals. Sievers hat hier wohl das Richtige getroffen; jedenfalls aber beweist anord. *sofa:sofinn* nichts für die Annahme, dass postkonsonantisches *we* (oder nach Paul *weo*) zu *o* geworden sei.

III

Altnordisch VEFA: OFINN

Wie lässt sich aber *ofinn* Part. prät. (statt **vefinn*) gegenüber *vefa* Inf. (statt **ofa*) erklären? Nach dem Zeugnis der westgerm. Sprachen (angs. *wefan:-wefen*, alts. *weƀan:gi-weƀan*, ahd. *weban:gi-weban*) gehörte das Verbum von Hause aus zu der V. Ablautsreihe, wonach das Part. prät. im Anord. **vefinn* (gerade wie *gefinn* zu *gefa*) statt *ofinn* hätte lauten sollen. Für die Form *ofinn* gibt weder Noreen (*Aisl.Grammatik*,[3] §486) noch Heusler (*Aisl. Elementarbuch*, §309) irgend welche Erklärung; auch findet bei *ofinn* Heuslers Gesetz (d.h. *we* sei zu *o* geworden, vgl. Fussn. 1) keine Anwendung, weil bei *vefa* das *w anlautend* und nicht postkonsonantisch ist.

Es fragt sich also, ob anord. *ofinn* auf die alte Schwachstufe[12] (d. h. urgerm. **wuƀan->*woƀan-* anord. *ofin-*) zurückzuführen oder als nachträgliche Analogiebildung (nach dem Muster z. B. von *sofinn*) zu erklären ist.

Wenn man die alte Schwachstufe **woƀan-* für das Gemeinnord.- und westgerm. voraussetzt, so wird man die westgerm. Formen mit einem *e* der Stammsilbe als nachträgliche Analogiebildungen nach dem regelrechten Schema der V. Ablautsreihe betrachten müssen (d.h. **woƀan-* wird im Westgerm. durch **-weƀan-* ersetzt).

Nimmt man aber andrerseits an, die westgerm. Part. prät. seien lautgerecht entwickelt, so wird man die anord. Partizipialform *ofinn* als nachträgliche Analogiebildung ansehen müssen.

Die Annahme, dass nicht das nordgerm. *ofinn*, sondern westgerm. **-weƀan-* eine sekundäre Entwickelung darstellt, erscheint mir aus den folgenden Gründen richtig.

[11] Hier lässt Paul schwache Abstufung gelten, weil die Ableitung aus **sweof-nan* (aus älterem **sweƀnan*) wegen der Doppelkonsonanz nicht statthaft sei.

[12] Vgl. A. Fick, *Vgl. Wörterb.*, 4. Aufl., 3. Bd., S. 391: "*Veb* 2., *veban, vab, vēbum*, **ubana* weben, wickeln. an. *vefa* st. vb. (part. *ofinn* aus *vofinn*<**ubana*) schlingen, flechten, weben."

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Erstens erscheint im Westgerm. die Ersetzung eines ursprünglichen -**wuƀan-* durch -**weƀan-* ganz natürlich,[13] denn sonst liegt im Westgerm. im Part. prät. des starken Verbs, wo einfacher Labial dem Stammvokal folgt, der Stammvokal *e* vor, d.h. bei der V. Ablautsreihe, wie z.B. in -**geƀan-*. Ebenso ist z.B. urgerm. **trođan-* (=got. *trudan-*, anord. *trođin-*) im Westgerm. durch -**tređan-* (=angs. *-treden*, ahd. *gi-tretan*) ersetzt worden.

Dagegen lässt sich die anord. Partizipialform *ofinn* kaum als sekundäre Entwickelung erklären. Wenn irgend ein anderes starkes Verbum im Part. prät. auf die Form *ofinn* bestimmend gewirkt hat, so denkt man zunächst an das Verbum *sofa*, *svaf:sófum*, *sofinn*, welches ausser im Präs. auf gleicher Stufe mit *vefa*, *vaf:vófum*, *ofinn* liegt; beide Verba enthalten ein *f* nach dem Stammvokal, sowohl wie auch ein *v* vor dem vollstufigen Stammvokal *a*. Wenn aber das Part. prät. *ofinn* (statt **vefinn*) eine Umbildungsform nach dem Muster von *sofinn* wäre, so hätte infolge der gemeinsamen Lautverhältnisse im Part. prät., sowie auch im ganzen Prät., sicher auch weiter der Inf. *sofa* den Inf. *vefa* nach sich gezogen (d.h. **ofa* nach *sofa*). Da dies aber nicht geschehen ist, so wird man die Partizipialform *ofinn* nicht als Neubildung, sondern als Rest der alten urgerm. Abstufung (gerade wie *trođinn* und *sofinn*) ansehen müssen. Da die Form *ofinn* nicht aus der Vollstufe **weƀan-* entwickelt sein kann, beweist sie ebenso wenig für den Übergang des *we* in *o* als z.B. die Partizipialform *sofinn* (vgl. oben II).

IV

Altnordisch SVARINN : SORINN

Als Beispiel des Überganges von postkonsonantischem *wa* in *o* führt Heusler (*Aisl. Elementarbuch*, §82, 2) anord. *sorinn*, Part. prät. zu *sverja* 'schwören' an (d. h. **suaran-*>*sorinn*). Aber hier lässt sich der Übergang *wa* in *o* ebenso wenig beweisen, als bei anord. *kom* (vgl. oben I) aus *kuam*. Heusler hat nicht bewiesen, dass die Formen *sorinn* (Part. prät.) und *kom* (Prät. sg.) die *ursprüngliche* Lautentwicklung darstellen, im Gegenteil wird man sie wohl als *sekundär* ansehen müssen.

[13] Vgl. angs. *-swefen-* gegenüber anord. *sofinn*, oder angs. *-treden-* gegenüber anord. *trođinn*.

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Noreen[14] erklärt die Stammsilbe *sor-* in *sor-inn* aus denjenigen Kasus des Partizipiums **swar-an-*, wo durch erhaltenes *u* die Labialisierung (d.h. der *u*-Umlaut) des **wa-* (zu **wǫ-*) weiter zu **wo-* fortgeschritten sei, woraus *o;* z. B. Dat. mask. sg. **swarin-um > *swǫrn-um > sworn-um > *sor-n-um*, woraus *sor-inn* Nom. mask. sg. mit *sor-* als Stammsilbe verallgemeinert.

Ich glaube nicht, dass Noreen hier das Richtige getroffen hat. Meiner Ansicht nach ist die Form *sorinn* neben *suarinn* nicht aus den obliquen Kasus mit erhaltenem *u*, sondern als Analogieform nach der Bildung des Part. prät. der IV. Reihe mit *o* der Stammsilbe vor einfachem *r*, wie z.B. *skorinn*, zu erklären. Diese Annahme ist um so wahrscheinlicher, als das Westgerm. im Part. prät. des entsprechenden Verbs gleichfalls ein *o* der Stammsilbe neben dem lautgerechten *a* aufweist. Im Angs.[15] heisst das Part. prät. meist *sworen*, selten *swaren*, im Alts.[16] begegnet neben *-swAran* auch (*for*)-*swOren* (*Oxf. Gl.*), und das Ahd.[17] weist stets *gi-swOran* (nie *gi-swAran*) auf. Da im Gegensatz zum Gotischen das Nord- und Westgerm. im Inf. das *j*-Suffix und daher den *i*-Umlaut des Stammvokals *a* aufweisen, (**suar-jan > *suerįan*), so liegt Mischung mit der IV. Reihe nahe, wo gleichfalls einfaches *r* im Präs. ursprünglichem *e* folgt, wie z.B. **skeran*, **beran;* wie **skeran:-*skoran*, **beran: *-boran* so auch **suerįan:-*suoran-*(= anord. *sorin-*) neben dem lautgerechten **suaran-*(= anord. *suarin-*). Im Westgerm. liegt die Mischung mit der IV. Reihe z.B. bei Otfrid (Ahd.) klar am Tage, der das Prät. sg. *suar*[18] statt des regelrechten

[14] Vgl. A. Noreen, *Aisl. Grammatik*,[3] §74, 10: "*Ua > uǫ*, z. b. *vǫndr* (got. *wandus*) rute. Postkonsonantisch (in welcher stellung *w* als solches bleibt) ist die labialisirung durch erhaltenes *u* bis zu **wo*, woraus *o*, fortgeschritten, z. b. part. *s(u)orenn* statt *suarenn* geschworen nach den obl. formen auf *-um*, *-u*."

Auf Seite 128 (§164, Anm. 2) sagt Noreen: "Ausnahmsweise kommt in dieser (VI.) reihe auch *u*, *o* vor," und als Beispiel für eine solche Ausnahme bei der VI. Ablautsreihe führt er auch das Part. prät. *sorinn* an. Nach seinen Ausführungen in §74, 10 aber sieht Noreen in dem *o* in *sorinn* nicht den ursprünglichen Ablautsvokal, sondern einen aus dem ursprünglichen *a* nachträglich entwickelten Laut.

[15] Vgl. Sievers' *Angs. Grammatik*,[3] §392, 4, Anm. 7.

[16] Vgl. Holthausen's *Alts. Grammatik*, §444, Anm. 1.

[17] Vgl. Braune's *Ahd. Grammatik*,[4] §347, Anm. 4.

[18] Cf. IV, 18, 15, *er suár tho filu gérno.*

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suor schreibt; *suar* passt zum Part. prät. *gi-sworan*, ebenso wie z.B. *skar* zu *gi-skoran* oder *bar* zu *gi-boran* der IV. Reihe.

Es liegt also kein Grund vor, anord. *sorinn* auf anderem Wege zu erklären als westgerm. *-sworan*. Übrigens ist Noreen überhaupt geneigt, die anord. Lautverhältnisse ohne gebührende Rücksicht auf das Westgerm. zu erklären. Nord- und westgerm. **swaran-:*sworan-* zeigt (gegenüber der ohne Nebenform stehenden lautgesetzlichen Form des Part. prät. *swarans* im Gotischen) Mischung mit der IV. Reihe, weil bei dem betreffenden Verbum im Präs. des Nord- und Westgerm., nicht aber des Gotischen, einfaches *r* einem *e* der Stammsilbe folgt (vgl. nord- und westgerm. **suerja(n)*, got. **swaran*), gerade wie bei der IV. Reihe (vgl. **skeran*, **beran*). Natürlich ist es auch möglich, dass im Anord. die Stammsilbe *sor-*(aus den obliquen Kasus mit erhaltenem *u* der Endung) diese Mischung begünstigt hat, aber angesichts der Lautverhältnisse im Westgerm. ist Noreens Erklärung des anord. *sorinn* wenig überzeugend.

Da die Form *sorinn* als sekundär gelten muss, beweist sie für den Übergang eines postkonsonantischen *wa* in *o* ebenso wenig wie die Form *kom* Prät. sg. Es lässt sich aus den starken Verben im Anord. auch nicht beweisen, dass postkonsonantisches *we* je zu *o* geworden ist, denn da, wo ein *o* statt *we* der Stammsilbe vorliegt, lässt sich das *o* ganz gut als schwache Abstufung des Ablautvokals erklären, wie z.B. in *koma*, Inf., *sofa*, Inf., *sofinn* Part. prät., *ofinn* Part. prät. Alles spricht dafür, dass bei den starken Verben postkonsonantisches *we* ebenso behandelt wird, wie anlautendes *we;* d.h. keines von beiden wird zu *o*.

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WORDSWORTH'S FAVORITE WORDS

I

No amount of concordance-hunting, any more than assiduous "timing" and "stressing" in a laboratory, can ever reveal the secret of a poet's success. The poet uses words in contexts, words "in tuneful order"; the student who plucks an individual word out of its context and says "Here is the reason for the beauty of this line," is sure to be dealing in only half truths. *Birds, and, sing, no.*—arrange the words thus, and there is but little to suggest the beauty of Keat's line, and nothing that will in any way "explain" it. Of course it is obvious that sometimes a radical change in the effectiveness of a verse can be accounted for by noting the substitution of a "better" word for one that only approximated the poet's meaning.

A thing of beauty is a constant joy

Keats wrote first; then, dissatisfied, made the change that resulted in

A thing of beauty is a joy forever.

Even here, however, the substituted *forever* must be examined in its place in the line if one is to come at any adequate explanation for the improvement in the verse. Accordingly I begin this note on Wordsworth's favorite words in full realization of the fact that it can bring us only a short distance on the road to an understanding of his charm and power.

Nevertheless there will probably be some interest in finding out what the poet's favorite words really were—favorite in the sense that he used them most often—and, once ascertained, the list may throw a little light on Wordsworth's mental habits and poetic practise.

In compiling such a list it would seem the part of wisdom to follow the practice of the Wordsworth Concordance[1] and omit all reference to words which were omitted entirely from the

[1] *A Concordance to the poems of William Wordsworth*, edited for the Concordance Society by Lane Cooper; London, 1911.

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Concordance, and similarly, to omit words represented by only partial lists.[2] In the use of *and*, *I*, *but*, *is*, etc., there is but little significance. It has also seemed best—partly on account of the difficulty involved in making the necessary division—to take no account of the use of the same word as different parts of speech; i. e., *to love*, v., and *love*, n., but to include all examples of the same word under one heading. I realize that this plan might result in some misrepresentation, if many of the words listed were capable of widely different meanings; but as it happens that most of the words involved have one outstanding meaning, I believe the practise which I have adopted, and which again is in keeping with that of the Concordance, will not materially distort the facts. Finally, because my interest is primarily in the concepts for which words are symbols, not in words *qua* words, I have included with each word its close compounds and inflectional forms. Thus under *love* appear *loves*, *love's*, *loved*, *loving*, etc.

With these explanations made, it is fair to say that the following appear to be Wordsworth's favorite words, arranged approximately in the order of relative frequency of use:[3]

Love, heart, man, mind, life, eye, nature, power, light, earth, heaven, hope, pleasure, soul, spirit, truth, joy, sun, shadow, death, mountain, time, hand, fear, night, happy, friend, flower, deep, child, rock, rest, vale, place, silent, sight, sound, fair, free, human, peace, wood, word, wind, cloud, field, bliss, beauty.

Comment on such a list is almost unnecessary, for any student of Wordsworth will at once perceive certain practically obvious facts. Here is a predominantly Anglo-Saxon vocabulary, a vocabulary of old words, of words that had been "used by ordinary men" in Britain for centuries before Wordsworth began to write, a vocabulary reflecting the common facts and experiences of human life. Here is the vocabulary of a man who lived much in the open, and enjoyed the nature of which he wrote: *light*, *earth*, *sun*, *shadow*, *mountain*, *night*, *flower*, *rock*, *vale*, *wood*, *wind*, *cloud*, *field*. Here is the vocabulary of a lover of men: *heart*, *man*, *mind*, *soul*, *spirit*, *friend*,

[2] For these words see the Concordance, p. vi. In addition I have omitted arbitrarily a few words which seem to have no particular significance, such as *long*.

[3] *Love* occurs over 1100 times; *beauty* about 300.

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child, happy, human, free. Here is the vocabulary of one whose life among men and in the fields brought him the quiet happiness which others seek in his poetry: ***love, power, hope, pleasure, truth, joy, rest, peace, bliss, beauty, silence.*** Or, to put the matter differently, here in these *disjecta membra* of Wordsworth's poetry is the material from which even a bungling artificer can construct the fundamental framework of the poet's philosophy.

II

"But," one asks, "is the use of these words in any way really Wordsworthian? Will it not appear that most English poets make similar habitual use of them?" The following longer list, compiled from the appropriate Concordances, partially answers this question, and at the same time brings out certain facts concerning the "favorite words" of seven other English poets: Spenser, Shakespeare, Gray, Cowper, Shelley, Keats, and Tennyson.[4]

Air, G, K.; *Bear*, S, T.; *Beauty*, W.; *Bliss*, W.; *Blood*, Sp, S.; *Breath*, Sh, K.; *Bright*, Sh, K.; *Brother*, S.; *Child*, W, Sh, T.; *Cloud*, W, Sh, K.; *Dark*, Sh, K, T.; *Daughter*, S.; *Day*, Sp, S, G, C, Sh, K, T.; *Dear*, Sp. S.; *Death*, all lists.; *Deep*, G, W, Sh.; *Dread*, Sp.; *Dream*, Sh, K, T.; *Ear*, C.; *Earth*, G, C, W, Sh, K, T.; *Eye*, all lists.; *Face*, G, K, T.; *Fair*, all lists.; *Fall*, Sp. T.; *Fame*, G.; *Fate*, G.; *Father*, S.; *Fear*, Sp. S, G, W, Sh.; *Field*, W.; *Fire*, G.; *Flame*, G.; *Flower*, G, W, Sh, K.; *Fool*, S.; *Free*, C, W.; *Friend*, S, C, W.; *Give*, C.; *Glittering*, C.; *God*, Sp, S, C, T.; *Gold*, G, Sh, K, T.; *Good*, Sp, C, T.; *Grace*, S, C.; *Green*, K.; *Hand*, Sp, S, C, W, K, T.; *Happy*, W.; *Head*, S, G, K, T.; *Hear*, Sp, C, Sh, K, T.; *Heart*, all lists.; *Heaven*, all lists.; *High*, Sp, G, K.; *Honour*, S.; *Hope*, C, W, Sh.; *Human*, W.; *Joy*, G, C, W.; *King*, S, T.; *Knight*, Sp, T.; *Know*, C, Sh, T.; *Lady*, Sp, S.; *Land*, T.; *Life*, all lists.; *Light*, Sp, G, C, W, Sh, T.; *Lord*, S. T.; *Love*, all lists.; *Man*, all lists.; *Master*, S.; *Mind*, C. W.; *Moon*, Sh.; *Morning*, K.; *Mother*, T.; *Mountain*, W. Sh.; *Name*, S, T.; *Nature*, C, W.; *Never*, K.; *New*, K.; *Night*, S, G, W, Sh, T.; *Noble*, S.; *Old*, S, K, T.; *Peace*, W.; *Place*, Sp. W.; *Pleasure*, Sp, G, W.; *Poor*, S.; *Power*, C, W, Sh.; *Praise*, C.; Rest, Sp, W.; *Rock*, W.; *Round*, K.; *Sea*, Sh.; *Scene*, C.; *Servant*, S.; *Shadow*, W, Sh.; *Show*, S, C.; *Sight*, Sp, G, W.; *Silent*, W, K.; *Sleep*, Sh, K.; *Smile*, G, Sh.; *Soft*, K.; *Son*, S.; *Soul*, G, W, Sh.; *Sound*, W.; *Speak*, T.; *Spirit*, W, Sh.; *Star*, Sh.; *Sun*, T.; *Sweet*, Sp, S, C, Sh, K, T.; *Thought*, Sp, S. C, Sh, K, T.; *Time*, Sp, S, G, W, K, T.; *Truth*, S, C, W, T.; *Vain*, G, C.; *Vale*, W.; *Virtue*, C.; *Voice*, G, K, T.; *Wave*, Sh.; *White*, K.; *Wind*, W, Sh.; *Wing*, K.; *Wise*, C.; *Woman*, S.; *Wonder*, Sp.; *Wood*, W.; *Word*, S, W, T.; *Work*, C.; *World*, Sp. S, C, Sh, T.; *Year*, T.; *Youth*, S, G, K.

[4] The initials Sp, S, G, C, Sh, K, and T, following a word in the table, indicate that it occurs in the list of favorite words of the poet or poets indicated by the initials. Sp = Spenser; S = Shakespeare; Sh = Shelley.

From an examination of this table some information may be derived. First, as regards the main question, it appears that in the Wordsworth list there are nine words that appear in no other: *beauty, bliss, field, human, peace, rock, sound, vale, wood.* Twelve are credited to Wordsworth and only one other poet: *free, happy, mind, mountain, nature, place, rest, shadow, silent, spirit, sun, wind.* Eleven are shared by Wordsworth and two other poets: *child, cloud, deep, friend, hope, joy, pleasure, power, sight, soul, word.* Or, mathematically, of the total of forty-six words in the Wordsworth list, twenty percent are distinctly Wordsworthian, and an additional fifty percent are shared by Wordsworth and not more than two of the poets examined.

Similar facts could be pointed out for other of the poets here listed. For instance, the following words appear only under Shakespeare: *brother, daughter, father, fool, honour, master, noble, poor, servant, son, woman.* Certain others appear under only one name other than Shakespeare: *bear, blood, dear, grace, king, lady, lord, name, show.* The similarity in the lists of Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, and Tennyson, is not without interest, forty words credited to one or more of these poets not being found in the lists of their predecessors. Again, the words that appear in at least six of the lists might be noted: *day, death, earth, eye, fair, hand, heart, heaven, life, light, love, man, sweet, thought.*

But it is unnecessary to point out additional facts which any one who is interested can see for himself. The purpose of this note has been accomplished if it has suggested what Wordsworth's favorite words seem to have been, and thus has added slightly to our knowledge of him and his work.

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DIE NEUE KURZSPRACHE

Die Sprache ist älter als die Schrift, und so bestimmt denn auch die Aussprache die Schreibung, deren Aenderungen immer erst der Sprachentwicklung nachhinken. Trotzdem hat nicht selten auch umgekehrt die Schreibweise die Aussprache beeinflusst, vor allem dadurch, dass sie diese einheitlicher machte und fester fügte, so dass unser heutiges Hochdeutsch im eigentlichen Sinn eine "Schriftsprache" ist, die bei sehr vielen Deutschen die Mundart völlig verdrängt hat.

Aber in neuerer Zeit macht vielfach die Schreibweise darauf Anspruch nicht nur die Aussprache, sondern die ganze Sprechweise zu beeinflussen, indem Abkürzungen, die bisher nur auf dem Papier üblich waren, nun auch gesprochen werden. Von solchen "ungehörigen Uebergriffen der Schrift," wie sie Friedrich Kluge in seiner vortrefflichen "Deutschen Sprachgeschichte" (Quelle & Meyer, Leipzig 1920, p. 330) nennt, soll im folgenden die Rede sein. (Ich selbst habe auf diese Erscheinungen schon in einem Aufsatz in No. 15 der "Militärzeitung" vom 13. April 1918, Verlag R. Eisenschmidt, Berlin N. W. F.) hingewiesen, aus dem ich hier teilweise zitiere.) Dem Engländer und Amerikaner sind derartige Kurzformen ja vertraut. Schon seit langem werden im Englischen häufig lange Wörter verkürzt, z. B. to 'phone statt to telephone; ebenso ist es sehr beliebt, häufig vorkommende Wörter nur mit den Anfangsbuchstaben zu schreiben und zu sprechen. "The Peninsular and Oriental Steamship Company" ersetzt man durch: P and O, die Wörter I owe you durch die drei Buchstaben I. o u., Member of Parliament durch M. P., die akademischen Titel kennt man fast nur in ihren Abkürzungen B.A., M.A., Ph.D., M.D., L.L.D., D.D. Welcher Amerikaner nennt die Chesepeake and Ohio-Bahn anders als C and O, die Baltimore and Ohio-Bahn anders als B and O? Ja, man hat sogar aus den Anfangsbuchstaben zweier Wörter ein einziges, neues gemacht: to okae.

Ganz entsprechende Erscheinungen finden wir nun auch im Deutschen. Einmal drängt auch bei uns die nervöse Hast der Neuzeit nach Kürze; anderseits sind die meisten Neubildungen

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langatmige Zusammensetzungen, die ebenso wie die englischen Wörtergruppen eine Kürzung verlangen. Bei längeren, zusammenhängenden Wörtern liess man einfach einen Teil derselben weg, sagte also nur: Zoo, Auto, Autobus, Kino, während man bei mehreren selbständigen Wörtern nur deren Anfangsbuchstaben schrieb und später auch sprach.

Die letzteren Kürzungen beschäftigen uns hier vor allem. Sie fanden zunächst nur in der *Schrift* statt, während beim Lesen und Sprechen die betreffenden Wörter, die jedermann geläufig waren, ungekürzt blieben. Gebräuchliche Kürzungen dieser Art sind: z.B., d.h., z.T., z.Zt., etc., u.a.m., Dr., Prof., die Himmelsrichtungen, S., O., N., W., usw. Anders war es aber bei selteneren Abkürzungen, deren volle Formen nicht allgemein bekannt waren, z.B. den Zusätzen zum Doktortitel: phil., med., ing., usw. Diese werden naturgemäss in der gekürzten Form, in der sie geschrieben werden, nun auch gesprochen.

Die Zahl dieser nicht allgemein verständlichen Abkürzungen hat sich nun in den letzten Jahrzehnten ungeheuer vermehrt. Aus Bequemlichkeit, um Zeit zu sparen, oder aus Unkenntnis der Vollwörter werden solche Abkürzungen, die in der Schrift ihre Berechtigung hatten, nun auch als ihre Kurzformen gesprochen und dringen täglich mehr in die Umgangssprache ein, so dass man fast schon von einer "Kurzschrift" reden kann. Hatte man sich anfangs damit begnügt, nur die Anfangsbuchstaben zu benutzen, K.d. W. = Kaufhaus des Westens, so nahm man bald auch die zweiten Buchstaben zu Hilfe, wenn es Vokale waren, um den neuen Bildungen auch äusserlich das Aussehen von Wörtern zu geben: Kadewe, Sipo (Sicherheitspolizei).

Die neue Kurzsprache dient in erster Linie dazu, lange und häufig gebrauchte *Fachausdrücke* abzukürzen. So spricht der Techniker von P. S. = Pferdestärken, der Politiker von M. d. R. = Mitglied des Reichtages, S. P. D. = Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, U. S. P. = Unabhängige Sozialistische Partei, V. K. P. D. = Vereinigte Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands, von der I. A. K. = Interalliierte Kommission, Apo Abstimmungspolizei, Schupo = Schutzpolizei, der Orgesch = Organisation Escherich, dem W. T. B. = Wolffisches Telegraphenbüro, usw. Aus den Buchstaben H. K. T., den

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Anfangsbuchstaben der Begründer des Ostmarkenvereins, Hausemann, Kennemann, Tiedemann, ist sogar ein neues Wort: Hakatisten gebildet worden.

Unzählige Kurzformen dieser Art verwendet besonders das *Geschäftsleben*, zunächst als Telegrammadressen, schliesslich als allgemein übliche Firmenbezeichnung. Eine der ältesten Abkürzungen ist die Hapag = Hamburg-Amerika-Packfahrt-Aktien-Gesellschaft, ähnlicher Art waren Damuka = Deutsche Armee-Marine- und Kolonialausstellung, Bedag = Berliner Elektrische-Droschken-Aktien Gesellschaft, BzBg = Bahnamtlich zugelassene Beförderungs Gesellschaft; etwas freier gebildet ist die Form Mitropa-Mitteleuropäische Schlafwagen- und Speisewagen- Aktien Gesellschaft. Erscheint bei solchen Wortungeheuern die Kürzung als eine selbstverständliche Notwendigkeit, so ist dies in der Regel keineswegs der Fall. Trotzdem hört man überall Kürzungen wie: A.G. = Aktien Gesellschaft, A. E. G. = Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft, Bufa = Bild und Filmamt, Bugra = Ausstellung für Buchgewerbe und Graphilk, Deulig = Deutsche Lichtbild Gesellschaft, G. m. b. H. = Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung, Hacifa = Hamburger Cigaren Fabriken, Hageda = Handelsgesellschaft deutscher Apotheker, K. V. G. = Kleider-Verwertungs Gesellschaft, Klag = Kriegs-Leder-Aktien Gesellschaft, N. A. G. = Nationale Automobilgesellschaft, Z. E. G. = Zentral-Einkauf-Genossenschaft, usw. usw. In solchen Firmenbezeichnungen entspringt die Kurzform nicht nur der sprachlichen Schwerfälligkeit, oder der Bequemlichkeit und dem Streben nach Kürze, sondern sie ist dabei vor allem ein Mittel der *Reklame*. Wenn sich Z. B. das Kaufhaus des Westens so gern K. d. W. oder Kadewe nennt, so will es mit diesen drei einprägsamen Buchstaben den Namen der Firma wie ein Schlagwort dem Publikum einhämmern. Solche Anfangsbuchstaben sind eben nicht nur kurz und leicht zu behalten, sondern setzen auch die Firma als allgemein bekannt und beliebt voraus. Es ist also verständlich, dass sich Firmen, die nicht leicht zu behaltenden Namen haben, sich bemühen, statt dessen eine einprägsame Kurzform zu finden. So gibt eine Berliner Firma stets nur die Buchstaben C. and A. und die Adresse an, so schrecken neue Gesellschaften nicht vor den längsten und umständlichsten Bezeichnungen zurück, ja sie scheinen sie oft geradezu zu suchen, wenn sich nur daraus

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eine recht "schöne Kurzform" bilden lässt. Sinnvoll braucht sie nicht zu sein, nur leicht zu behalten. Neuerdings sind Anklänge an Mädchennamen beliebt: Ala = Allgemeine Anzeigen Gesellschaft, Asta = Allgemeiner Studentenausschuss, Ila = Internationale Luftschiffahrts Ausstellung, Sara = Sozialdemokratische Arbeitsgemeinschaft revolutionärer Arbeiterräte, in Wien, Ufa = Universum-Film-Aktien-Gesellschaft, usw.

Eine ungeheure Vermehrung erfuhren die Kurzformen während des Krieges durch die *Heeressprache.* Beim Militär ist ja das Bedürfnis nach Kürze ganz besonders stark, und oft mussten alle Rücksichten auf Sprachgefühl und Wohlklang davor zurücktreten. Erst durch das Militärdeutsch sind die Kurzformen wirklich volkstümlich geworden und in alle Gebiete verheerend eingedrungen.

Auf diese Weise ist also eine Art von "Kurzsprache" entstanden, die allerdings eigentlich nur kurz, aber keine-Sprache ist, denn sie ist vor allem nicht allgemein, sondern nur einem kleinen Kreis von Eingeweihten verständlich. Da dieselben Abkürzungen oft auf die verschiedenste Weise gedeutet werden können, so sind natürlich Missverständnisse sehr häufig, und der Volkswitz hat diese Möglichkeit natürlich längst ausgebeutet. So erklärte man z.B. seiner Zeit in Berlin die Kurzform Bedag (= Berliner Elektrische Droschken Aktien Gesellschaft) als Warnung: Behüte Euch der allmächtige Gott! und las die Initialen R. V. K. des Rudolf Virchow Krankenhauses, in dem angeblich die Verpflegung zu wünschen übrig liess, als die Klage: Rein verhungern kannste!

Es ist ein schwacher Trost für uns, dass auch andere Sprachen an dieser Krankheit leiden, ganz besonders das Englische. Zweifellos hat ja das anglo-amerikanische Beispiel die Ausbreitung der deutschen Kurzformen sehr gefördert. Ohne Frage hat eben unsere Zeit das Bedürfnis nach Kürze und Schlagwörtern, um so mehr, je hastiger und nervöser der Puls des öffentlichen Lebens schlägt. Wenn also bei langen und oft wiederkehrenden Fachausdrücken Kurzformen verwendet werden, so wird man sich damit abfinden müssen. Aber etwas anderes ist es mit der gesprochenen und geschriebenen *Umgangssprache* die doch allgemein verständlich sein soll und durch die Kurzformen zu einem unklaren und wirren Gestammel zu werden droht. Unsere Tagespresse trifft dabei eine schwere

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Schuld. Die Zeitungen haben das treffende "Tauchboot" durch "U-Boot" verdrängt, sie schrieben vom A. und S. Rat, (=Arbeiter- und Soldatenrat), sie schreiben noch heute von der I. A. K., der Sipo, Schupo, S. P. D., usw. Es ist einfach ein Unfug, wenn sich eine Berliner Zeitung B. Z. am Mittag nennt. Ist es da ein Wunder, wenn das Sprachgefühl abgestumpft und nun auch diese Kurzschrift gesprochen wird? Es ist ja so bequem und klingt so "fachmännisch und modern!" Oft ist ja auch nur noch die Abkürzung verständlich, die volle Form fast oder ganz vergessen. Mögen sich die deutsche Presse, die Redner und Schriftsteller endlich ernstlich auf ihre Pflichten gegen ihre Muttersprache besinnen, mögen sie sich bemühen, statt schwerfälliger Zusammensetzungen und "eleganter" Kurzformen gute Neubildungen zu finden. Nur so wird die Sprachentwicklung wirklich gefördert, nicht aber durch Kurzformen die im Grunde doch nur "Sprachersatz" sind!

WILHELM FRANKE

Berlin

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GEORGE BORROW AND HIS DANISH BALLADS

Had George Borrow belonged to the straitest sect of truthful men, in all likelihood he would now be no more remembered than many another merely honest man of letters. Certainly *Lavengro* owes much to divers pleasantly mythical passages in the narrative. We read it not only as the plain autobiography of a Norfolk man named George Henry Borrow, but also as the record of sundry experiences of another personality dwelling in the same tabernacle, whom the author in his early years sometimes designated, after the celebrated antiquarian Olaus Wormis, as George Olaus Borrow. George Henry Borrow actually learned to read Danish as a very young man, and so became familiar with the Danish ballads which he carried about in his Gypsy wallet till the end of his days. Those who set a high value on truth above its ordinary usefulness in human intercourse will probably say that it must have been George Olaus Borrow who came into possession, under the romantic circumstances detailed in *Lavengro*, of a copy of the rare edition of Danish ballads published by Anders Vedel in 1591, from which the Borrovian translations were subsequently alleged to have been made. The fact is, that Borrow translated many ballads from the Danish; the query is, whether his originals were found in Vedel's edition or in one or more later collections. In the interest of staid philology it appears necessary to make a distinction between George Henry and his engaging double, George Olaus.

According to Knapp's *Life*, Borrow was studying Danish in Norwich as early as the period 1819-21, and leaving evidence in his note-books of an interest in Norse ballads. About the same time he began his translating. In the *Monthly Magazine* for November 1, 1823, there appeared an article from his hand on "Danish Poetry and Ballad Writing," to which fuller reference will be made below; it was illustrated by a translation of the ballad of "Skion Middel," differing only in a few verbal particulars from the version later inserted in the *Romantic Ballads*. In April, 1824, Borrow went down to London carrying

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a large parcel of ballads in translation, for which he hoped to find a publisher. His experiences in this quest are reported with substantial fidelity in *Lavengro.* "Nobody would read your ballads. . . . The day for these things is gone by," ran the editorial verdict. Borrow persevered. The *Monthly Magazine* during the next year or two printed a series of articles from his pen on "Danish Traditions and Superstitions" and several translations of ballads and other poems from the Danish. In 1826 he issued a part of his fund of translations from Scandinavian ballads and newer poetry in a small volume under the title, *Romantic Ballads.* Three or four years later he was negotiating with Dr. John Bowring, whose *Servian Popular Poetry* had appeared in 1827, for the joint publication of four volumes, principally to be devoted to translations from the Danish ballads and from Oehlenschläger, and to bear the title, *Song of Scandinavia.* In this work he hoped to dispose advantageously of his remaining resources of translated ballads, according to a letter from Borrow to Bowring printed in Shorter's *Life,* before he should be "forestalled in the *Kæmpe Viser* by some of those Scotch blackguards who affect to translate from all languages, of which they are fu ly as ignorant as Lockhart is of Spanish." This ambitious project fell through, not from lack of enthusiasm on the part of Borrow. The whole scheme took shape, rather lamely, as a longish review article on "Danish Literature" in the *Foreign Quarterly Review,* 1830. The prose discussion is attributed to Bowring; Borrow supplied a number of translations from Scandinavian ballads and other poetry to illustrate the critical comments.

In 1835 Borrow, now an agent of the Bible Society, published at St. Petersburg his *Targum,* a thin book of translations from thirty languages, which in its inclusive character suggests Herder's *Volkslieder.* Among the contents are various bits from the Scandinavian, such as Storm's art ballad, "Sir Sinclair," and a portion of the Danish ballad of "Orm Ungersvend." On July 14, 1842, he is writing to Bowring in part as follows: "If I am spared to the beginning of next year, I intend to bring out a volume called *Songs of Denmark,* consisting of some selections from the *Kæmpe Viser* and specimens from Ewald, Grundtvig, Oehlenschläger. . . ." In 1854, by the testimony of a letter from Borrow's wife to his mother, he is

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again contemplating the publication of his "poetry in all the European languages." At the close of *Romany Rye*, 1857, he announces that he has ready for the press, with other things, two volumes of *Kæmpe Viser*. These three records of good intentions, however, paved no road to fame, since the proposed works failed to see the light. In 1860 came Prior's *Ancient Danish Ballads*, which no doubt served to cut off such avenues to publicity as may have remained to Borrow. Nevertheless, in 1862–63, *Once A Week* published some translations from his hand of ballads and tales, among them a version of the Danish ballad of "The Count of Vendel's Daughter." Not till 1874, as Edmund Gosse reports, did Borrow give up hope of seeing the bulk of his work in print. A large remainder of his ballad translations was finally published in 1913, from manuscripts in the possession of C. K. Shorter, in an edition of thirty copies "for private circulation," an arrangement which doubtless would have been moderately pleasing to Borrow himself.

Such, in brief outline, is the story of Borrow's ballads. Now to return to the question of his originals. The *Ballads and Other Poems* of 1913 contains, by way of introduction to a section consisting of three ballads under the heading "Grimhild's Vengeance," an article by Edmund Gosse which gives certain information about Danish ballad history, and discusses in particular Borrow's relation to his sources. The argument runs in the main as follows: Borrow never corrected the intimation of *Lavengro* that he was dealing directly with Vedel's edition of 1591; he never mentions later Danish editors; while, as a matter of fact, he was entirely dependent, so far as internal evidence is decisive, upon Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek's *Udvalgte Danske Viser* of 1812–14, the plan of which he followed and notes from which he often translated word by word without acknowledgment; in short, if he actually did know Vedel, he has left no proof of such immediate knowledge in his published books or among his papers.

This statement of the case, though the grounds of the opinion are not presented in detail, is in large measure correct. A closer examination of the Danish and English texts suggests, however, certain modifications of Mr. Gosse's views. A scrutiny of the *Romantic Ballads* of 1826 reveals that originals for the following numbers in the collection are not to be found in

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Vedel's edition of 1591: "Sir Middel," "Sir John," "Aager and Eliza," "The Heroes of Dovrefeld," "The Merman," "The Deceived Merman." Of those named, the following are not to be found in Syv's collection of 1695, which reprinted Vedel's one hundred texts and added a second century gathered by Syv himself: "Sir Middel," "Aager and Eliza," and "The Deceived Merman." Danish originals for the entire group of popular ballads in Borrow's book do appear in the *Udvalgte Danske Viser* of 1812–14, and German translations of most of them in Grimm's *Altdänische Heldenlieder* of 1811. Borrow quotes at some length from Grimm in connection with the ballad of "Svend Vonved." He quotes from Vedel expressly in his note on "The Tournament." The passage is given in Danish, to be sure, but in the modernized spelling of Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek. There is no mystery therefore, as Gosse suggests there might be, in Borrow's use of Vedel's words. Altogether it is quite certain that Borrow prepared his *Romantic Ballads* from the text of Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek, no doubt with occasional reference to Grimm.

The posthumous collection of *Ballads and Other Poems* casts some additional light on the matter. The "Other Poems" consist mainly of translations from various languages. The ballads number, besides a few from other languages, about one hundred from the Danish, most of which had not been published before. They supply no evidence that Borrow had dealt immediately with Vedel's edition or with Syv's. For about one half of the English versions, originals are indeed to be found in Vedel; and for most of the others, in Syv. Yet here again the sources would appear to have been, not Vedel or Syv, but Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek, and more remotely, Grimm. To employ a superficial criterion, which nevertheless from the frequency of cases becomes practically authoritative: where there is a difference in number of stanzas, Borrow agrees with Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek, often as against both Vedel-Syv and Grimm. By reason of the relative freedom of Borrow's renderings, it is difficult to determine how far he may have been indebted to Grimm. The bulk of the testimony points, as in the *Romantic Ballads*, to Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek in the first instance and to Grimm in the second.

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Certain significant exceptions remain to be noted, particularly in view of Gosse's opinion that Borrow drew upon one Danish text alone. There are several pieces among the *Ballads and Other Poems* originals for which do not appear in Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek's collection. One of these is "Sir Guncelin." A Danish text does turn up in Vedel and also in Nyerup and Rasmussen's *Udvalg af Danske Viser*, 1821, and among Grimm's translations as well. Details of phraseology tend to single out Grimm as the source; for instance, where the Danish reads "Moder Skrat," Grimm has "Frau Teufelin," and Borrow has "Dame Devil." Again the finger points away from Vedel and Syv. For Borrow's version of "Innocence Defamed" there is one Danish text in Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek, and another somewhat different in Sandvig's *Levninger* of 1780. Borrow follows Sandvig. "Saint Jacob" is absent from Vedel, from Syv, from Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek. Borrow's translation agrees in the main with a variant in Lyngbye's *Færøiske Qvæder* of 1822. "Tord of Hafsborough" and "Kragelill," missing from Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek, are found, the first in Vedel, the second in Syv, and both in Nyerup and Rasmussen; the later collection apparently supplied Borrow's originals. In no case do sources other than Vedel and Syv fail to disclose themselves. The conclusion would seem to be that Borrow never used vedel or Syv; nor did he, as Gosse maintains, use Abrahamson, Nyerup, and Rahbek alone, but also Grimm and Sandvig and Nyerup-Rasmussen and Lynbye, at least. Jamieson, as his direct citation from the Danish proves, employed Syv in the preparation of his *Popular Ballads and Songs* of 1806. Borrow notices Jamieson only by way of innuendo, probably—as Gosse suggests—as chief of the "Scotch blackguards" who affected to translate from foreign tongues they little knew.

Borrow had in a large degree that admiration for his originals which constitutes a fundamental qualification of the faithful and graceful translator. Though he turned out to be neither wholly faithful nor wholly graceful, his views of the Danish ballads as a class have a certain intrinsic interest and some significance with respect to his methods as a translator. The youthful essay on "Danish Poetry and Ballad Writing" which he published in the *Monthly Magazine* in 1830 records opinions

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from which he probably did not materially depart during his later dealings with his cherished Danes; theorizing, on the whole, seems to have concerned him little. According to the essay, the ballad arose among the hills of Norway and spread thence with the swarming of the Northern nations through western and southern Europe. Typically, "the ballad is a kind of condensed epic, in which every species of feeling ought to be successively aroused,—fear, laughter, and amazement should all have a place allotted to them; and, when this is properly arranged, I consider the poem to be complete." The early manners of the North were peculiarly favourable to such poetry. As these manners softened, ballads of love and romance came to be added to the earlier store of heroic subjects. Some of the love ballads display a "fine moral." Of such a sort is "Skion Middel"—which he presents in translation—though it is only among the second order of ballads, since it does not arouse *all* of the feelings. In general, these poems exhibit "freshness and noble simplicity. . . . It is a great pity, that all the old Danish and Swedish poetry has not been rendered into English, and placed side by side with their more southern children; from whom, indeed, they never ought to be separated."

As to the procedure to be followed in such rendering, the records are all but mute. The preface to the *Romantic Ballads* does give some hint of the editor's principles in the comparison between the rude vigor of the old Danes and the suavity of the modern muse, which generally fails to portray scenes of barbaric grandeur, "from the violent desire to be smooth and tuneful, forgetting that smoothness and tunefulness are nearly synonymous with tameness and unmeaningness." The prefatory note to *Targum* refers in commonplace terms to the difficulty of giving to a version "that cast and turn which constitute no slight part of the beauty of the original." Again it is *Lavengro* that offers the most picturesque testimony. As the account runs there, while Borrow was engaged in his Quixotic attempt to translate an English philosophical work into German he was frequently beset, as might well be in such a task, with a form of the "touching" mania, in this case a desire to touch up his original text. He resists the inclination, drawing moral strength from reflecting on the course he had pursued in rendering foreign tongues into English: "Had I

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treated the minstrels of the *Kæmpe Viser* in this manner?—No! Had I treated Ab Gwilym in this manner?—No!"

Here is fit provender for those who believe that occupation with Romantic subjects tends inevitably to dull the moral sense. Percy found a parcel of old ballads and fell to telling lies about them. Pinkerton was brazenly dishonest. Even Sir Walter, as some think, was not without his modicum of editorial guile. And now comes Borrow, in his own quaint way the very prince of ballad liars, imminently in peril of being put in limbo with the sturdy beggars of an earlier day when minstrelsy was fallen into disrepute.

As a matter of fact, Borrow had treated his own minstrels "in this manner," at any rate so far as certain of the numbers in the *Romantic Ballads* are concerned. His first ballad in that book "Sir Middel," does not quite follow the original; there are changes in detail and an added moralizing stanza warning the maidens of Norway as to the dangers of unwise love. "The Heddybee Spectre" is practically a free paraphrase. "Saint Oluf" also shows signs of improvement in the vein of Percy. In the other cases the versions are for the most part substantially correct, a few modifications being admitted to satisfy various exigencies, particularly that of rhyme. The metre is generally smooth, though by no means inspired. The diction often shows a strange mingling of modern poetic phraseology and uncouth idioms transferred almost bodily from the Danish, a practice like that which Jamieson had designated as "Albinizing." In short, Borrow treated his originals with varying degrees of piety.

It may be doubted whether his procedure in the *Romantic Ballads* was influenced in any appreciable measure by advice received from Allan Cunningham while the book was being prepared for the press. Borrow had asked Cunningham to write some prefatory verses for the volume. Cunningham replies under date of February 10, 1826, with a request that Borrow should give him for his guidance a sketch of the general character of the Danish ballads, and with remarks of his own as follows: "I anticipate great pleasure from your translations. The revelations which Jamieson has made of the secrets of the great northern prison-house of song are heavy and unpoetical . . . Be bold and free and nowise afraid in your renderings. A

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rude, a careless and vigorous hand is dearer far to the world than one cautious and correct. The easy dash, the ready words, and the unpremeditated air are captivating. . ." Borrow sends the desired sketch in a letter of February 15, 1826, accompanied by the following observations: "The strict *Kaempe Viser* in the old Danish are in number fifteen. I have translated them all, and am now publishing four of the best." After giving an abstract of "The Tournament" by way of example, he continues: "In short, wildness, sublimity, and brevity are the characteristics of old Danish songs, many of which closely resemble our old English and Scottish ballads, owing, I suppose, to the close connection of the two nations during the reign of Canute, *alias* Knud. . ." Cunningham supplied the prefatory verses, in return for which he received from Borrow a copy of the book. In a letter to Borrow of May 16, 1826, Cunningham writes: "I like your Danish ballads much. . . We have nothing in our language to compare with them. Jamieson's attempts are pitiable things; he has not a soul capable of tasting the true Danish spirit." After praising certain of the versions in detail, he continues: "I think the complete translation of the *Kaempe Viser* could not fail to take, accompanied by prudent notes. . . But I must find fault. You sometimes use what I call classic words, instead of Gothic. . .This hurts your ballads in my Scottish eyes and ears. . . You must look after this fault, for it is a fault, when you reprint these ballads in your projected work. Your Danish names ought to be sobered into English ones more. This of course you will call barbarous, but they look harsh, and sometimes sound harsh. 'Sir Mydal,' 'Swayne Vonved,' and 'Saint Olave' *look* better than Sir Middel, Sven Vonved, and Saint Oluf. . . "

The *Ballads and Other Poems* of 1913 cannot, of course, be treated as a work of one date, since the translations were made at various periods in Borrow's life and no doubt revised from time to time. Taking them in bulk, however, they might not have been displeasing to the Allan Cunningham who liked the *Romantic Ballads*. They show a tendency rather toward boldness and freedom than toward classical polish. Something of the "Albinizing" habit still remains in such renderings as "under Oe" for the ballad common place "under O," "wadmal" for "vadmel," and "that throld both laid and tall" for "den

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Trold baade laed og lang." The names usually are given an English cast; "Swayne," for instance appears frequently. Now and then syntactical features are transferred bodily from Danish to English. It will happen, too, that a stanza is omitted, but in most of these instances the lacuna involves the so-called incremental repetition, where the omission might well be an oversight owing to the identical beginning of two adjacent stanzas. A version of "Aager and Eliza," for example, published in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* in 1830, restores such a stanza omitted from the version in *Romantic Ballads*. In the *Ballads and Other Poems*, as in the earlier collection, there are actual mistakes in the rendering of details, deliberate changes of a minor character to meet metrical requirements, and certain other alterations which may be grouped under the general head of adaptation. Refrains, as a rule, are left out. In the mass, nevertheless, the translations are substantially faithful to the originals. Borrow has neither the accuracy nor the poetical gifts of Grimm; but many of his versions are quite as correct and fluent as those of Prior.

In his relation to the Danish ballads Borrow was not so much the Scholar, as the Gypsy and the Priest. It is difficult to be all things to all men. Most people at this day, in view of his other deserts, may be content to regard him as a scholar well lost and as a poet who did his best work in prose.

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REVIEWS AND NOTES

REYNAUD, L. L'INFLUENCE ALLEMANDE EN FRANCE AU XVIIIe ET AU XIXe SIÈCLE. Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1922; 316 pp.

M. Reynaud is already well known as the author of "*Les origines de l'influence française en Allemagne,*" 1913 and "*Histoire générale de l'influence de France sur L'Allemagne,*" Paris 1914. Three such stout volumes as these in ten years give evidence of remarkable energy and erudition. Tho the works are long they are never rambling. The author knows precisely what he wishes to do with every fact that he takes up and in his entire trilogy he contradicts himself but rarely. If one admits his hypotheses one is swept to his conclusions, and he seems quite unaware that his hypotheses might prove unacceptable to anyone. Granting that the French and Germans have a common indo-germanic origin he deprecates nevertheless the supposition that each bore from the outset the germ of a like future development. On the contrary the Germans have attained their present civilization by an often reluctant imitation of the French at some times more pronounced than at others but practically continuous. Germany owed to France its social organization in the middle ages, including its limited monarchies and its feudalism, its art, its chivalry, its epic and lyric poetry, its fruitless renaissance in the seventeenth century, and much of its classicism in the eighteenth century. To France it owed the *Nibelungenlied,* strophe and content, to France it owed not only its achievements in literature but its dangerous tendencies. We learn that Luther derived most of his ideas from Bishop LeFèvre and that the "storm and stress" theorists did not invent their own racial bragadoccio but apparently had to wait until it was suggested to them by Louis-Gabriel de Buat-Nançay.

Certain contentions of Reynaud in his second work are largely supported by one of his favorite hypotheses, namely that the French civilization is essentially aristocratic while the German is essentially plebeian. "Tandis que chez nous la bourgeoisie, à bien des égards, partageait les goûts mondains de la noblesse, en Allemagne c'était la noblesse qui partageait les goûts utilitaires de la bourgeoisie. Si l'on ne tient pas compte de cette distinction fondamentale, il est impossible de rien comprendre à l'évolution des deux pays, non seulement à cette époque en particulier, mais à n'importe quelle autre."

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(p. 136.) This theory makes it easy to identify the origin of any aristocratic tendencies that may be detected in German literature and life.

Germany does not stand alone in owing a cultural debt to France, M. Reynaud points out. From the French chivalry developt the present day code of honor, from her provençal lyric the "chanson," from that the romance and from that the lyric poetry of to-day. From the "chanson de geste" came in sequence the epic of chivalry, the prose novel, and the novel of to-day; from the miracle and mystery play the drama of Shakespeare and, despite appearances to the contrary, Corneille. To be more specific, the *Expurgatoire de Saint Patrice* and the Provençal songs laid the foundations of Dante's poetry. The troubadours gave the original impulse to Petrarch, the "conteurs de fabliaux" to Boccaccio, the "chansons de geste" and the "roman courtois" to Pulci, Bojardo, Ariosto, and Tasso. Reynaud defends all his assertions ably enough, but one has the feeling that a similarly gifted other national, an Italian for example, might make out an equally strong case for his own country as the pioneer in European culture.

To what does M. Reynaud attribute the superiority of his race? Not to heredity apparently, for he seems to concede the existence of a common indo-european origin; not to environment, for he paints the picture of a vegetating Germany, and a France under similar difficulties teeming with progress, after the break up of the Carolingian monarchy. His answer to the question would be free will. The French saw the better way and followed it. As he says in his earlier work: "L'Allemagne n'était pas en retard, elle s'est mis en retard, la France n'avait pas seulement de l'avance, elle en a pris."[1] The origin of the clearer vision and the stronger will he does not indicate here but natural reasons failing these can be but supernatural ones. He hints indeed at such a solution in his criticism of Taine's materialism in his latest work "nulle part de spontanéité, de mystère" (p. 244). The French are a superior race because they have resolved to be one and because God has willed it so!

One is not long left in doubt regarding the most conspicuous other hypothesis of M. Reynaud's latest book, one suspects it from the first and is impelled to store up evidence against him. The labor proves unnecessary, for the assumption is boldly and clearly asserted in a footnote just fifty pages from the end. A Frenchman is for M. Reynaud not necessarily a person of French ancestry and birth, nor a person who uses the French language; he is a person of French sentiments. The contrary theory of nationalities he condemns:

[1] Reynaud *Histoire générale* etc. p. 502.

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C'était d'Allemagne qu'était venue la fameuse doctrine des "nationalités," qui avait conduit la France officielle et la France pensante à l'abîme, les yeux bandés, doctrine fondée sur une conception essentiellement anti-française et antilatine de la "nation" que notre Romantisme avait empruntée à la science germanique des Herder, des Grimm et des Hegel . . . C'est la théorie qui définit un peuple par ses caractères extérieurs: langue, race etc. et fait de ces caractères le fondement de la "nation." Elle a servi à la Prusse à réaliser l'unité de l'Allemagne à son profit et à nous prendre l'Alsace et la Lorraine. C'est une doctrine matérialiste, romantique. La doctrine française est celle qui fonde la "nation" sur le consentement des volontés en dehors de tout préoccupation de race et de langue.[2] Du reste, l'esprit classique qui définissait l'homme par le dedans, par la raison, ignorait la "race" et la "nationalité." Il tend aux grandes agglomérations internationales par-dessus ces barrières fictives. C'est l'esprit de Rome." (p. 260).

M. Reynaud defines races according to "la doctrine française;" that is to say by characteristics. The chief characteristics of the French, he says at one place or another, are belief in law and order, belief in the rule of good sense and reason rather than in individual impulse, belief in authority. The good Frenchman is catholic or calvinistic but never Lutheran.[3] He believes in the order and unity that Napoleon brot out of chaos, tho not necessarily in Napoleon's arbitrariness. The German is the opposite in these respects, an individualist, an emotionalist, and a hater of Napoleon, whose character was so purely latin, who represents "la raison classique, la discipline, la règle dans la pensée comme dans la vie." (p. 116.) The Germans are furthermore romanticists and protestants. The catholic tendencies of the German romanticists are past over with a single phrase referring to Fr. Schlegel's coquetting with catholicism. It is admitted that there were romanticists on the left of the Rhine in the nineteenth century, far too many M. Reynaud seems to say. That is just why his book is so long. From chapter III we gain the impression that almost the entire intellectuality of France was Germanic from about 1850–1870. When the majority of French-born intellectuals become German by M. Reynaud's definition one begins to doubt whether his definition was right in the first place, but from his point of view the method has advantages. He does not especially like the Germans and he can attack them by calling them individualistic, romantic, and emotional. A still stronger reason is that he does not like individualism, romanticism, and emotionalism

[2] One is not surprized to find this comment in the second edition of the *Histoire générale* (1915) p. 517. To find it in a work of 1922 is rather unexpected, One would expect to find the author already a little disturbed by reports of a regionalistic spirit in Alsace.

[3] Le calvinisme, qui porte des traces si nettes du génie français, et qui est, en Allemagne, d'importation française, doit en être soigneusement distingué (i. e. from Lutheranism). En fait, il a représenté, au moins au début, en Europe, un agent de propagation très actif de notre langue et de nos moeurs. Footnote to page 157 of "*Histoire générale.*"

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and he can make a strong case against them, at least in his own country, by calling them Germanic.[4]

But some other Frenchmen, at a moment more favorable to them, may assume that France is essentially romantic and Huguenot and may deny that M. Reynaud is a good Frenchman. France is more strongly unified in thot than most nations, but in the last analysis there are probably as many ideal Frances as there are thinking individuals in France and it would be a mistake for them to continue M. Reynaud's movement and begin to declare one another non-citizens.

To the skeptical mind M. Reynaud's work is the strongest possible demonstration that essential literary trends owe allegiance to no particular race. Exceptions by the chapterful tend to weaken the rule. His method also makes his work seem unfairer than it is. Actually we have before us an excellent treatise on the conflict of individualism with collectivism, of romanticism with classicism, of the protestant spirit with the catholic, in France and Germany but not to the exclusion of England. Austere non-partizanship in such a discussion is neither to be expected nor desired. In approaching a protestant or a catholic work, an individualistic or a collectivistic work, a romantic or a classic work, a certain bias is inevitable; but "German" and "French" form no such opposition and, despite M. Reynaud's method of arguing, an approach with a preconceived antipathy or preconceived partiality is out of place.

M. Reynaud divides his newest work into two parts, "La Brèche" (1750–1814) and "L'Invasion" (1814–1914). In his first chapter, "Propagande germanique," he manages to hold his national lines rather well but in the second "L'Allemagne de notre XVIIIe siècle" they begin to fall and the real conflict emerges into full view, the conflict between the rationalistic ideas in France and Germany and the sentimentality which followed into ascendance.

The impression that Reynaud seems to wish to leave with us is that the Germans, about 1750, grew tired of the ignoble rôle in literature which had been assigned to them by the French and determined to have revenge. Gottsched sent Grimm to Paris to commence the campaign. The Swiss writers seconded Gottsched's efforts. German journalists gained

[4] Cf. M. Beaunier's review of Reynaud's work in the *Revue des Deux Mondes,* Aug. 1, 1922 p. 699: "C'est une thèse aujourd'hui répandue, que le romantisme français vient d'Allemagne. Les ennemis du romantisme ont trouvé ce moyen de dénigrer toute une époque magnifique de notre littérature." M. Beaunier insists that M. Reynaud is too generous in his attributions of initial impulses to Germany. M. Beaunier's point of view in his article is interesting, but it is questionable how seriously one should take a reviewer who so consistently refers to "les Boches," even when his work appears in the *Revue des Deux Mondes.*

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control of the French critical press and used it to commend German literature, while the private teachers of German in Paris began to declare the superiority of German literature up to 1750 over that of the French. The French had hitherto resisted the Germanic literature, the spirit of which was so foreign to them, but now the breach was made from within. France would not have yielded to the English and Germanic literature but for a pietistic tendency which had sprung up among its own people. In the case of the English and romantic literatures translations awaited the demand of French critics or public, and it was Frenchmen who first produced them. From the Germans came without invitation a flood of translations of mediocre German authors by German translators.

The impression of conscious propaganda which the first chapter may have conveyed is quite obliterated by the second. Some of the evidence was unconvincing from the first, for it always has been and still is the practice of obscure language teachers to overrate their wares. The propaganda of Gottsched is not much more impressive. If Gottsched sent Grimm to Paris to advertise German literature,[5] he did so in the conviction that German literature and the literature of the Gottsched school were one. Suing for favor in Paris was no doubt a defensive rather than an offensive operation for him. The Gottschedianer dreamed of the support of Parisian critics as the Swiss did of English ones. *Die Geschichte Eduard Grandisons in Görlitz* (1755) is enlightening in regard to Bodmer and his colleagues.[6] Consequently one does not need to be surprised to find Grimm condemning the work of Zachariae and his confederates, which the French critics are commending, yet the fact seems to contradict rather strongly the main thesis of M. Reynaud's first chapter. The German zeal in translation into French was also natural. The Spaniard, Italian, or Englishman who commanded French was rare, but the German bilinguist was common. In fact French threatened to supplant German as the prevailing language in Germany itself. M. Reynaud had demonstrated this himself in his earlier work.[7] Moreover the German was very frequently possest of a desire to write. Lacking creative talent he could best satisfy it by making translations. This was much easier than creation, for the French literary language already existed, while the German literary language, in the first half of the eighteenth century, was still in the making. These facts M. Reynaud disregards when he says (p. 30):

[5] Goethe refers to him rather as an intermediary. Essay in *Über Kunst und Altertum* Weimar edition I 41:1,145.

[6] See Hordorff in *Euphorion* XIX (1912) 66–91 and Budde *Wieland und Bodmer*, Palaestra LXXXIX (1910) 103–129.

[7] See *Histoire générale* pp. 250–258.

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"qu'on ne s'y trompe pas, le seul, l'unique mobile, qui pousse ces Allemands à traduire, est l'orgueil patriotique, un orgueil qui ne peut pas attendre la date fixée par l'histoire pour la diffusion de leur littérature."

This hypothesis is a sheer illusion. The important fact is one that M. Reynaud merely mentions in passing: the susceptibility of the French to the new pietistic, idyllic movement as represented by Haller and Gessner. German authors of a contrary type arrived in France only when swept in by the current. Now susceptibility to pietism is, by M. Reynaud's definition, a Germanic trait; thus it was a Germanic trait in the French that opened the gates to German romanticism. So we begin to have interesting and, to be just, enlightening paradoxes at the very outset; but the idea of conscious propaganda, which is strest in the first chapter, is a hindrance, for it diverts attention from the really important issue.

The next chapter dealing with "Les ravages de Werther et la réaction de l'esprit français" displays M. Reynaud's views thru the clearest medium. He has had his predecessors in this theme, notably M. Baldensperger with his *Goethe en France* (Paris 1904) and Appel with his *Werther und seine Zeit* (Leipzig 1855) but the inferences and conclusions are his own. As may be supposed, his analysis of Werther's character is unfavorable. "Werther est un homme dont la volonté s'est comme atrophiée, sous le développement excessif de la sensibilité, et n'est plus capable du moindre effort." (p. 68.) Werther's flight from Wetzlar and his attempt to find mental health in the world of affairs, an attempt thwarted by the prejudices of an aristocratic society but his one act of free will, is past over without comment unless perhaps these observations have application to the episode: "s'il n'arrivait pas à se rendre utile à la société, c'était (i.e. to the mind of Goethe) parce que tout y était mal disposé pour une âme superieure" . . . and "Le geste désespéré de Werther, loin de retomber sur lui, constituait donc (i.e. for the Germans) l'acte d'accusation le plus terrible contre le monde tel que les hommes l'avaient organisé" (p. 69). In fact he specifically disparages Werther's grievance against society by listing in a collection of extravagances the fact (p. 159) "Montégut salue dans Werther le jeune bourgeois révolté contre son temps, le 'démocrate.' "

There is always a little danger that the adherents of the literature of law and order may go so far as to condemn every work which protests against "le monde tel que les hommes l'ont organisé." M. Reynaud admits that Werther proceeds directly from *La nouvelle Héloïse* but Rousseau, "ce calviniste, disciple des Anglais," is less dangerous in his tendencies. St. Preux bends before social necessities and in the end it is made to appear that he, the individual, was in the wrong. Suicide is

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also avoided in the French work, tho M. Reynaud does not help us to conclude what course St. Preux would have taken, had Julie not solved the problem for him by dying. That there are excessively emotional passages in Rousseau's novel as in Goethe's is admitted but, as the author makes clear to us later, *La nouvelle Héloïse* was an exceptional French work while *Werther* was the typical German one.

The earliest criticisms of *Werther* in France were unfavorable. Even Grimm and the supposedly semi-Germanized *Journal des Savants* and *L'Année littéraire* placed themselves in opposition. *Werther* found acceptance only in the confines of French culture, Switzerland, Alsace, and the "avant-garde" in Paris. But on the morrow of the Revolution the conditions were ripe for its acceptance, and the Werther furor began with the usual attendant phenomena of hopeless passions and of suicide. Translations were frequent, from 1776–1797 there were fifteen of them; and imitations were equally numerous. Of the three that M. Reynaud singles out for especial mention, Mme. de Staël's *Delphine*, B. Constant's *Adolphe*, and Senancour's *Obermann*, the first two at least were largely personal confessions. All of this seems to indicate a high degree of susceptibility on the part of France, the land of law and order, and indeed the other factor in M. Reynaud's diagnosis, the idea of conscious German propaganda, is held in abeyance for the moment.

M. Reynaud turns then to the more cheering phase which followed. The movement against *Werther* began with Chateaubriand's *René*, to which generous recognition is given. True *René* is strongly imbued with the spirit of *Werther*, but "la condamnation est formelle. . . . C'est la société qui a raison; le solitaire égoïste qui a tort" (p. 80). The fault of Chateaubriand was that he was not a philosopher. "Il n'allait pas au fond des choses. Il n'a pas su rattacher *Werther* au génie du peuple qui l'avait produit. Ce livre lui paraissait une aberration isolée comme *La nouvelle Héloïse* . . . et loin de rendre (l'Allemagne) responsable du dangereux roman de Goethe, il admirait en elle, comme au temps de Huber, une nation religieuse et saine," (p. 83). The next to enter the lists against *Werther* proceeded from a stronger base of principles. It was no less a person than Napoleon. He had been a sentimentalist in his earlier years, a follower of Rousseau. He had read Klopstock beneath the walls of Saint Jean d'Acre and *Werther* had accompanied him to Egypt, but faced with the task of reconstructing France his moral fibre strengthened and discipline took the place of sentimentality. "Or la discipline dans les sentiments, c'était la religion, plus particulièrement la religion catholique; dans les idées la tradition classique" (p. 86). He once exprest himself as follows: "Une religion établie est une

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sorte d'inoculation ou de vaccine qui, en satisfaisant notre amour du merveilleux, nous garantit des charlatans et des sorciers. Les prêtres valent mieux que les Cagliostro, les Kant et tous les rêveurs d'Allemagne." M. Reynaud approves of this sentiment (p. 86) even tho not of its manner of expression. Napoleon began his attack in an article in *Le Mercure de France* 14 floréal, an X. The article was signed Ch. D, but the inspiration was from the Emperor. Speaking of the origin of Werther the author said: "il n'est guère possible de jeter les yeux sur quelqu'une des productions déréglées du génie allemand sans s'apercevoir que la littérature de cette nation, où chaque écrivain s'abandonne comme il lui plaît à sa fougue naturelle, a pris son caractère dans le système d'une liberté illimitée d'opinion." The author pointed out further in *Werther* "les traits mêmes de la Réforme luthérienne." Napoleon continued his campaign making use of mercenary pens. These are the critical principles that M. Reynaud approves of. "Plus clairvoyante, plus résolue que l'offensive passagère de Chateaubriand, l'hostilité de Napoléon constituait pour l'influence allemande un dangereux obstacle" (p. 87). In the long run, however, the opposition of Napoleon was unwise, as the author admits. Having become governmental it lost the best part of its support, the aid of free spirits including Chateaubriand himself, and the fact that the despot attackt German literature only brot to it new champions.

The fourth chapter is devoted chiefly to Charles Villers, for the "idéologues" and the "émigrés" serve chiefly as background. The former were too much out of touch with German literature to support it effectively. They fancied it still was the herald of humanitarianism just as in the eighteenth century. The "propaganda" of the émigrés mist its aim for a similar reason: The French refugees gathered about Klopstock in Hamburg, ignoring the fact that Weimar had become the literary capital of Germany. A precursor of Madame de Staël, Chas. Villers, was the first Frenchman to represent German literature effectively to the French.

It must be admitted that M. Reynaud's portrait of Villers is clear cut and artistically rendered if something less than fair. It is not to be expected that this "renégat de son peuple" and protestant convert should have found favor with our critic, nor that his letter to the Countess Fanny Le Beauharnais relative to French atrocities in Lübeck should be favorably commented upon. But his exposition of Kantian philosophy to the French (1801), and his survey of the educational system in Westphalia, which prevented the University at Göttingen from becoming Napoleonized were certainly achievements to which, without weakening his case, M. Reynaud might have accorded a higher tribute. He prefers however to represent Villers as a

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somewhat passive plaything of fate. His relations with Dorothée Schloszer are heavily strest. The ideas regarding German literature which she inculcated in him at the outset he accepted uncritically, and he made it his life program to pass them on to the French. In return he owed to her a life long fealty. She was his guide, philosopher, and friend. M. Reynaud sums it all up by calling her his "maîtresse." To make his meaning clearer he tells us ironically that Villers' relations with her even after she had become Mme. de Rodde "ne dérangea . . . nullement l'opinion avantageuse qu'il s'était formée de la vertu germanique par contraste avec la corruption française" (p. 99).

The last years of Villers' life were indeed unfortunate. M. Reynaud emphasizes the humiliations and overlooks certain consolations. He might have mentioned that Napoleon himself put a stop to the persecution of Villers by the French general Davoust and restored him to his position in Göttingen. In 1814, M. Reynaud says he was put out of office by the Germans. "Il n'était plus aux yeux des vainqueurs de Napoléon qu'un Français" (p. 110). This hardly does justice either to Villers or the Germans. He was deposed by the future George IV of England, who governed already as regent in Hannover. Such a ruler cannot be said to have represented German opinion so justly as the Freiherr von Stein and Graf Münster, Erblandmarschall of Hannover, who interested themselves in Villers' behalf, and the universities of Halle and Heidelberg, both of which immediately offered him a chair. It appears probable that Villers would have been restored to his position after a year or so had he lived[8] but "le passé tout entier se vengeait. . . . Il mourut le 26. février 1815, et fut vite oublié, aussi bien en Allemagne qu'en France" (p. 111). This, too, is a statement based rather on Reynaud's conception of poetic justice than on the facts; for friends on both sides of the Rhine wrote biographies and accounts of him, and he is still remembered with Frau von Staël and Benjamin Constant as one of the pioneers who have brot German literature a little nearer to the French people.

This leads us to the third act of M. Reynaud's drama, in which Mme. de Staël plays the leading rôle. The vignette of his chief character is excellently done. M. Reynaud has markt talent for this type of work, which had no chance for exercise in his earlier general treatises. The author calls attention to her non-French birth and ancestry and to her immediate protestant surroundings. "Le protestantisme qu'elle professe n'est plus ce vieux calvinisme d'une psychologie si française, c'est un protestantisme à l'allemande, vague, indiscipliné, fortement imprégné de piétisme" (p. 117). Her education was unsystematic. It was her opposition to Napoleon that directed

[8] Isler *Briefe an Ch. de Villers*, (2. Aufl) Hamburg 1883, p. xviii.

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her toward German literature. Her study of the German language began late and she never mastered it completely. In a French translation of Klopstock she recognized the language of her fatherland. "Cette langue, c'était celle de la sentimentalité piétiste" (p. 121). M. Reynaud shows that her studies in Germany were conducted with more impetuosity than thoroness. The passage in which he contrasts her opinion of Goethe and Schiller with theirs of her is mildly delightful. He leads us to believe that they systematically avoided her whenever possible. We gain a different impression from the recent work of Miss Jaeck on Mme. de Staël.[9] It is more than possible that the greatest literary geniuses of Germany were impelled to retire before such great French volubility as Mme. de Staël represented, but they seem to have treated her always with courtesy and respect and to have accorded her as much hospitality as the situation required.[10] Miss Jaeck's account of this episode in her life is better documented than M. Reynaud's. And here it may be observed that while M. Reynaud seems to have read everything important in French concerning French-German literary relations, and nearly everything essential in German, he practically never refers to an English study of the subject. Precisely in such a field as his the discussions in a third language are often valuable. In regard to one capital question Miss Jaeck and Reynaud are in essential agreement: Contrary to the opinion of Heine and many other critics Mme. de Staël's views were highly original and were by no means transcribed from August Wilhelm or Friedrich Schlegel. M. Reynaud gives a two page résumé of Mme. de Staël's discussion of German literature. It is not clear what we are intended to conclude from it. Most of the statements regarding German literature are commonplaces to-day. In a few instances she reflects the general opinion of her time (Kotzebue, the relative merit of certain of Goethe's works), while in a few others she expresses her own individual opinion (the high estimation of Klopstock and Bürger). In general M. Reynaud leaves us with the impression that her studies in German literature were random and incomplete, and her judgments temperamental and dictated chiefly by an opposition to Napoleon and all that was characteristically French. We are therefore a little taken by surprise by his burst of generosity in his final judgment of her work. The polemist and the critic seem to be struggling for the mastery in him, for in the further course of his narrative he has similar surprises in store for us.

[9] Jaeck *Madame de Staël and the spread of German literature.* Univ. of Ill. thesis, Oxford University Press, N. Y. 1915; 358pp.

[10] A letter of Goethe to Frau von Staël just publisht in the *Jahrbuch der Goethe Gesellschaft* IX (1922) p. 231 with notes by Julius Wahle brings additional confirmation of this view.

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With the fall of Napoleon the last obstacle to Germanism was removed, and the second part of M. Reynaud's work is devoted to "L'Invasion" 1814–1914. The view of Mme. de Staël dominated the entire period. It was as powerful before the fall of the third Napoleon as after the fall of the first. "C'est à travers lui que la France du XIXe siècle, romantique, bourgeoise ou anticléricale a considéré et voulu considérer toujours l'Allemagne" (p. 160). It will be seen from the above that the lines are not drawn nationally. In Germany began the struggle between the partisans of the French revolution and the "teutomanes mystiques," "entre les régions de l'Ouest et du Sud, catholiques, libérales, démocratiques" (p. 167) and "encore ouvertes a nos ideés libérales" (p. 175) and Prussia "piétiste, monarchique, autoritaire" (p. 167). Liberal France in short stood with liberal Germany, and by liberal France M. Reynaud seems to mean chiefly clerical France, and aristocratic or imperial (i.e. Napoleonic) France, as against the anti-clerical, romantic, middle-class France, which at the beginning of the century and during the greater part of its course was enthusiastic for the Germany of Mme. de Staël. From the beginning of the period a journey, or rather a pious pilgrimage, across the Rhine belonged to the order of the day. V. Cousin, Quinet, Michelet, V. Hugo, Dumas, Lamartine, were among the earlier ones to perform this rite. "Journeys" in Germany flooded the market and journals were founded under the new influence. The *Globe*, the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and the *Revue Germanique* (1858 ff) were the most notable among many.[11] Some of the observations of the French travelers, particularly of Michelet, are indeed pearls. The author has a good time of it here, for after all excessive "germanomanie" is quite as ridiculous as excessive "germanophobic."

The lines were not quite so clearly drawn however as first indicated, for Quinet, one of the first to penetrate the mask and to discover Prussia "ambitieuse" and "sournoise," was an anticlerical. On the German side the chief hero is Heine, the great admirer of Napoleon. Here there seems to be a slight tendency to trim the facts to suit the theories, for Heine's unfavorable criticisms of the French receive only two brief notices.[12] Neither Quinet nor Heine however was able to open the eyes of the French to the true nature of Prussia. Such an enlightenment came in 1840 "as if by miracle." "Sur de vagues menaces proférées par Thiers à l'adresse de la Prusse" followed "coup sur coup" (p. 169) the *Rheinlied* of Becker, the *Wacht am Rhein* of Schneckenburger, and *Deutschland über*

[11] "Elle vécut jusqu'en 1768" (p. 150); an obvious misprint.

[12] Footnote p. 168. Also p. 175: "Quelques boutades des libéraux allemands à l'adresse de France, et plus spécialement à l'adresse de nos germanomanes."

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alles of Hoffmann von Fallersleben. Old Germany, "piétiste" and "gallophage," found its voice again as at the time of the "Sturm and Drang," of Herder and Klopstock, and of Moscherosch and Ulrich von Hutten (p. 169-170).

During the entire period Germany was exalted, the achievements of France were minimized. To Germany was conceded the entire middle ages, chivalry, the crusades, gothic art, "chansons de geste," and music, "simplement parcequ'on ne juge pas la France capable d'avoir produit cela, l'esprit français étant par définition positif, terre-à-terre, dépourvu d' élan." (p. 177.) Does M. Reynaud mean that the definition is merely wrong, or does he mean that all such definitions are unscientific? Hardly the latter in view of the contrary definition of the French spirit which he has proposed.[13]

Neither the events of 1840 nor of 1872 shook the faith of the French enthusiasts. Michelet exclaimed in 1872: "Oh! que je l'ai aimée, cette Allemagne-là, la grande et la naïve, celle des *Nibelungen* et de Luther, celle de Beethoven et celle du bon Froebel et des jardins d'enfants."[14] In the preface to his *Rhin* Victor Hugo declared that if he were not French he would wish to be German,[15] Renan cried out: "O Allemagne! qui t'implantera en France."[16] From this chapter one could readily cull the names of over thirty leading authors, critics, and professors who were extreme germanophiles, but M. Reynaud sums it all up by saying that Lamartine's *Marseillaise de la Paix* exprest the view of the majority at the time regarding Germany.

The dazzled French intellectuals, M. Reynaud points out, were unable to see Germany in her true light during this entire period. Taillandier and even Quinet arrayed themselves against Heine. Lagenevais drew a parallel between young Germany "immorale, impie, insolent, cause de tout le mal" (p. 175) and the old Germany of the universities and professors. Similar interpretations appeared from the hands of Marmier and Taillandier in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. The leaders of thot adjured Germany to remain true to herself and not become Francisized and Saint-Marc Girardin, a professor of the Sorbonne, gave a semi-official sanction to such views.

In many respects the most attractive chapter in the work is "Fantômes poétiques d'Outre-Rhin." The shades in question are chiefly Mephistopheles, Marguerite, Faust, Mignon, Lenore, Dorothea, Helena. Hoffmann's creations followed these into favor and then came the village tales of Auerbach, Gotthelf, Fritz Reuter, Zschokke, Stifter, Immermann, Ludwig, Freytag, and Hebbel. "C'est un vrai déluge de littérature champêtre

[13] See the sixth paragraph of this review.
[14] Introduction to *L'Histoire du XIXe siècle* quoted by Reynaud, p. 164.
[15] Reynaud p. 164.
[16] *Cahiers de jeunesse* quoted by Reynaud p. 165.

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familiale, édifiante! (p. 207). On se croirait revenu aux jours mémorables de Gessner et de Haller. Comme alors, une société frivole et surmenée demande à l'Allemagne des scènes paisibles et rafraîchissantes" (p. 206). No doubt there is a little nationalistic irony in this last remark but the note is rare in the chapter.

Werther became antiquated about 1830 partly because he was hard prest by the Byronic hero. The theatre held its ground. Most of the early plays of Schiller were little appreciated in France. The Romanticists admired *Götz von Berlichingen*. This, with the later plays of Schiller, Werner's *Der 24. Februar* and *Luther*, Müllner's *Schuld*, Grillparzer's *Ahnen*, and the plays of Kotzebue, was about all of the new German drama that found a place in the French repertoire. In *Faust* it was at the outset the diabolic, the Byronic-satanic, element that found favor with the romantic generation. Mephistopheles was the first favorite and after him came Marguerite. They were featured in Berlioz's *Damnation de Faust* and in Gounod's *Marguerite*. "Pas de salon désormais où ne s'étale de lui quelque Marguerite sortant de l'église ou assise à son rouet," (p. 191); then came the turn of Faust. "La satiété, la désespérance: qui connaissait mieux ces choses-là à les entendre, que nos Romantiques? Ils adoptèrent donc Faust comme patron" (p. 192) but the collectivistic moral of *Faust II:* "Réparer le mal qu'on a fait aux individus en se vouant au bien de l'éspèce" (p. 193) escapt their notice as completely as that of *Wilhelm Meister*, "la conversion d'un jeune dilettante enthousiaste, et quelque peu égoïste, à l'activité réglée, désintéressée et féconde" (p. 195) but the figure of Mignon caught hold of the imagination and was the frequent subject of artists before she became the theme of Thomas's opera in 1856.

Several of the shorter poems of Goethe were in high favor notably *Der Erlkönig*, *Der König in Thule*, and *Die Braut von Corinth*, but more characteristic was the popularity of Bürger's *Lenore*. The attempt to gain for Jean Paul a tardy recognition was almost a failure, for he was absolutely incomprehensible to any Frenchman however romantic. There was a genuine Hoffmann furor however, which lasted from about 1829 to 1855, the chief relic of which is Offenbach's *Contes d'Hoffmann* (1875) based on a play of Barbier and Carré of 1851.

This was the last great German enthusiasm of the French romanticists, but the mild favor which greeted the village tales brot into a belated appreciation *Hermann und Dorothea*, and the enthusiasm for the Greek paved the way finally for the Helena episode at least in *Faust II*. Numerous minor enthusiasms are recorded in this chapter. Equally interesting is the formidable list of greater German poets who remained unknown in France. No racial animosity affects the conclusions of the

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critic in this part of the work. He seems to blame only the French who despite the "bon sens," which by his definition characterizes their race, went to farther extremes of romanticism than their German models.

The generalities of the chapter are, like most other generalities, interesting and partially true; French lyric poetry borrowed from German sources its themes and types in many instances but its nature remained unchanged. When one compares French lyric poetry with that of other nations one finds in it an exclusive note. "C'est son large souffle humain, sa capacité de transformer en idées générales les cas particuliers, ce souci et ce sens de l'universel. . . . Le lyrisme allemand reste confiné dans la région de l'instinctif. Il ne s'élève pas au dessus de l'état d'âme individuel. Il ne "raisonne" pas. (p. 215.) Here one must make numerous exceptions including a large one on behalf of Schiller. Still the French lyric owes something after all, M. Reynaud says, to the German which is "égal ou supérior peut-être au notre en valeur poétique . . . inférieur en valeur humaine. . . . La part propre de la littérature allemande fut de ébranler l'imagination française dans ses racines profondes, de faire vaciller ses idées générales sur le monde et sur Dieu, et par là de la rendre apte à ce lyrisme de souffrance, d'inquiétude et de doute, qui est la marque essentielle de notre époque moderne, et qui était resté inconnu au XVIIe siècle" (p. 215-217). This is a concession in harmony with others in M. Reynaud's earlier works. He believes it is the not wholly unworthy function of Germany to lead France back to the instinctive, the sensual, the emotional after France, as is often her wont, has gone too far along the path of the purely intellectual.

After a brief introductory statement regarding the indebtedness of Herder to Buffon, Voltaire, du Bos and Montesquieu, and of Kant to Rousseau, the next chapter discusses "La France à l'école de la pensée allemande" with especial attention to Quinet, Michelet, Taine, and Renan. The former two retained enough of French spiritualism to make their whole philosophy inconsistent, but about 1850 German materialism began a new attack supported by the Darwinism of England, "qui ne manque jamais au rendez-vous, lorsqu'il est besoin de soutenir la pénétration allemande" (p. 239). The treatment of Taine is fair tho naturally hostile. "La pensée française n'avait point encore enfanté de système aussi matérialiste, aussi négateur de la liberté et de la spiritualité dans l'universe" (p. 244). However Taine was not completely Germanized. His was "une imagination germanique administrée et exploitée par une raison latine" (p. 245); by his own admission English thot had captivated him rather than German.

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The treatment of Renan is somewhat less diplomatic. The German materialistic and communal theories as applied to history, jurisprudence, and literature are at least susceptible of a friendly discussion, but it is otherwise with similar ideas as applied to religion by Bauer, Strauss, and Renan. Unlike his immediate predecessors in French thot Renan was thoroly germanic "dans le fond comme à la surface," germanic "jusqu'-aux moelles" (p. 252), germanic in his equivocations, wherein he followed the course of Strauss. "Rien n'est moins français; chez nous on croit ou on ne croit pas, et quand on ne croit pas on laisse de côté le langage de la croyance" (p. 252). . . . Doctrine rigide et nette, impliquant l'adhésion de la raison, le catholicisme français ne pouvait s'accomoder des équivoques dont le luthéranisme allemande, dépourvu de dogmes, et le christianisme anglais, formé uniquement d'habitudes se chargeaient impunément. La conscience française ne sait pas dire oui et non en même temps, appeler le Christ un homme et se proclamer chrètienne" (p. 257). The existence of such doctrines as these in the minds of the French-born is a sign for our critic that the French nature has become temporarily perverted and to this fact he attributes the defeat of 1870, the aftermath of which he now discusses.

In the treatment of "Lendemains de défaite" M. Reynaud has few predecessors and seems to have workt the account up from the sources. He has presented a clear, connected, and convincing account of a particularly interesting epoch. Schopenhauer was the object of the first great furor. He was introduced to the French public in 1870 by an article in the frequently offending *Revue des Deux Mondes.* The defeat of the French, which followed so soon after, brot about "une sorte d'attirance morbide vers cette doctrine de découragement" (p. 270). In 1870 Joseph Reinach was led to exclaim: "Nous avons aujourd'hui des Werther de la philosophie, comme nous avons eu naguère des Werther de l'amour." "C'était en effet la même maladie qui reparaissait," M. Reynaud comments, (p. 271) "Jean Lahor, au nom bouddhique, Léon Valade, Dierx, Sully-Prudhomme, schopenhauerisèrent à qui mieux mieux, versant goutte à goutte la désespérance dans les âmes fatiguées de leur contemporains." Even Renan joined the forces, but with the difference that he proclaimed it the highest good to submit without rebellion to the tyranny of desire.

It was at the time when the French had most fully succumbed to the idea of the helplessness of mind in the presence of matter as demonstrated by Taine, Renan, Darwin, Spencer, Hegel, and Wundt, and to the philosophy of non-resistance according to Renan's interpretation of Schopenhauer, that a new light broke in upon them. M. Reynaud admits that for many pure and ardent souls Wagner's musical dramas were the

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means of escaping from the fearful atmosphere of vulgarity and baseness which held sway in French literature and politics at the time, but he adds: "Comme à l'èpoque du gessnérisme, le philtre étranger n'était pas exactement ce qu'il paraissait être" (p. 276). Wagner exalted the instincts which led France into the predicament of 1870 by teaching the ennervating doctrine that God was the creation of man, and that it was the duty of man to follow the nature within himself, to develop his own individuality at all costs. M. Reynaud finds his influence active to-day. It effected an intellectual denationalization in Romain Rolland just as in the case of Stewart Houston Chamberlain. "Dans ce *Jean-Christophe,* qui restera son oeuvre mâitresse, et qui est un 'Bildungsroman' du genre de *Wilhelm Meister* et de *Henri le Vert,* tout est germanique; procédés d'art, idées, style, et l'on sent que c'est lorsqu'il parle de l'Allemagne, même pour la critiquer, que l'auteur est véritablement chez lui par la compréhension, la sympathie; lorsqu'il parle de la France, qu'il est étranger" (p. 281).

The triumph of Wagner eventually paved the way for an invasion of France, perhaps one might say rather an "Einkreisung" on the part of the instinctive races, i.e. the Germanic and Slavic, in contradistinction to the rational Latin races or, to be more specific, it paved the way for the invasion by E. A. Poe, George Eliot, Dante-Gabriel Rossetti, Ruskin, Swinburne, Oscar Wilde, Björnsterne Björnson, Strindberg, Sudermann, Turgenev, Dostoiëwski, for the social idealism of Ibsen, and the moral idealism of Tolstoi and Hauptmann, both of which are specifically called mere pretexts.

But first it prepared the way for Nietzsche. For so many years the rôle of the spirit of evil has been assigned to him that one reads with astonishment a eulogy by an anti-German, anti-individualistic Frenchman. But M. Reynaud is consistent; unlike Renan Nietzsche is for him almost a compatriot because of his hatred of equivocation. Far more honest than Renan was Nietzsche with his "audacieuse révision de toutes les 'valeurs' morales et sociales;" and his "rejet superbe du christianisme, religion d'humilité et de faiblesse" (p. 282). M. Reynaud condones even his individualism. "L'épanouissement total de la personalité, qui était le fond de sa doctrine, Nietzsche ne le concevait, en effet, que par la beauté et dans la beauté, sain, harmonieux, complet" (p. 291). It was Greek beauty he admired, and hence Renaissance beauty or French classic beauty, and thus he gave Lessing and Schlegel the merited response. M. Reynaud is in agreement with Nietzsche in regard to Germany. He refers with approval to his criticism of the militarized, prussianized Germany of to-day as well as to his summary of her entire history in the past: "à trois reprises différentes l'Allemagne avait été funeste a l'humanité; en faisant

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sa Reforme, en brisant la magnifique organisation napoléonienne, récemment encore en créant son empire" (p. 290). Similarly the two critics are in agreement in regard to France, "pays du gout, de la finesse, de la forme, de la distinction" (p. 290). Nietzsche's acknowledged masters of style and of thot were the French classic dramatists and prosaists. He felt an aversion to the Michelets, Hugos, George Sands, and Renans, who had become contaminated by German or English influence. His opinions sounded the death knell of the intellectual hegemony of Germany.

The interesting chapter is then interrupted by an excursion of a chiefly political nature. This was inevitable for M. Reynaud specifically believes that intellectual domination prepares the way for political. "Quand l'âme est conquise, le corps ne saurait résister" (p. 259). The statement needs concrete support. It hardly applies to Greek and Roman history. Italy's one time leadership in thot was followed by no political leadership and even France's periods of political domination are not always closely connected with her intellectual ones. M. Reynaud's work would have been complete and rather more pleasing for all time had he avoided all direct mention of contemporary political conflicts. Why need the opinions of Quinet, Michelet, Taine, and Renan about the war of 1870 be quoted? Why should he express astonishment that the translation of German authors and the study of German literature recommenced in France after 1872 just as if nothing had happened? (p. 263.) However just the stricture, was it necessary to contrast the strongly anti-imperial attitude of the French socialists with the equivocal attitude of their German comrades? "Yes," M. Reynaud would no doubt say, "because this German socialism has affected French men of letters of today;" but we might have waited a few years for a final judgment of men who are still active or who have just past from the scene; of Jean Jaurès "dupe dans une certaine mesure des socialistes d'outre-Rhin" and of Anatole France "conduit à la germanophilie militante par le socialisme, en dépit d'une organization morale aussi peu germanique que possible?" (p. 287).

In a masterly final chapter the author sums up his views in regard to "L'Influence allemande et le génie français." He bases his definition of the latter on the characteristics that were conspicuous in it at the times of its highest attainments and greatest extensions, that is to say the twelfth to the thirteenth century and the seventeenth to the eighteenth century. He feels the more justified in doing this since a like definition covers both periods. The ideal man at the earlier and later time was "l'être pleinement développé, dans lequel dominent la raison et la volonté conscientes, l'homme maître de lui, qui impose silence à ses instincts matériels et égoïstes, pour se plier à une règle

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supérieure d'ordre et d'harmonie" (p. 295). This spirit was evident in art, in the organization of society, and in literature. France continued the classic tradition, primarily that of Greece in art and of Rome in social affairs. He then defines the German genius, basing his description this time not upon the great periods of her literature, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the latter part of the eighteenth (the splendor of these periods he would no doubt say was derived from France), but upon the dead levels of German literary history and he concludes that German culture is essentially bourgeoise, plebeian, individualistic, materialistic.

Then he briefly retraces the ebb and flow of French and German cultures thru the centuries. At the time of the invasions the Gauls were overrun by the Germans but the latter fell under the influence of the idea of the Roman church and the Roman state, and the new empire of Charlemagne took up the task that Rome had relinquisht. The Reformation of Luther was the next attack against the collectivistic idea. It threatened France for a time until protestantism assumed in Calvinism a form in harmony with Franco-Roman collectivistic ideas. Finally came the scientific attack initiated by the English philosophers of the eighteenth century but carried to its most dangerous conclusion by the Germans of the nineteenth. A like attack was made in the literary field. The English sentimentalists prepared the way for Gessner; Young and Ossian for Werther; Byron for the appreciation of *Faust;* Walter Scott and Byron for the appreciation of the "Lied"; and Darwin for Hegel. England indeed offered to France all that Germany later forced upon her with the advantage that nothing from England directly menaced the French tradition, but "l'influence allemande ne s'est pas contentée de modifier l'esprit français par l'extérieur, elle a tenté d'en changer les assises mêmes, de l'installer sur d'autres bases" (p. 304). This has sometimes been advantageous to France. "De même que les Invasions ont rajeuni notre peuple, de même que la Réforme a approfondi son sentiment religieux, cette troisième intervention de l'Allemagne a eu incontestablement son rôle bienfaisant . . . . (Elle) nous a donné ou rendu le sens du simple et du familier, et nous a remis en contact avec la nature. Elle a favorisé en nous l'éveil du sentiment lyrique" (p. 305). In particular, M. Reynaud says, a Michelet, a Taine, a Renan would have been unthinkable without the influence of Germany and perhaps also a Victor Hugo and a Leconte de Lisle. This is one of the definite concessions that called out the protest of M. Beaunier cited above. To M. Reynaud's mind it is perhaps no great concession since his France would have been quite complete without at least the first three of these names. M. Reynaud is on rather firm ground when he says that a people cannot with

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impunity exchange its qualities for those of a foreign nation. Even the believer in a world literature or in international comity in things literary may properly cherish the hope that different national types, so far as they still exist, may be preserved.

In conclusion I wish to pay my homage to M. Reynaud, who is a scholar and an artist, tho just a bit of a journalist. At the same time I must express my extreme distrust of his method. I still maintain that one cannot be too conservative in ascribing characteristics to races, especially in ascribing good characteristics exclusively to one's own race. Actually I believe in the existence of race characteristics. Even tho Luther and Goethe were as unlike each other as Shakespeare was unlike both and even tho the formula that would describe English literature in its totality with its Beowulf, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, Keats, Byron, Tennyson, Dickens, and Oscar Wilde, would describe equally any other literature[17] still I believe a little in them, but I am more than ever skeptical about the ability of critics to define them without bias.

In his Rektoratsrede of 1915 Professor Elster of Marburg distils the essential elements of German character as portrayed by German literature. Among them are "Naturgefühl" and "das religiöse Gefühl," which M. Reynaud also concedes as major notes in the German character. Among them also are "Selbstbestimmung" ("volonté") "Pflichtgefühl und Gemeinsinn" ("la discipline et la règle dans la pensée comme dans la vie") "Beharrlichkeit," "Treue," "reines Menschtum" ("humanité"), and "rücksichtslose Wahrheitsliebe" (cf. M. Reynaud's comments on Renan, quoted above). German heroes who do not measure up to this standard are a little less than German, so for example Hauptmann's creations: "Keiner rafft sich auf zum Herrn seiner Entschliessungen; solche zerbrechliche Art ist ganz undeutsch."[18] In short we arrive at the unforeseen conclusion that Elster's ideal German of German literature is almost the twin brother of M. Reynaud's

[17] Quoted from my *English>German literary influences: Bibliography and Survey* (Berkeley 1920) p. 120. Köster, *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum* LIX (1922) 151-154, Schönemann, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* CXLIII (1922) 142-145, and Baldensperger, *Revue de la Littérature comparée* I (1921) 170-174, have all taken exception to such skepticism. I agree with the moderate view of the latter two, which conceives of national differences as comparable to regional differences on a somewhat magnified scale and with a somewhat higher degree of permanence. Uhlendorf, in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* XX (1921) p. 150, observes that the contrast of French and German literature brings out the national characteristics more strikingly than the English-German contrast. With this, too, I agree tho not with M. Reynaud's statement of the differences nor with any other I have seen thus far.

[18] I have already taken some exception to this essay in *op. cit.* p. 582-583.

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ideal Frenchman and that neither has a monopoly of the virtues.

One asks with natural interest what will M. Reynaud write next, for his productivity seems unflagging. His comments on English influences on French and German literature are most just and show great insight. A treatise on that entire subject would be a boon and few critics are better equipped with the necessary erudition, skill, and energy than he. Then before he finishes his career let us hope that all the above mentioned works may require a new edition simultaneously and that instead of revising them he may fuse them into one great work which shall discuss, entirely without national implication, the contest between individualistic and collectivistic ideas in western Europe since the fall of Rome.

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SWIFT, SWIFTLY, AND THEIR SYNONYMS. A Contribution to Semantic Analysis and Theory. By Gustaf Stern. Göteborg: 1921. 294 pp. 18 kronor.

This book is a careful study of the semantic history of words denoting 'speed in the progress or the execution of an action,' and, secondarily, 'speed in initiating an action,' from the oldest records to the close of the ME. period, followed by a discussion of more general problems of semantics.

The author makes a commendable attempt to separate the *logical* and the *psychological* problems involved, i.e. he treats changes in the content of words in one part of the book (chaps. II-III) and the mental processes involved in these changes in another (chaps. IV-V).

Turning to the chapters dealing with the *logical* phase of the semantic changes we find that the words are grouped according to their earlier meanings as follows: I. Words in which the sense of speed is primary (OE. *hræd, hrædlic, hrædlice,* (*h*)*raðe;* OE. *swift, swiftlice, swift*(*e*); OE. *snel, snel*(*le*); OE. *lēoht, lēohtlice,* ME. *licht*(*e*); II. Words originally signifying 'strong' (OE. *fæste, fæst, fæstlice;* OE. *swīðe, swīð*); III. Words originally signifying 'sharp' (OE. *scearp, scearplice;* ME. *smart, smartly, smart;* OE. *hwæt, hwætlice,* ME. *hwate*); IV. Words originally signifying 'living' (OE. *cwic,* ME. *quickly, quick;* OE. *līflic,* adj., ME. *lively,* adv.); V. Words originally signifying 'eagerly' (OE. *georn*); VI. Words originally signifying 'clever' (OE. *gēap, gēaplice,* ME. *spack, spackly*); VII. Words originally signifying 'ready' (OE. *gearu, gearwe;* OE. *gerǣde,* ME. *redi, redily*). I have given the full list to show the scope of the material used, for the author has expressly limited his discussion (p. 6) by excluding (1) Modern English, (2) French loan

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words in ME., (3) words denoting only 'speed in relation to time' (better, 'speed in initiating an action,' as opposed to 'speed in the execution or the progress of an action,' which the author less aptly calls 'speed in relation to action'), with the exception of those in group VII, which are introduced by way of control over the conclusions drawn from the rest of the material. This limitation is justified as the bulk of the material would otherwise have been quite unwieldy, and could not have been analysed with such painstaking minuteness.

The detailed analysis of the changes in the meaning of the words under consideration is carried out with due regard for chronology, or where this fails with careful weighing of the psychological probabilities as supported by analogous developments. Some very interesting facts are brought out, only a few of which can be taken up here. Perhaps the most interesting is the influence of the aspect of the verbs on the meaning of the adverbs, from another angle, the choice of the adverb with an eye toward the aspect of the verb. In the durative verbs the *progress* of the action stands out clearly, hence adverbs of speed referred to them mean 'rapid, fast,' while in the perfectives a *turning point* (whether initial or final to an action, or constituting the action) is expressed, hence the adverbs acquire the meaning 'immediately, promptly, soon.' The author finds that with adverbs meaning both 'rapidly' and 'immediately' the former meaning is always first (pp. 208 ff.), in other words, the adverbs acquire the sense of 'speed' in context with durative verbs. This order is easily explained by the fact that the pre-speed meanings of these words are more descriptive of enduring actions (to run vigorously, lively) than of momentary actions (to stop vigorously, lively).

The extension of these adverbs from durative to strictly perfective verbs is facilitated by verbs that are neither pure duratives nor pure perfectives, and as the great majority of verbs are of this type the transition is easy. In this connection the questions arises whether this large bulk of verbs which is forced into the category of perfectives by the author (p. 209-10, following Streitberg in the main, tho the latter also assumes a mixed type, the durative-perfectives) does not constitute a distinct type, which, taken pragmatically, is as simple and fundamental as the other two? Are not the actions expressed in sentences like "He *answered* my question," "He *stepped* toward the window," "He *retreated* from his position" as simple and unified in their execution as those of duratives and perfectives? And is not our conception of these actions equally simple and unified? And yet they are neither durative nor perfective, for *answered* expresses an action whose duration is decidedly limited, tho not momentary, *stepped* names an action which, tho lasting some time, makes for an early termination, while

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retreated points to an action the beginning of which is more or less clearly in the mind of the speaker, tho he may think primarily of its progress. In my opinion Polak, PBB. 44, 395 ff., is right in considering such verbs as of a distinct type, which he appropriately calls *terminate* (simple, finitive, and initive, respectively). If Stern had adopted this tripartite division of verbs he would have found that adverbs of speed of necessity refer to the *progress* of the action in duratives (i.e. mean 'rapidly'), to a *point in time* in perfectives (i. e. mean 'immediately, soon'), while they oscillate in terminates with the emphasis, which may be on the *terminus* or the *progress* of the action (i.e. mean 'immediately' or 'rapidly'). The arrangement and the interpretation of the material would thus have gained in precision and in perspicacity.

Another interesting result of Stern's investigation is that the adverbs almost invariably are ahead of the adjectives in acquiring the sense of speed, and that the sense of speed in the adjectives is very largely due to the influence of the adverbs: after the adverb *fast* acquires this new sense, the adjective *fast* would naturally be used with verbal nouns and verbal derivatives (a fast run, runner), and then with other nouns (a fast horse, boy, etc.). See pp. 212, 148-9. Stern considers this a case of sense-loan (Bedeutungsentlehnung) similar in principle to foreign sense-loans (p. 277). I am inclined to agree with him, tho I think he misinterprets facts when he extends the same explanation to "adverbs formed from an adjective by the suffix *-lice*" and even to "different forms of comparison in the same adjective or adverb."

In chapter III the author summarizes the details of the previous chapter. He points out parallel developments and states his conclusions. In his attempt to simplify matters with a view towards an ultimate system of semantics, which must be based on careful, detailed monographs like the present one, he has not escaped the big temptation of over-generalizing, assuming as he does that the various earlier meanings must pass thru 'vigorously, efficiently,' before turning into 'rapidly' (p. 215 ff.). True, he makes this idea of 'efficiency' quite elastic, but even so it suggests much more uniformity than the material warrants. OE. *scearp* for instance could very well pass from 'sharp, cutting' directly into 'rapid, fast' in combinations like *a sharp wind;* OE. *georne* more probably passed directly from 'willing' into 'rapidly' (p. 169 ff.); and OE. *cwic* 'living, lively' certainly developed the meaning 'quick' in ME. without first turning into 'vigorous, efficient' (pp. 154-5). The author's hope based on this assumed uniformity of development would be unfounded even if his first claim were granted. Says he: "If this (uniformity of development) is the case to some extent with other meanings, the number of actually

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occurring sense-developments should be less than might be assumed, and the task of mapping out and classifying the semantic changes of a language, or group of languages, less intricate than it would be if every shade of meaning had several different sources" (p. 221). This procedure would merely push the problem back by one step: or would the author undertake to make out a similar case for the words with the meaning 'vigorously, efficiently'? What misled Stern is the indisputable fact that disparate meanings in converging upon the same meaning must necessarily become more and more alike.

Chapter IV takes up the psychological problems involved in meaning and its changes. Meaning is defined with Gomperz, *Weltanschauungslehre* II, I, 54 ff., as "the content of the word, in so far as it represents our mode of apprehending a certain object" (p. 226), i.e. the author properly recognizes words only as parts of larger units of speech, and puts a wholesome emphasis upon the fact that words assume practically innumerable shades of meaning in keeping with the context (pp. 231-234, as well as in the detailed analysis of the semantic changes in chapter II). He accordingly dismisses Paul's "usuelle Bedeutung" in the sense of 'general meaning' outright (p. 227). It follows that all changes in the meaning of words take place within the sentence also. In the adverbs investigated here the aspect of the verb of the sentence is of decisive influence; also the nature of the subject performing the action characterized by these adverbs (p. 217, and elsewhere).

In his final chapter the author attempts a "psychological classification of sense-changes" of his own, having found Wundt's and Falk's system (see XXI, 171-8 of this journal) inadequate. Paul's treatment is not mentioned as it is based primarily on the "logical" relationships of the earlier to the later meanings. The nature of the author's objections are not stated in detail. "The chief reason is that I do not feel convinced that either of the two authors has succeeded in discovering a theoretically tenable and practically serviceable system of classification," says the author (p. 223), and proceeds to build his own system to fit his material, prefixing his venture with the statement: "Whether the characteristics [noticeable in the semantic development of the adverbs and adjectives treated here] would form a suitable basis for a comprehensive system of classification, is a point which for the present is left out of consideration" (p. 253).

Three types of semantic change are assumed: A. *Cumulative sense-change*, "characterized by a development consisting of numerous slight modifications of meaning, all tending in the same direction, the cumulative effect of which is apparent as a manifest sense-change. Oscillating instances (see p. 237) serve as links in the development" (p. 253). It includes Paul's cases

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of restriction and expansion of meaning. B. *Sense-transfers*, "which consist of a single act of association, their result being a sense of the kind generally termed 'transferred' or 'figurative.' No oscillating instances occur" (p. 253-4). Various subdivisions on a "logical" basis are made. This group includes Paul's metaphors. C. *Sense-loans*, either from foreign sources or from cognate English words (p. 276 ff.). Groups A and B contain changes "due to the independent, internal development of a word," group C such as are "due to external influence" (p. 253). "Independent, internal development" includes of course the effects of contextual influence.

The value of this classification is yet to be tested, tho the three types assumed seem to be psychologically fundamental. An inspection of Paul's treatment of the matter suggests that, leaving loans out of consideration, all changes except restriction and expansion in meaning, and the fading out of metaphors, hyperboles, euphemisms, and so forth, belong to the second type. Perhaps the author will some day favor us with a more detailed systematic classification of semantic change.

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SHAKESPEARE, Raymond Macdonald Alden, Duffield, New York, 1922.

SHAKESPEARE, Neue Ausgabe, Alois Brandl, Ernest Hofmann, Berlin, 1922.

"Shakespeare und kein Ende" said Goethe; but in a little over a hundred years of commentaries, essays, books, and lecture courses Professor Raleigh of Oxford opened, I'm told, his oration before the British Academy of Arts in 1918 with the confession that the end has at last come after all: "There is nothing new and important to be said of Shakespeare." So Comte wrote *finis* under Astronomy in his hierarchy of the sciences; so an American psychologist announced some years ago that the laws of mind were now finally charted—and then came the spectroscope and psychanalysis. But even less than in science may we set bounds to our explorations in art; for, aside from possible new matters of objective fact, biographic and literary, there is forever a new interpenetration of spirits, the new spiritual insight out of a new experience in life, the new spiritual function of the old-time creator in this new experience . . . . that is, when the two spirits are themselves Realities, and not two pallid, jaded, and frustrate ghosts. And so for Goethe, and for all of Goethe's spiritual family, it is still Shakespeare und kein Ende.[1]

[1] Professor Raleigh was certainly unjust to his own spiritual qualities.

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Yet, of course, in that family one man will have something more new and important to say than another, as must strike any reader of the two books to be here noted. Professor Alden, persuaded by an editor of a series of Master Spirits of Literature, gives us on the whole a compendium on the orthodoxy of the American professorate, as to the canon, the sources, the art, the interpretation of characters; with Neilson's and Thorndike's *Facts About Shakespeare*, his book should head every bibliography in an undergraduate course. The modern orthodoxy, so much of which would have been heresy to Coleridge, as against the heterodoxy of Stoll and the other "Shakespeare Skeptics" (whom both Alden and Brandl pass without mention). But his criticism is the outgrowth of his own envisaging and adjudging the total energy and pageantry of Shakespeare's achievement: he may have had an order to write, but he did not write to order; and the last chapter, aside from many wise *obiter dicta* scattered through preceding pages, is a noteworthy probing into the greatness and the limitations of that unity of attitude and power, the mind of Shakespeare, which the diversity of its creation so often makes us lose sight of. This quite independent of any demurs I might wish to register in conversation with Professor Alden. It is only on taking up the larger work, the new edition of Professor Brandl's *Shakespeare*, that one realizes the difference between us lesser members of the family and the great fellows closer of kin to the sage of Weimar.

There is a peculiar, a fundamental difference between the two books, communicated directly to one's feelings, but almost incommunicable to one's reason: it may be likened somewhat to the difference one observes in his own mind between an experience he remembers intellectually, clearly, as one item or a series of items, and an experience he relives as an imaginatively poignant, intimate, continuous, organic reality. Even the analytic of Bradley, which in philosophic penetration and grasp has moments of sheer intellectual power beyond anything in Brandl's book, has less of this organic quality of Shakespeare relived.

But I will pass to other elements, more tangible, though not altogether unrelated to this fundamental impression. The chapter divisions, those signposts of one's thought, reveal a system of thoroughfares on a new chart: III Lyrische Stimmungen, IV Bizarre Charaktere in Komoedien, V Hamlet und andere Idealgestalten, VI Hohe Maenner und arglose Frauen, VII Starke Maenner und staerkere Frauen. These are not the mere whimsies of a dreamer in the twilight where the landscape is obscured; for the chapters themselves aboundingly unfold and justify his vision. The venerable scholar has dwelt in that great country. The evolution of Shakespeare, his

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mind and his art, becomes something more organic, more integrated with his theatrical experience and surroundings, with his personal affairs, with the books, the customs, the public events and persons, the specific thought-and-feeling reactions of his age, than in the orthodoxy of the four periods. And I can think of no work where so vast an amount of knowledge of the contemporary world has been so vitally assimilated in itself and so vitally correlated with Shakespeare's own Tun und Lassen. Here is not merê surface; here are the three dimensions of reality.

American scholarship will quarrel with several fundamental qualities of the book. Brandl seems almost naïvely oblivious that all the old biographical gossip has been so cautiously and definitively shelved; and yet, when we think of it and when we, too, have imaginatively identified ourselves with each succeeding decade from sixteen hundred to seventeen, from Fuller to Rowe and beyond, the gossip seems quite as likely to be truth as—the blank spaces that baffle us when we have done away with it. Perhaps there is as much grasp of reality in accepting tradition on occasion as in rejecting it: I merely raise the question. Again, Brandl constructs biography out of converging inferences from widely isolated facts where our scholarship would have hesitated, perhaps in part from not feeling the same momentum and direction in the facts; yet no one can justly accuse him of undiscriminating subjectivity or mere guess-work—he is as uncertain of Mary Fitton as he is certain of Southampton. Our scholarship too, though it will find luminous remarks on Shakespeare's triple-stage, on "die Technik der Entschliessungsszene," on re-working of his own earlier dramatic motifs, on adaptation of technique to special festal occasions, and much besides, will miss the American and English emphasis on dramaturgy,—or, for that matter, the German emphasis, as in Kuehnemann's *Schiller*. It will miss, as I do, at times something of completeness in the character analysis, as in Falstaff and perhaps in Hamlet, but it will be grateful, as I am, for many a paragraph that strikes deep into one or another basic characteristic, whereat we say, "That's so; why didn't I ever think of that before."

Yet our chief quarrel will be with the Brandl Canon: the Marina portion of *Pericles* and the *Folio in toto*, with the three parts of *Henry the VI* and the whole of *Henry the VIII*. Marlowe, and Peele, and Greene, and Fletcher—they wrote much, but they didn't write all we have said they did! And Brandl feels more weight to the contemporary testimony of fact, as particularly in the editorship of Shakespeare's two actor-cronies, than to the stylistic analysis of modern scholars; and, with this thesis, as starting-point, he developes a study of Shakespeare's earlier dramatic intelligence, as, for instance,

in the characters of Talbot and Jack Cade, that gives the thesis itself a new plausibility. But we will laugh, like Scrub, consumedly, forgetting how elusive is the problem of identifying style, particularly before style has been formed, forgetting what diverse styles Shakespeare himself developed, and forgetting that to this day there is no exact agreement on the contributions of Marlowe and the rest to the plays in question. I for one was never convinced of the orthodox view, though I had it straight from George Baker in the dear old Harvard days, when Ashley Thorndike too was still on the banks of the Charles . . . . let them pray for my soul, if my soul is still of any concern to them.

Thus it is that to me Brandl's *Shakespeare—Leben, Umwelt, Kunst*—seems, as one creative act, a masterpiece. I will not quarrel with any to whom it does not so seem; unless they ground their contention on national lines. For I feel that I have myself entered at times too far into the spirit of Masters of Life beyond our Anglo-Saxon borders to assume that a man like Brandl errs, if he errs, merely because the Master was an Englishman and not a German. Such a contention, except in matters essentially verbal or of folk-customs, is, I believe, nothing but mysticism, the obscurantism of critics who most pride themselves on their realistic attitude; the issues are not nationalistic, they are human and humanistic. And even in the externals, England and America are today, alas, as far removed from the days of Elizabeth as Germany itself.

Shakespeare was born on English meadows and lived his great life in an English city, but neither Warwickshire nor London could keep him forever in his island home; he has long since passed all frontiers. At a commemoration assembly in 1916 an American Professor—not of Wisconsin, be it said—delivered an oration ostensibly on the Master, practically on the to him terrible hordes beyond the Rhine whom he pronounced so unlike the Master. Those were tense and raucous days, ugly to remember. Let them die. But I am willing to remember the cry of protest I then uttered, though the lump in my throat made my utterance halting and thick:

> There's now one sound above the battle blown,
> Above the nations hurling flame for flame—
> One love which hate itself is proud to own,
> One voice of man tumultuous with thy name,
> Shakespeare! The kingdoms of divided earth
> Honor to-day thy conquests o'er them all,—
> And none who know the meaning of thy worth
> To-day will use thee for their clansman call.
> But rather, in these hundred years times three
> Of power still creating light and life,
> We find the omen of thy work to-be—
> Hereafter healer of these wounds of strife.
> Above the battle we behold thy face,—
> Above the battle a united race.

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I believe that the spirit of Goethe would agree, for it is engaged, though we may not realize it now, upon the same work.[2]

WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD

Madison, Wisconsin,
January 25, 1923

LANGUAGE: ITS NATURE, DEVELOPMENT AND ORIGIN. By Otto Jespersen. London, Allen and Unwyn; New York, Henry Holt, 1922. 448 pages.

Destructive optimism: a courageous desire to break down the barriers of conventional belief and method, coupled with a firm confidence in the possibility of forging ahead in the search of truth—that is the keynote of Jespersen's new book. I admire it sincerely and consider it an epoch-making feat in the progress of science. For that very reason I feel all the more free to voice my objections wherever I believe to see light in a different direction.

Language is a *courageous* book first of all, but it is cautious at the same time. Refuting time-honored superstitions without fear or favor, frankly suggesting the boldest innovations, Jespersen at the same time carefully feels his way, conscientiously distinguishing between daring hypothesis and scientific assertion. It is a thoroly *modern* book in many respects, notably so in its avowed and consistent application of the principles of evolution to linguistic investigation. And it must even be called an *entertaining* book; some of its chapters, as, for instance, those dealing with pidgin English and the language of children and women, ought to make fascinating reading for the layman as well as for the linguist. Perhaps, tho, there is a trace of weakness in that strength. Aside from more than a few attempts at punning, not everybody will welcome it that the author has, in some chapters at least, turned from the clean-cut conciseness of his *Lehrbuch der Phonetik* and *Modern English Grammar* to the somewhat rambling discoursiveness of his *Progress in Language* and *Growth and Structure of the English Language*. But that is a matter of personal preference.

[2] Having been occupied for several months in threatening or cajoling my printer to set right the desperately disordered proof-sheets of some small compositions of my own, I have noted with particularly savage glee the following errors that Professor Brandl's printers superciliously neglected, or diabolically refused, to correct: p. 87, Zusammenharng; p. 98, Trtussoehne; p. 112, Versuchnug, and a period (instead of a comma) between umzubringen and die Archive; p. 142, pecula (for pocula); p. 153, Sout-hampton (the division is right lower on the same page and on pages 160, 290); p. 154, Jeitwort (for Zeitwort); p. 179, Paintner; p. 192, Sout-hampton; p. 194, aderation (?); p. 237, Wotr; p. 242, 'Viel Laerm um nichts' (for 'Was ihr wollt'); p. 246, Jugendsteich; p. 260, dir (for die); p. 290, dsreits; p. 326, concience; p. 400, II, 5 (for I, 5, as the curious will find out when they hunt up the passage!).

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The volume is dedicated to Vilhelm Thomsen, and it is fair enough that the Danish scholar loyally emphasizes the great merits of this and other Scandinavian philologists. Nor should it be misinterpreted as contentious bias if Jespersen's iconoclastic blows fall especially heavily upon the German representatives of linguistics during the nineteenth century. It could hardly be otherwise, since the bulk of present-day theories on the development of language is of German origin. Still, I must take exception to at least one passage in his excellent chapter on the history of the science, altho it is not a question of concrete fact that is concerned, but an aspect of one's general attitude in regard to an important group of phonetic laws (or "rules," as Jespersen would prefer to say). I am referring to his stand in the Rask-Grimm controversy. While siding with Collitz on the general merits of the question (cp. AJPh. 39, 413), I gladly admit all of Jespersen's claims in favor of Rask's partial priority (what difference does it make, after all?), but can only with considerable reservations accept his objections to Grimm's presentation of the sound-shift. Grimm's limitations in phonetic thought and terminology are obvious, but they are a nearly general characteristic of his period, so that they should hardly be held against him. But Jespersen need not necessarily be right when he asserts that "there cannot possibly be any causal nexus between such transitions [viz., the Germanic or, with Jespersen's term, Gothonic, and the High-German shifts], separated chronologically by long periods . . ." (p. 45). I maintain again, as I have done on several occasions (e.g., JEGPh. XIV 1 ff.; *Sounds and History of the German Language*, p. 135 ff.) my firm belief in the causal unity of the alleged "two sound-shifts," which were not separated by any period, long or short, but merged into each other imperceptibly. I even add that Grimm's much-aligned TAM-circle is reestablisht more definitely than ever if my hypothesis is admitted that IE. "*bh, dh, gh*" were voiceless spirants (Mod. Phil. XVI 103 ff.). In that case, the two sound-shifts represent an alternating cycle of the effects of a preponderance of pressure and tension, Verner's Law no longer being a phonetic puzzle, but an integral part of the sound-shift. Space forbids me to enter into details; but if such trifles as priority are mentioned at all—why not also point out that Verner's Law was discovered by Sievers some time before Verner (1874)—see Osthoff, *Die neueste Sprachforschung und die Erklärung des indogermanischen Ablauts*, Heidelberg 1886, p. 18? It would seem quite as important as the statement that Thomsen had stated the palatal law in his lectures sooner than Collitz published it.

However, while disagreeing with the author on this and some other details of the historical section of the book, I fully concur in its ultimate result: In the face of the "barrenness"

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and the lack of "breadth of vision" of modern linguistics (p. 99), Jespersen professes his confidence in the respectability of what is often derided as "glottogonic speculation" and courageously sets to work to outline some of the methods by which we may hope to approach the solution of the fundamental problems of the origin and development of human speech.

It is logical that he finds an important part of his task in a discussion of the growth and change of linguistic faculties under conditions where we can actually observe them—experimentally, as it were. Accordingly, he presents us with extremely attractive chapters on the development of the language of children, on language mixture of various types, on the differences between men's and women's ways of speaking, and on some of the clearest causes of linguistic change. I may be permitted to comment briefly on a few detached details from the wealth of his magnificent array of ingenious suggestions:

His judicious weighing of various theories on the "ethnic substratum" is a most valuable contribution to that complicated topic. He disposes with certain unsound applications of the general principle, such as Feist's hypothesis of the Aryanization of an aboriginal Pre-Germanic race in Northern Europe, but is also skeptical concerning the assumption of a "constant idiom" (Bröndal), the linguistic survival of a submerged native stock, extending over many generations or even centuries. I cannot agree with Jespersen. The facts are so strongly in favor of such a theory that we are, it seems to me, compelled to admit the tendency as such, even tho we may be far from any explanation. Striking instances are found especially in that wide belt that stretches from Scandinavia thru Russia into the Balkan Peninsula. There we find a significant combination of linguistic parallels spreading over a large number of unrelated languages (Germanic, Ugro-Finnish, Slavic, Turanian)—for instance, the post-positive article or similar elements, a peculiar development of the reflexive verb and pronoun, various forms of vowel harmony. The assumption of an ethnic substratum would account for these phenomena as well as for a similar group in western Europe at least in a tentatively acceptable way. It is not even so very certain that such racial deflections cannot be due to some subtle physiological factors—not to any structural differences in the organs of speech proper, of course, but who will assert that there cannot exist any racial differences in the cell-structure of the speech-directing nerve centers? True, Jespersen may well include such day-dreams in the "visionary type" of recent substratum theories that he rejects. But the vagueness of such explanations does not refute the incontrovertible fact of racial currents in linguistic change.

If I thus disagree with the author on a fundamental principle of this chapter, I must necessarily question some of the details. I cannot accept his parallelization of sound-shift and palataliza-

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tion (p. 259), his general avowal of the ease-theory of linguistic change (p. 263), his alternation hypothesis of sound change for the sake of the avoidance of homophones (p. 283 ff.), the latter not in this form at least,—and many others that space forbids me to enumerate. But on the whole even this section of the book is everywhere fertile, judicious, and independent.

The last section of the book deals primarily with those basic questions of valuation that had formed the problem of the author's *Progress in Language*, nearly thirty years ago. Even more resolutely than in that book he applies the principles of evolution in biology to evolution in language. He likens the scope of phonetic laws to that of Darwinian laws in zoology (p. 297) and expresses an unshakeable belief in the progressive tendency of the human language, in the direction of a maximum of efficiency and a minimum of effort. That is a true and deep thought, but it should not be overlooked that apparently languages do not move towards that goal on parallel lines. With some, the primary object, for a certain period at least, seems to be a subjective element: the force *or* ease of expression; with others, the objective element of the clearness of understanding predominates; a third group seems to strive for a form of highest subjectivity, the concentrated expression of thought. English, French, and German are striking representatives of these three types of the method of progress.

Simplicity and clearness being the two fundamental elements in Jespersen's valuation of languages, their absence must necessarily mark the earliest stages of the development of speech. The author does not hesitate to follow that fascinating trail and comes to the conclusion that primitive languages must have consisted of very long words, full of difficult sounds, and must have been sung rather than spoken. Language originated as a play; "love must be placed in the front rank" among the emotions that gave rise to it. "The evolution of language shows a progressive tendency from inseparable, irregular conglomerations to freely and regularly combinable short elements" (p. 429).

The science of language, like other sciences, proceeds in periods of conscientious accumulation and systematisation of facts on the one hand, and epochs of critical survey and synthesis on the other. During the last generation we passed through an abundantly fruitful period of accumulation to which we may well look back with reverence and gratitude. But we have unmistakably entered an epoch of search for new paths, and it is not surprising that it should begin with a certain amount of skepticism. Jespersen's splendid work does not shrink from that just and necessary criticism, but it is first of all an inspiring guide into the new era of linguistic investigation.

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THE DUTCH SOURCE OF ROBINSON CRUSOE

The traditional view which sees the germ of Defoe's Robinson Crusoe in the adventures of Alexander Selkirk, the Scotch sailor, is so well established that the attempt to trace the famous story to a different source would seem almost futile. Yet it is the avowed purpose of the present book[1] to challenge not only the originality but also the literary superiority of Defoe. While its author leaves the latter point, however, "to be decided by expert testimony before the court," he concentrates his chief attack on the traditional claim of Defoe's originality by the translation of an episode from *Krinke Kesmes*, an almost forgotten Dutch Utopia by Hendrik Smeeks, published at Amsterdam in 1708. Moreover, the translator, Lucius L. Hubbard, in order to facilitate comparison prints in parallel columns numerous passages from Robinson Crusoe together with his version of the Dutch text, which latter, in addition, he also reproduces. Mr. Hubbard in a carefully written introduction, first gives an account of how the Dutch story, owing to a mistake by Hettner, was for a long time considered an imitation of Robinson Crusoe, till the researches of several Dutch scholars proved it to be a precursor of Defoe's narrative. The translator then discusses in detail the similarities of the two stories and reaches the conclusion "that Defoe was indebted to the Dutch author not only for more of his material than he was to Woodes Rogers and Selkirk, but also that in Smeeks' episode, whatever his limitations, we have the earlier conception of the Robinson motive, told in a natural, simple and sympathetic way, which retains our interest from the beginning to the end and in places even awakens our emotions."

The first question which will occur to the critic, especially to the one of positivistic leanings, is: Did Defoe know the Dutch story, and if so, could he read it in the original, as an English translation of it has thus far not been found. In answer to the first query it must be admitted that there is no mention in Defoe's works either of the Dutch author or of his book, while the well-known passage in the preface to the 'Serious Reflections During the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe,' seems to point to Selkirk's adventures as his source. A careful comparison of these adventures as we have them in the account of Captain Woodes Rogers published in 1711, with Robinson's story, will show, however, that Defoe greatly exaggerated their importance, for they

[1] *The Narrative of the El-Ho, Sjouke Gabbes: An Episode from the Description of the Mighty Kingdom of Krinke Kesmes.* By Hendrik Smeeks. Translated from the Dutch and Compared with the Story of Robinson Crusoe. By Lucius L. Hubbard. Ann Arbor; George Wahr. 1921.

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furnish only the most meager outlines of a plot, out of which Defoe could have spun his tale of three volumes. Did he allude to the Selkirk story, which, of course, was generally known in England, in order to divert attention from his real source?

Nor does the fact that Defoe's study of the Dutch language has not been recorded suffice as an argument for his ignorance of this language. How little we really know of Defoe's life Professor W. P. Trent, the foremost authority on our novelist, has repeatedly pointed out. That the man who had travelled extensively on the continent, that the zealous supporter of William and Mary, and that the dissenter, who looked upon Holland as a refuge, should have been ignorant of the language of this country seems scarcely credible, even if there were no inner evidence of his acquaintance with the story of Hendrik Smeeks. "Defoe's linguistic acquirements," says Professor Trent in his book, 'Defoe, How to Know Him,' "were extensive, although somewhat slipshod." There is no reason to doubt that the knowledge of Dutch was among these acquirements, especially since it is known that he had in his library a grammar of the Dutch language.[2]

It is to the evidence as far as it relates to certain incidents and outward details, common to the plot of both stories, that Mr. Hubbard has turned his attention chiefly. And with the zeal of the enthusiast he has not infrequently strained his point, overlooking the possibility that Defoe might have gotten certain details of his description from sources other than the Dutch tale. In view of the fact that the Selkirk story expecially contains elements which occur in Robinson Crusoe also, a far better method to establish Defoe's indebtedness to Smeeks would have been a comparison of the latter's tale with the account of Selkirk's experience.

Both Selkirk and the Dutch exile, whom I shall call Texel, the name he bears in the German translation of 1721, built two huts, which the latter calls his castle and his fortress, as does Robinson. Selkirk gets fire by rubbing two pieces of pimento wood, while Texel and Robinson obtain it by a fire lock. Selkirk makes himself a cap and a coat of goat skins; Texel manufactures clothing out of rushes. Selkirk as well as Texel keep a journal or diary. In their distress both men frequently pray and sing psalms. Selkirk cuts his name on trees and the time of being left there, Texel marks a number of trees so as not to lose his way to the water supply which he has

[2] The title of this grammar was *Guide to the Low Dutch Language* 1700. See the highly interesting list of books in Defoe's library, printed in the *Athenaeum* of 1895, pp. 706-7, to which Mr. A. W. Secord had the kindness to call the writer's attention.

discovered. Selkirk hunts wild goats, Texel shoots wild bulls, of whose hides he makes shoes and stockings. In addition to these features which the Selkirk account and the Dutch story have in common, the latter contains a number of traits and incidents which also occur in Robinson Crusoe. Finding himself stranded on the coast of a South Sea island, the Dutch cabin boy has at first nothing with him but a knife, a pipe, some tobacco, a steel and a tinder box. Wandering about in the woods for several days, he looks for fresh water and is lucky enough to find some. Being unarmed, he makes himself a club-spear, which he calls his Koddesspiess, the same weapon which in Robinson Crusoe we recognize under the name of a truncheon. Finding his way back to the shore, he discovers his ship chest, which his captain had left for him and which contains clothing, firearms, tools and books, also a hammock, and a considerable quantity of brandy and wine. I may remark here that the possession of liquor proved a great comfort to both the Dutch cabin boy and to Robinson Crusoe, while Selkirk had become a confirmed prohibitionist in his solitude.

After Texel has established himself as well as he can in his huts, he arranges his daily work, consisting of making salt, catching and preparing fish, making baskets, and chests of various sizes and fashions. He also makes a leaden lamp, fills it with the tallow of the steer he killed, and uses dried rushes as wicking. After a terrific storm he discovers the wreck of a stranded ship on the shore from which he secures numerous articles, among them also a dog. Among the exciting events during his solitary life are the shooting of a large bird, the capture of a big fish, and the shooting of wild swans, and, what I consider of especial importance, his discovery of human footprints in the sand. This discovery, to be sure, does not introduce the appearance of the savages, as it does in Robinson Crusoe, but the arrival of the natives on his island marks the turning point in the life of the cabin boy as well as it does in the life of Defoe's hero. Besides there are a number of similarities in the way in which both men defend themselves against the savages and repulse their onslaughts.

It might be claimed that the striking resemblances here enumerated could result from the similarity of the situation in which Selkirk, Texel and Robinson found themselves, and the comparison between the Selkirk account and the Dutch story which agree at least in a few details, seems to bear out this claim. Nor shall it be denied that Defoe may have picked up minor details of a similar nature in contemporary accounts of travel. A careful comparative study of the characteristic features of the Robinsonaden before Defoe, such as is contained in the masterly essay "Vordefoesche Robinsonaden in der Weltliteratur" by Dr. Leopold Brandl of Vienna will show,

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however, that with the exception perhaps of *Simplicissimus*, none of the castaway heroes, despite the similarity of situation, in which all find themselves, developed as many similar contrivances to sustain their lives, met with as many happenings, and went through as many similar experiences as did Selkirk, Texel and Robinson Crusoe.

An analysis of the character and the psychological development of the Dutch castaway will demonstrate, moreover, that Defoe owed to the Dutch story far more than the mere externals of happenings, which, after all, are not of vital importance. Here he found a carefully drawn and motivated psychological sketch which the skilful journalist, who himself had lived an adventurous life, need only elaborate to produce the larger picture of world-wide appeal.

While there is a great difference of years between the two solitaries, both men belong to the ordinary type of man, practical and rather ignorant, but endowed with a good portion of common sense and adaptability. With remarkable power and psychological insight, Smeeks depicts the emotions of the youth when he realizes that he is lost in the woods. "I was filled with fear and terror, and my anxiety was inexpressible. Now, for the first time, I realized that I was only a child and had done a childish act, which produced in me the most painful repentance. What should I do: I was tired from walking, hoarse from screaming, disheartened and dejected. I threw myself on to the ground under a tree, sobbing, moaning, and praying God that he would help me. Evening came and I fell asleep from weariness. When I awoke, I was thoroughly cold, and the darkness aroused in me such fear and terror that my hair stood on end, I trembled like a leaf, and the creaking of the trees as well as the soughing of the wind, frightened me every instant. My disturbed spirit was mortally oppressed, so much so indeed, that no one that has not been in the most terrifying danger of death can know, comprehend, or even think it. I groaned inwardly to God to help until day began to break, which a good deal relieved me." He rises and walks until sunset, hoping to find his way back to the sea. But the more he sought, the more he went astray and the thought of eating or drinking never entered his mind. Forming a resolution to keep going straight on, withersoever God should lead him, he went ahead until finally, toward evening, he struck a marshy pool, where he could quench his thirst. While he sits by the pool, the feeling of desolation overcomes him. "There I sat groaning and crying again; I could not stop my dismal weeping. I sighed and sighed, saying, 'Alas! poor boy that I am! Oh! what shall I do? Where shall I go? Oh, God! help me!' "

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It is during these violent inner struggles in fervent prayers, that he obtains a new and abiding confidence in God, and with it a composure of mind which gives him the strength of making the best of his desperate situation. As he is now beginning to think of his preservation, he has the feeling as if in the midst of the awe-inspiring solitude of the endless primeval forest *he were being pushed by some one.*[3] Looking around, he cannot see any one, but deeper in the woods he notices a very tall and thick tree that attracts him. When he reached it, God gave him, according to his account, an inspiration to mark it, and a number of trees so that he should not lose his water supply. With his knife, the only instrument left him, he makes his first wooden implements: a hatchet, a small shovel, and a club-spear for his defence. He becomes more and more assured under the large tree and begins to build himself a hut of boughs. In the midst of his work, he again has the sensation of being pushed. He cannot see anybody, but once more he notices a tall tree in the distance which he approaches and barks on several sides. Being attracted by other big trees, he continues to go for an hour or more when suddenly he spies an apple, and finds himself under a wild apple tree. "Lord, how happy I was!" he exclaims, eats of the apples to his heart's delight, fills his hat and stockings with them, and returns to his temporary hut. His dejection and anxiety were growing less and less, and while sitting in his hut, and eating an apple, he muses, "Dear God! what is man's life! How one will wander from country to country in quest of merchandise and money! I have nothing now but water and apples, and yet I am quite contented, if I can get more of them. Even if I could exchange these for gold, I would not think of doing so."

"When evening came I said my prayers and lay down in my hut on some boughs and leaves, and slept much more peacefully than I did the night before. On awakening in the morning, I began to think more composedly about my preservation, indeed, just as I would if I knew I should have to live to the end of my days in the wilderness, which thought, because of my great dejection and anxiety, I had not been able previously to entertain."

A spirit of peace and contentment has come over him, and despite the fact that his struggle for preservation only begins, he assures us again and again that from now on he lived happily and quietly in his solitude, and while he is aware of the long duration of his exile, he yet was always cheerful and well.

[3] Robinson experiences the same inner prompting which he describes in similar terms: "I never failed to obey the secret dictate; though I knew no other reason for it than such a *pressure*, or such a hint, hung upon my mind."

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Already the student of Robinson Crusoe will have recognized the striking similarity between the psychological process involved in the inner change through which the cabin boy passes and that through which Robinson Crusoe is going. In utter despair, finding that he has nothing left but a knife, a tobacco pipe and a little tobacco in his box, Robinson runs about like a mad man. When he reflects that in this desolate place and in this desolate manner, he may have to end his life, tears would run plentifully down his cheeks, and he would expostulate with himself why Providence should thus completely ruin his creatures and render them so absolutely miserable, so without help abandoned, so entirely depressed, that it could hardly be rational to be thankful for such a life. Soon, however, the thought occurs to him, that all evils are to be considered with the good that is in them, and gradually the ideal of contentment looms before him, the very ideal which Defoe, the moralist, intends to preach with his story. At the sight of money, he is struck, as was the cabin boy, with the thought of its worthlessness, "Oh, drug, what art thou good for? Thou art not worth to me—no, not the taking off the ground," and finally he sums up the change that has taken place in his inner attitude in this sentence: "Having now brought my mind a little to relish my condition, and given over looking out to sea to see if I could spy a ship I say, giving over these things, I began to apply myself to arrange my way of living and to make things as easy to me as I could." The parallelism between the two castaways and their inner development could not be more complete without becoming plagiarism.

Nor is the religious element wanting in the inner development of Robinson Crusoe. But it is here where the difference between Smeeks, the thinker, and the follower of Descartes, and Defoe, the English dissenter, who shared the religious hypochondria of the period, becomes apparent. While the Dutch cabin boy emerges from the experience of despair and the horrors of utter abandonment with an unshaken, robust belief in God, Robinson Crusoe, during an attack of illness, passes through all the stages of a regular religious conversion. It is here, moreover, where we may gain an insight into Defoe's literary methods and the way in which he used the Dutch source.

If we except the account which is contained in Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus* of the shipwreck on an uninhabited island, the Dutch story of the castaway was the first narrative of its kind in autobiographical form. Defoe adopts not only this literary form for his tale, but also innumerable details of the plot as well as the general outlines of the hero's psychological development. At the same time the artlessness and epic objectivity of the cabin boy's recital does not suit him.

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The skilful journalist had doubtless read with profit such pietistic autobiographies as Bunyan's 'Grace Abounding,' or George Fox's 'Journal,' and the temptation of competing with their popularity by having the solitary exile undergo similar religious experiences could not be resisted. Like Bunyan, Robinson is tortured with the thought of his past sinful life, hears preternatural voices, has visions of the devil, studies the Bible, prays, and has moments of religious ecstasy during which he cries out aloud, and finally gives vent to his excited emotions in fits of crying. In view of the fact that Robinson Crusoe in former days, while doing business in Brazil, had made no scruple of professing himself a Catholic, we are somewhat doubtful as to the sincerity of his recent conversion, especially since the pious fraud which he practiced in Brazil causes our ethical pragmatist no subsequent compunctions whatsoever. Certain it is, however, that his conversion does not enhance his heroism or his courage, as is shown by his behaviour after the discovery of the human footprints.

That Defoe found this footprint as well as the entire episode of the visit of the savages on the island in the Dutch story (the Selkirk account has nothing like it) has already been pointed out. There can be no question that Defoe's description of how Robinson discovers the human footprint and how he is from that moment on haunted by the dread of the savages, is a literary masterpiece. Yet he seems little aware that he accomplishes this literary feat at the expense of his hero's character.

When the Dutch cabin boy by his spy glass, with which, by the way, Robinson has been supplied also, for the same occasion, first detects the savages, he confesses that he was thrown into fear and into hope, for he did not know whether it would bring him good or evil. His anxiety and fear are increased when the natives discover his castle and, about a hundred strong, come running and shouting toward him. Being at his wit's end, he turns to God for aid. "God," he relates, "has saved me from so many dangers; I now prayed earnestly to him again; and when I had finished I kindled a fire in God's name, ate my fill of rusks and drank a cup of wine with it." From now on, he no longer knows of fear or danger. Armed with a gun and cutlass, he leaves his hut and meets the natives, and when they show themselves awe-stricken and submissive at his appearance, he distributes biscuits among them, whereupon they dance around his castle singing and clapping their hands. They evidently thought he was a god. Nor does the boy lose his courage and his implicit confidence in divine protection when the savages soon afterwards appear again, this time in larger numbers, armed with wooden spears and large clubs. Single handed he repulses their onslaughts

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and finally puts them to flight. After a while, the savages come for a third time, evidently with the intention of surprising him in his castle at night. Awakened by the growling of his faithful dog, he looks through the peep holes of his castle and sees a great many fires all around him. "This," he says, "disturbed me somewhat, though I speedily became calmed, thinking that because God had protected me so many times, he would now protect me as well." Nor would our young hero have succumbed this time, had he not left his fortress for a while the next day, and, overcome with tiredness, fallen asleep. When he awoke, he found his castle in possession of the savages. He himself was seized from behind, disarmed, and made a prisoner.

It is highly instructive in more than one way to contrast Smeeks' unpretentious recital of heroism, borne from an unshaken Christian faith, with the sentimental tale of abject fear and despair which Defoe made out of it. When Robinson sees the print of a man's naked foot on the shore, he is terrified to the last degree, flees into his castle like one pursued, "for never frightened hare fled to cover, nor fox to earth with more terror of mind, than I to this retreat." Lying awake that night he forms all kinds of dismal imaginations, and fancies that it must be the devil who left the footprint. Finally, he comes to the conclusion that it must have been some of the savages of the main land opposite, and again terrible thoughts rack his imagination. How if they did find his boat, and would return in greater numbers and devour him! This astonishing apprehension for his own life which ill befits the pioneer, gradually destroys the very foundations of his contentedness and faith. "Thus," he tells us, "my fear banished all my religious hope, all the former confidence in God, which was founded upon such wonderful experience as I had had of his goodness. His chief concern now is to keep in hiding and to fortify his habitation against a surprise attack by the savages. For two years he lives in this state of uneasiness and fear, at the close of which he confesses: "And this I must observe, with grief, too, that the discomposure of my mind had great impression also upon the religious part of my thoughts, for the dread and terror of falling into the hands of savages and cannibals lay so upon my spirits that I seldom found myself in a due temper for application to my Maker, at least not with the sedate calmness and resignation of soul which I was wont to; I rather prayed to God as under great affliction and pressure of mind, surrounded with danger, and in expectation every night of being murdered and devoured before morning."

When he finally ventures with great trepidation to go to the place where he had noticed the footprint and sees the shore spread with skulls, hands, feet, and other bones of human

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bodies, he is so astonished with the sight of these things that he entertains no notions of any danger to himself from it for a long while; all his apprehensions were buried in the thoughts of such a pitch of inhuman, hellish brutality and the horror of the degeneracy of human nature, thanking God that he was born in a part of the world where he was distinguished from such dreadful creatures. To be sure, after his speedy return to his habitation, he begins to plot the destruction of the cannibals, but soon he comes to the conclusion that he had no authority to be judge and executioner upon these men, who were murderers no more than the Christians who put their prisoners to death. In fact he thanks God that by these reflections he had delivered him from blood guiltiness, beseeching him at the same time that he might not lay his hand upon them unless "he had a more clear call from heaven to do it in defence of his own life." As he, from now on, keeps in hiding more than ever, this call from heaven was not likely to come soon. One need imagine only for a moment that our American frontiersmen, exposed to similar dangers in the solitude of the wilderness, had met the hostile savages with the same timidity, in order to realize the essential weakness of Robinson's character, a weakness, due no doubt to the morbid introspection and incessant reflecting in which the author has him indulge to please the prevailing taste of the time.

A similar concession to contemporary taste is, in my opinion, the famous Friday story with which Defoe brings the episode with the savages to a close. While the Dutch cabin boy, after a brave defense, is captured by the savages, and adopted by the tribe, from whom he is finally rescued by the civilized inhabitants of the nearby kingdom Krinke Kesmes, Robinson, after he had witnessed a cannibal feast of the barbarians through his spy glass, is filled with but one thought, and that is, to make his escape from the island. With consummate skill and fine psychological insight Defoe describes how Robinson, tortured by renewed fears, comes to the conclusion that the only way to make his escape was to endeavor to get a savage into his possession, how, exhausted by his thoughts, he falls into a sound sleep, during which he dreams that he actually rescues one of the victims about to be killed and devoured, and how in due time his dream comes true in all its details in the rescue of Friday. Acquainted, no doubt, not only with Montaigne's famous essay "Of Cannibals," and with the defence of the Indians by Bishop de Las Casas, but also with the enthusiasm for the 'noble and artless sons of nature' displayed in contemporary English literature, as for instance in the Spectator, how could Defoe have foregone the temptation of introducing a real specimen of the 'noble savage,' of teaching him the elements of European civilization, and

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of the Christian religion to the delight of children and future missionaries. Hence, Friday is described as "a comely, handsome fellow, perfectly well-made, with straight, strong limbs, not too large, tall, and well-shaped." "Never had man a more faithful, loving sincere servant than Friday was to me," says Robinson, "without passions, sullenness, or designs, perfectly obliged and engaged." So deeply is Robinson impressed with his ideal son of nature that he begins to reflect why God should have taken from so great a part of the world of his creatures the best use to which their faculties and the powers of their souls, bestowed upon them, are adapted, although these creatures are as ready, nay, more ready, to apply them to the right uses than we are. Even his orthodox Puritan belief in predestination begins to totter, for he cannot comprehend why these wonderful creatures should be condemned and sentenced to eternal absence from God. No wonder that Robinson Crusoe did appeal to Rousseau, who found in it the confirmation of his own philosophy of the growth of human civilization.

Although the story of the Dutch cabin boy forms a complete whole, it is after all an episode ending with the reception of the exile into the Utopian kingdom Krinke Kesmes, the description of which is the chief purpose of Smeeks. No such design of giving a picture of a Utopian commonwealth or society can be claimed for Defoe's story, unless we consider the small colony which Robinson leaves behind him as a sort of embryonic Utopia.

Nevertheless this colony bears several essential features which Defoe, in my opinion, derived from the Dutch Utopia: the cosmopolitan character of the colony, and the idea of a peculiar religious tolerance which is to prevail in it.

Despite the fact that isolation and the exclusion of strangers and foreigners are chief characteristics of all Utopias, the ideal state of Smeeks owes its advanced stage of civilization to the presence of numerous Europeans and Asiatic nationalities whose languages and literatures are carefully studied and cultivated. It is for this reason that our cabin boy finds employment there as a teacher of the Dutch language. From the sacred writings of the principal religions represented in the kingdom: the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, and the Koran, the King, finding that the preachers of the various sects and religions, instead of coming to an agreement, are continually fighting and abusing each other, orders his council of wise men to formulate five principles or commandments, expressing the essence of all religions and forbidding religious controversies under penalty of death.

In a similar way we find in Robinson's colony Englishmen Spaniards, and Portuguese, besides a number of former savages.

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Even when the little colony consisted of only Friday, whom Robinson had converted to Protestantism, of Friday's father, a pagan and a cannibal, and of a Spaniard, a Catholic, Robinson decided to allow liberty of conscience in his dominions. Later, upon his return to the colony, that had in the meantime grown in size, he entrusts the spiritual welfare of the young community to the hands of an enlightened Catholic priest. Although Defoe would not adopt Smeeks' radical conception of religious tolerance, the result of philsophical training, in its entirety, the dissenter and violent opponent of Catholicism nevertheless derived enough courage from the Dutchman's example to place a Papist in charge of the colonists. I doubt whether his friend, the tolerant William Penn, the founder of the most cosmopolitan colony of the time, would have appointed a Catholic priest as the spiritual guide of his settlers.

If, as I hope to have shown by the preceding discussion, Defoe received not only the first suggestion for his story from the Dutch Robinsonade but also numerous details of plot and, what is still more important, the most essential motives, no future treatment of the Robinson problem can afford to ignore this source. Even the life-like realism for which Defoe is justly praised had its prototype in the vivid realistic style of the Dutch story, for as the preface informs us: "the reader is not to expect any high flown style in the book, since the writer had laid greater emphasis upon the matter itself than upon an eloquent manner of expression." It is certainly remarkable that Defoe neither in the continuations of Robinson Crusoe, nor in his subsequent novels again rose to the height of literary and artistic perfection to which this Dutch story had shown him the way.

It will no longer suffice to classify Robinson Crusoe as a mere story of adventure, developed from contemporary descriptions of travel, or as a novelistic account of the gradual development of human civilization such as Rousseau and Hettner saw in it. Sprung from an episode imbedded in a Utopia, the Robinson story must be considered in its relation to the latter. Although both the Utopia and the Robinsonade have in common the insular character of the land in which they are laid, they are entirely different as far as motivation is concerned. The central idea of the Robinsonade is that of an involuntary exile of the hero, coupled with his strong desire for liberation, while the chief characteristic of the Utopias, since the second part of the 17th century, is that of an asylum with the typical motives of isolation, secrecy, and the exclusion of strangers. I have already indicated that, owing to this vital difference in the nature of Robinsonade and Utopia, Defoe had changed the close of the savage episode as he found it in the Dutch story. At the same time, there are other passages

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in Robinson Crusoe which show plainly Utopian tendencies as for example, when he makes the members of his colony promise him never to leave it without his will.

In view of the importance of the Dutch story for the study not only of Robinson Crusoe, but also of the Utopian literature of the 17th and 18th centuries, and owing, moreover, to the extreme scarcity of the book, it is to be regretted that Mr. Hubbard did not make the whole work of Smeeks available to English readers. Such portions of the Utopia as the description of the two separate colleges for men and for women and of the department of eugenics in which, as in Thomas Moore's 'Utopia,' prospective candidates are carefully examined before they are permitted to marry, have a decidedly modern ring; while the account of the huge common church with as many pulpits as there were religious sects in the community, and the portrayal of the bedlam caused by the various preachers disputing and quarreling with one another, shows a caustic wit characteristic of the author. No wonder that the orthodox censor of the edition of 1776 declared that he found the little book "full of pernicious things about religion."

With his careful translation of the episode from *Krinke Kesmes* Mr. Hubbard has rendered the science of literature a distinct service. We shall be under still greater obligation to him if he will add to a future edition of his present work the translation of the entire Utopia of Hendrik Smeeks.

JULIUS GOEBEL

ERNST A. KOCK, PLAIN POINTS AND PUZZLES. 60 NOTES ON OLD ENGLISH POETRY. Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. N. F. Avd. 1. Bd 17. Nr. 7. Lund, 1922. 26 pages.

A paper on textual criticism by Professor Kock is always welcome. This one is the last number of an extensive series of studies published from time to time in *Anglia* (Vols. 25-27, 42-46), *Zeitsch. f. d. Altert.* (Vol. 48), *Ark. f. nord. fil.* (Vols. 35, 37), and *Lunds Univ. Årsskr.* (Vols. 14, 15, 17). Excepting the first two instalments in *Anglia* (Vols. 25 and 26), in which certain Middle English texts are discussed, these papers deal chiefly with Old West Germanic poetry, the lion's share naturally falling to the Old English branch, whilst the 'Bidrag till eddatolkningen' (*Ark. f. n. f.*) takes us into the Old Norse field, and the 'Kontinentalgermanische Streifzüge' (*Lunds Univ. Årsskr.* Vol. 15, Nr. 3) include notes on Gothic, Frisian, and various High German matters. The well-known qualities of Kock's critical method assert themselves vigorously in this recent paper. It is a pleasure to note how he clears up hidden meanings, disposes of time-honored fallacies, suggests new possibilities, and, above

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all, sets one thinking anew about textual problems. And, most certainly, it is far from soporific reading.

The list of texts taken up comprises Genesis A, Genesis B, Crist, Daniel, Elene, Gnomica, furthermore the poem of Exodus, noted among students for the obscurity and daring of its language, besides a few miscellaneous other passages. The quaint title 'Plain Points and Puzzles', formed after the pattern of 'Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings' (cf. the review in this Journal, Vol. 19, pp. 409-13) suggests that some of the points discussed appear to be still of a somewhat problematic character, although the majority are held by the author to be sufficiently and definitely elucidated. Of course, where to draw the line between the two sets is a question on which difference of opinion may be expected. It is to be admitted, however, that a considerable number of interpretations, including also a few emendations, carry immediate conviction. This applies, for example, to Daniel 491 f., Genesis 49-51, 60 f., 1703 f. (*oð þæt mon awoc / on þære cneorisse, cynebearna rim*, 'until amongst the number of this race, of this nobility, a man arose'), 1849–57 (*him drihtlicu / on mægwlite* [MS. *mæg on wlite*], *modgum, mænegum ðuhte / cyninges ðegnum*), 2380 f. (*þa þæt wif ahloh wereda drihtnes / nalles glædlice,—ahlehhan* construed with genitive), Genesis (B) 283 (MS. *bugan*, pointing to a verb *begean* in the Old Saxon original—an improvement on the previously suggested *ge(h)an*). The MS. reading *onnied* (or *on nied*) Exodus 139 is plausibly vindicated on the basis of the identical Old Norse *ánauð* 'oppression.' (Also Blackburn retains *onnied.*) The intransitive function of *lædan* claimed for Genesis 1911 might be supported by instances like Phoenix 178, 233, 251.

Some doubt remains concerning Daniel 366 f., which Kock prints as *þa ðe on* (MS. *of*) *roderum, on rihtre* / (MS. *rihtne*) *gesceaft, / wuniað, in wuldre*. This relative clause is preceded by *hluttor wæter*, and the whole passage corresponds to Dan. III, 60: benedicite aquae omnes, quae super coelos sunt (Vespas. Hymns 8: *bledsiað weter, ða ofer heofenas sind, dryhten*). Hence, *ofer roderum* naturally seems a more likely correction.

Occasionally it would appear that the very important principle of variation has been applied too rigorously or, in other words, extended beyond its proper limits. Thus, in the passage, Genesis (B) 332-4: *sohton oþer land, / þæt wæs leohtes leas and wæs liges full, / fyres fær micel*, the two phrases containing *lig* and *fyr* are taken by Kock to be 'parallel predicative complements.' There is, of course, parallelism of meaning here, but there is also a difference of phrasing such as is not matched by any of the numerous illustrative passages adduced, so that we can hardly consider it a case of true 'variation'; we could not say: *þæt (land) wæs . . . fyres fær micel.*

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In the discussion of Genesis 1661 ff., ***Đa þær mon mænig be his mægwine, / æđeling anmod ođerne bæd,*** Kock explains ***be his mægwine*** and ***ođerne*** as parallel terms and equates ***biddan be*** (=***biddan to***) with ***biddan.*** So far as the sense of the passage is concerned, this is entirely satisfactory. But it is difficult to see how such a meaning could be forced on the preposition *be.* (If it were *æt,* the case would be different.) I would suggest, as a possible solution, that *be* denotes 'companionship,' practically coming to the same as 'and.' Accordingly, the entire line 1661 would appear to contain a slightly more general term which is specified by the following *æđeling anmod.* Regarding this particular feature, a passage like Maldon 233 f.: ***us is eallum þearf, / þæt ure æghwylc oþerne bylde,*** though of different construction, could be mentioned as an analogous case.

A very tempting interpretation is offered of Gnomica Exon. 31 ff. ***Umbor yceđ, þa æradl nimeđ*** is rendered by: 'the baby adds, when early sickness takes,' i.e. 'the new-born give a more, when sickness gives a less.' But should we not, in such a case, expect ***þonne*** rather than ***þa?*** By the slight change of ***þa ær*** to ***þær*** we could arrive at the same acceptable meaning; ***þær*** would exactly fit into the context.

As we look over the long line of Professor Kock's textual studies, we cannot help wishing that it were possible to reissue them in book form, rearranged, systematized, and revised wherever revision should be deemed desirable. But this may be too much to ask for in these days of multifarious difficulties. In the meantime, a few summarizing statements, with especial reference to the comparative method so successfully employed, may be found in Kock's article entitled 'Fornjermansk forskning, en översikt, en vidräkning och ett antal nya tolkningar,' *Lunds Univ. Årsskr.* N. F. Avd. 1. Bd. 18. Nr. 1.

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SHAKSPERE TO SHERIDAN. A Book About the Theatre of Yesterday and Today. By Alwin Thaler, Ph.D. Harvard University Press. Cambridge: 1922. Pp. xviii+339.

"This book treats of the life story of the theatre in Shakspere's time and during the two centuries after him as of one organic whole; it seeks to draw a living cross-section thereof. . . . My underlying purpose . . . is to show how continuous has been the great tradition; how minutely and circumstantially the theatre of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century modeled its activities upon those of Shakspere and his fellows, and to suggest, in turn, how much the theatre of today owes to that of yesterday."

From the Preface.

It would be unkind and unjust in the reviewer to hold Dr. Thaler too closely to account for the declarations which he makes in his Preface. What he pretends to have written is an

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organized study directed to certain definite ends; what he has actually written is a voluminous, gossipy, rather happy-go-lucky description of theatrical conditions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. How could he suppose that the theatrical magnates of the eighteenth century "minutely and circumstantially" modeled their activities on the theatre of Shakspere, when they had only the vaguest notion of how that theatre was managed, and when for them theatrical history began with the recall of Charless II and the patents to Davenant and Killigrew? On the contrary, his own evidences make it clear that the resemblances between the theatre of Garrick and the theatre of Shakspere were scarcely more profound than the necessary resemblances between the theatre of Euripides and the New York Hippodrome. Equally insignificant are his parallels with the modern stage. From time to time he recollects his thesis long enough to remark that the eighteenth century public, like the nineteenth, preferred trash to masterpieces, or that Restoration managers were singularly like modern managers in having their ups and downs, or that great sums were spent in dressing pantomimes comparable to sums expended on musical comedy today; but one can hardly maintain that facts like these, however indisputable, throw much light.

The best way to take the book is to disregard the preface and accept it as a collection of miscellaneous, diverting, and often useful information. The vagueness of the title witnesses to the casual nature of the contents. Dr. Thaler has grouped his facts more or less successfully under such heads as Playwrights, Players, Managers, Theatres and Court, and Playhouses, but the arrangement within the chapters is usually not very firm, and the reader must be always ready to digress, or to leap forward and backward through the centuries. One must admit, in fairness, that the mass of citation and its heterogeneous character make a closer organization difficult; at the same time, the chapters would doubtless gain in clearness if all of them, like the one on Playhouses, had been divided into subsections.

With so large and varied a field it would be obviously impossible to cover thoroughly the whole of it, and Dr. Thaler had no intention of doing so. He disavows, in his Preface, any attempt to treat the stage in "water-tight compartments," by which he means complete discussions of particular phases. The result is that, with one or two exceptions, the reader will look in vain for any authoritative treatment of any one phase of theatrical history. For example, probably the most interesting and important phase of theatrical history in the eighteenth century is the struggle between the patent houses and the more or less illicit houses that appeared from time to time. Dr. Thaler does at various points touch on this vital struggle, but

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the student will not get from his book a working knowledge, much less a complete survey. Again, although a good many statistics as to costumes and stage properties are given, and many expense accounts of mounting plays, there occurs nowhere in the book a practical discussion of the arrangements of an eighteenth century playhouse or of the equipment behind the stage. Nor, if one is curious on the subject, will he find among all the notes and gossip concerning actresses, any treatment of the influence which the admission of women to the stage had on the course of English drama and theatre. The fact is that Dr. Thaler, in deciding what to include and what to exclude, has been guided largely by personal inclination.

Accepting the book as a very incomplete, a necessarily incomplete, survey of the seventeenth and eighteenth century stage, one finds much in it of value and interest. It is rich in illustrations and quotations from contemporary records; it has a number of interesting pictures. Undoubtedly it comes the nearest to authoritative completeness in the matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, the greater part of the statistics having to do with theatre profits and losses, actors' salaries, authors' profits, cost of properties, percentages, benefits, annuities, rents, etc. In this field the interested reader will find the most to repay his search, and indeed the information given as to the upward cash curve from the comparatively modest transactions of the theatre of Shakspere to the large speculations of the theatre of Sheridan comes as near as anything in the book to fulfilling the promise of organized research made in the Preface.

HAROLD N. HILLEBRAND

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DANISH BALLADS. Translated by E. M. Smith-Dampier. Cambridge, University Press. 1920. 8°, pp. 167.

This neat volume contains metrical versions of twenty-nine ballads, some of which Miss Smith-Dampier had previously published.

She used the *Danske Folkeviser i Udvalg* of the late Axel Olrik as the source of her originals and was still able to get the benefit of that scholar's criticism on her work. Of the fifty-one numbers in the first part of Olrik's little collection Miss Smith-Dampier uses twenty-five, and two (her numbers 18 and 26) of the thirty-two in Olrik's *Anden Samling* (1909). She also includes translations of "Tyge Hermandsson" (No. 29) from Grundtvig, which she found discussed in Olrik's introduction, and of "Thord of Hafsgaard" (No. 15), the original of which is the first number in Grundtvig's great collection. Very little of the ballads chosen for translation is omitted, but of the long ballad of Marsk Stig, (No. 8), only twenty-eight stanzas (out

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of one hundred and five) are rendered. A twelve-page introduction on Danish ballads and remarks on single ballads, or on little groups of them, scattered through her text, are based chiefly upon Olrik's introduction.

The translator groups the ballads partly in her own way: Historical (Nos. 1-9); Legendary (10-13); Ballads of Magic (14-20); Miscellaneous (21-29). So far as possible she has "reproduced the metrical variations of the original ballads and striven in general rather for literal accuracy than poetical effect." The translations are accurate on the whole—for she had the advantage of Olrik's brief but good explanatory notes on obsolete words and obscure expressions. Miss Smith-Dampier uses pretty skilfully the vocabulary and stock of phrases of the English and Scottish ballad. She reproduces alliteration whenever possible. In fact, it seems that she strives to bring as many words of a line into the alliteration as she can, thus making often a more extended use of it than was the case in the original. A few parallel stanzas will give some idea of Miss Smith-Dampier's translation, and examples of her treatment of alliteration, assonance, etc. First, stanza 27 of No. 9:

Niels Ebbesøn red ad Vejen frem,	Niels Ebbeson he fled full fast,
han hug sin Hest med Spore.	Nor spur was fain to spare.

Or her spirited rendering of stanza 57 of the same ballad:

Niels Ebbeson han tren til sin Hest,	Niels Ebbeson rode to Noringsris,
til Noringsris monde han ride;	And fast he spurred his steed;
det vil jeg for Sanden sige:	Sore, good sooth, was his anguish,
han havde baade Angst og Kvide.	And sore, good sooth, his need.

And No. 11, stanza 2:

Ebbe han tjener i Kongens Gaard	Sir Ebbe serves for fame and fee
baade for Guld og Ære;	The royal court within,
hjemme sidder Peder, hans Broder,	While Peter his brother that bides at home
han lokker Hjertenskære.	His true-love's troth would win.

A stanza from No. 22, "The Maiden at the Thing":

De skær min Ager, de slaar min Eng,	The mown they mar, the sown they spoil,
de lokker fra mig baade Pige og Dreng.	Both man and maid they lure from toil.

Also No. 10 of the translation, stanza 54:

Der de komme til Bure,	When they came to the bower
da var Signelil brændt;	Signelil's soul was sped;
og der de komme til Galgen,	When they came to the gallows
da var Havbor hængt.	Havbor was hanged and dead.

Could it be the translator's striving for alliteration and for rime instead of assonance that was responsible for the rendering of stanza 5 of No. 21 ("Torben's Daughter")?

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Vi er ikke kommen for Hus eller Jord,	We come not hither for house nor land,
men vi er kommen for dit Hjerteblod.	We come for the blood of thy red right hand.

Sir Torben had committed a murder but "the blood of thy red right hand" seems poor. Instead of "land:red right hand" perhaps assonance with "garth:heart" might have been used.

Miss Smith-Dampier is not pedantically accurate about reproducing numbers, especially when rime is involved or when a possible alliteration might be destroyed. "I *atten* Aar" is in the translation, p. 27, "*eight* years *and more*"; p. 42, "*otte* Borge udi Sælland," "*seven* castles in S."; No. 12, "Oh, *seventy-seven twice-told* were they," for "De vare *syv og syvsyndstyve*" (=147).

These English versions would not only meet the requirement of being singable, but they are smooth enough to be well appreciated by the reader who must practically limit his interest to the bare texts. One regrets that Miss Smith-Dampier did not try her hand at more of Olrik's selected ballads, say at least fifty in all; one misses at any rate such a well-known ballad as "Harpens Kraft," and others like "Hr. Peders Harpe." A translation of Olrik's fine introduction would have been very welcome. But there is room for a good popular introduction in English to the noble ballads of Denmark and Miss Smith-Dampier's work fills the place very well.

Chas. A. Williams

University of Illinois

THE TECHNIQUE OF THOMAS HARDY. By Joseph Warren Beach. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1922. X+255. $2.50.

The technical point of view is one rarely assumed in judging the novel. There is a feeling that in this form of literature, the most spacious and leisurely form that we know, the author is rightly entitled to freedom from the limitations and special conditions that hedge the poet, the dramatist, or the writer of short-stories. Even those critics, like Mr. Wilson Follett, who have been promptest to note the growing tendency of the form toward the symmetry and cohesion, the unity of aim and the economy of means that characterize the drama, have been chary of seeming to impose the laws of the drama upon it, and have habitually preferred to approach it on its social or on its philosophic side. From this general custom Mr. Beach declared his dissent some years ago by the composition of a very valuable book on Henry James; but the declaration in that case, having to do with a novelist himself so completely obsessed by the ideals of craftsmanship, was much less radical than in the

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present one, where the subject has seemed almost to compel the opposite approach. Mr. Beach has become, moreover, much more explicit as to the advantages of his method. Avowedly emboldened by the recent work of Mr. Percy Lubbock, he has come to urge it upon his fellow-critics not as a method merely but as a whole new field of study.

Since I can heartily praise this new book of his as one of the most stimulating and informing of all commentaries on the novels of Thomas Hardy, I am going to take license to stress what seems to me a certain inutility in his scheme, as well as to indicate wherein I think his judgment has suffered through his extraordinary enthusiasm for technique. Neither of these reservations has to do with his handling of the novels composed before *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886). Indeed, the earlier novels yield themselves with a beautiful conformity to his plan of treating them as the representatives of successive stages in craftsmanship. We are taken right into the master's mental workshop and there with all the thrills of initiation made to retrace his growth, first from mere ingenuity in the manipulation of events to a deeper concern for the ironies of circumstance, thence into that passion for the realities of place out of which emerges, in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, his immortal Wessex, and finally, in *The Return of the Native*, to a third stage, marked by the utmost purity of dramatic intention and a supreme solicitude for the economies of structure. And here it would seem that we ought to pause and rest Mr. Hardy's title to greatness as a craftsman. But not so. With other stages clearly to be traversed, Mr. Beach goes on to treat the further growth in power, the superior effect of sympathy and compassion in *Tess*, as "an even greater triumph of design," and then to discover a principle of "exclusive concern for truth" by which *Jude* is made to appear a "final triumph" of technique. These are hypnotic words, merely and, as it seems to me, uselessly concealing the fact that we have far transcended the bounds of the subject announced. The selection and conjoining of dramatic forces, the artist's creation of his atmosphere—these are matters clearly of design; but human sympathy, love of truth, and kindred moral qualities—these are the conditions that make for those differences in works of art that are most independent of technical excellence. If not, technical excellence must comprise everything that can possibly contribute to the effect of a work of art; and in this view it is difficult to read any particular meaning into Mr. Beach's thesis that the appeal of Mr. Hardy's novels is in direct proportion to their excellence in technique, or, in his own words, that it was not till Mr. Hardy "had mastered the *art* of novel-writing that he had really learned his craft."

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Mr. Beach would identify craft with art to save it from identification with artifice, in the manner of manuals prepared for the instruction of authors, and one must respect the motive; but I do not think that he has been wise in introducing this verbal conjuring into the simple story of the progress of a great artist to levels of achievement beyond what we ordinarily understand by mastery of craft. I should not, of course, so labor the point did I not believe such devotion to an abstraction dangerous to clarity of judgment. That Mr. Beach has found and explained the higher levels of Mr. Hardy's art is proof that he has not victimized himself in any *very* dangerous sense by his theory. He has explained *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* very justly and fully. But in his treatment of the middle novels, *The Mayor of Casterbridge* and *The Woodlanders*, where the design is controlled neither by the singleness of moral purpose evident in *Tess* nor by singleness of dramatic purpose, he has failed to do complete justice, while for *Jude* he has done what seems to me distinctly more than justice. It is only in devotion to an abstract ideal of unity of some kind that *Jude* could appear as a "final triumph" of its author, or those two superb novels of the middle period as "examples of certain backward tendencies in novelistic art"—backward from the dramatic tendency, in these cases, the one toward melodrama, the other toward the old chronicle play.

Only from the chill and arid heights of technique could one object, in *The Woodlanders*, to the dramatically unnecessary death of Felice Charmond, or regard as a serious blemish on the action the machinery by which it is brought about. Only under the spell of the magic word "motivation," I am sure, does Mr. Beach object to so much ado over the sale of Marty South's hair, and find it in his heart to say that this beautiful hair serves no useful purpose "but to motivate the separation of Felice and Fitzpiers." I must say a word for poor Marty's hair. *Is* it essential to the quarrel between Fitzpiers and Felice? Does it not rather complicate this episode, enrich it, make us at home in it, after the manner of ordinary life? And the pathos of that hair! To me at least it speaks with a strange small eloquence—in an utter disregard, it is true, of the way such things are managed in the Sophoclean drama—of Marty's pathetic destiny, of her love and her loyalty, of her infinite capacity for sacrifice and her final reward. What a touching and human thing it is to wish away from a novel!

But I must not imply that Mr. Beach has in his reverence for the rules of composition been insensitive to the human qualities that make these novels great for me. He comes in the end to a really fine responsiveness to the characters, especially of Michael Henchard and Marty South. As technique has been for him, after all, an avenue of approach, rather than

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a goal, so the rules of technique—the laws of the drama—have been for him as so many springing-boards, launching him in nearly every instance into the discussion of more vital matters. So he arrives at a due consideration not only of those central questions that concern individual character and destiny but of the social and philosophic bearings of each novel. He is informing, too, on matters of style and literary history. Especially in his relation of Hardy's themes and methods to current Victorian fashions has he given real historical scope to a work that promises very little of the kind. In fact, the happiest virtue of this book is that in almost every way it so vastly exceeds its promises. And not the least of these ways is that of appreciation. Though chiefly to be commended for the virtue of clarity, it abounds in passages of charm and beauty, such as will surely quicken the joy of new readers in the power of the master whom it treats, and recall to the old their thrill in the great moments of books read long ago.

DELMAR GROSS COOKE
The University of Texas

THE POET AS PHILOSOPHER. A Study of Three Philosophical Poems: Nosce Teipsum; The Essay on Man; In Memoriam. By Mabel Dodge Holmes. Philadelphia: 1921. Pp. 190.

In a series of interesting essays Dr. Holmes discusses in turn the relation of three outstanding English philosophical poems, first, to the general spirit of the ages in which they were written, then to the learning and the literary and the religious influences which determined so largely their form and content. To each of these four subjects she devotes a chapter, giving a rapid summary of the developments relevant to the particular aspect under discussion, from the Renaissance down to 1850. One might naturally object to the lack of thoroughness of such summaries, considered as history, but the purpose of the author is not primarily historical, but philosophical or psychological. She wished to investigate whether a poet can be an original philosopher; "whether the poet can be as fittingly a leader in abstract thought as he is a maker of pictures, a teller of tales, a singer of songs, a voicer of emotions" (p. 5).

As to these three illustrations chosen for study, there can be no doubt, we believe, as to the correctness of the author's conclusions. "All three reflect the background of history and social condition against which they appear. All three echo the philosophical systems of the periods immediately preceding their own. All three show themselves products of the educational development that shaped their growth, Davies of humansim, in particular, Pope of naturalism, and Tennyson of modern scientific study. Each stands at the close of a movement in art, and therefore concentrates in himself the art qualities

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of the poets preceding him. All three in their religious proclivities exemplify with paramount force the religious proclivities of their contemporaries" (p. 185). These conclusions, though not surprising, are nevertheless worth establishing with care. But it is hardly convincing to deduce from them the general inability of poets to think with originality. "Is it safe to generalize from three instances?" asks the author. "If such an assumption may be ventured, the conclusion seems unavoidable that the poet, however cultured, however familiar with the learning of his day, has no power to advance in thought independently of the scholars and thinkers of his time. He is not the pioneer, opening up the desert path; rather he comes after, by the beauty of his poetic gift making the desert path to blossom as the rose" (p. 100). The reviewer feels that it is unsafe to generalize thus from three instances. But even if we increased the number, even if we doubled it, by including, without much fear of contradiction, the names of Lucretius, Dante and Goethe, our generalization would still fail to carry conviction. Originality is of course a relative term, and in a sense all really sincere and thorough thought is original, even though it has been uttered before, and it is only in this sense that most poets *pretend* to be original. But there remain numerous examples of the union of artistic power with power of original thought—Plato, Blake, Browning, to choose at random. Fulke Greville pretended to be a philosopher as well as a poet; but Greville, says our author, "is more the philosopher and less the poet; he thinks more than he sings. The independence of his thought is therefore not a refutation, as it might otherwise seem to be, of our proposition that the poet-philosopher does little independent thinking" (p. 111). On the next page, however, she admits, and I think rightly, that "Donne was a lyric, not a philosophical poet; but in his own vein he showed the fresh independence of thought that did not mark the philosophy of Davies" (p. 113).—In short, the writer of this thesis has opened up a vast subject which needs further analysis and definition before any scientific inductions can be made regarding it, and she has therefore wisely taken a tentative tone, even though her generalizations are rather sweeping.

Such a pursuit of one problem through vastly different ages is suggestive and illuminating, but it makes heavy demands upon the scholar who undertakes it. Dr. Holmes has been adroit in her generalizations and in her rapid summaries, in which she has surveyed the spiritual history of England through three centuries. It is chiefly in the sections dealing with the mazes of Medieval and Renaissance thought, where the author's large dependence on secondary sources has not served her so well, that the present reviewer finds occasion to question or correct. On one page (20) we read that in the poem of Davies "were Plato and Aristotle popularized and made

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English." But elsewhere (p. 38) we are told that it was "a philosophic poem based wholly on the philosophy of Aristotle, and containing references to Plato's doctrines only for the purpose of refutation." That the poem belongs to the Platonic tradition I have tried to show in my forthcoming article in the Publications of the Modern Language Association. It is true that the "pantheistic idealism of Plato, brought to life again by Bruno, has no place in Davies" (p. 39), but Platonic idealism had survived through the ages in other forms than the pantheistic. In the controversy over logic at Cambridge, about 1580, we are told that "Digby defended the Aristotelian and Temple the Platonic method" (p. 39, n. 1), whereas it was of course the new logic of Peter Ramus that Temple defended. The definition of the soul by the Schoolmen was not exclusively Aristotelian, as the author implies (p. 40), but was also deeply indebted to Plato and to some of the Church Fathers; when Davies says, "The soule a substance, and a spirit is," he was departing, in the tradition of the Middle Ages, both from Aristotle and Plato in affirming the substantiality of the soul, and following instead a Patristic conception; and in general the Medieval faith in the spirituality of the soul was Platonic rather than Aristotelian. On these matters and on the traditional nature of Davies's poem, I must refer again to my article mentioned above. The author hazards (on page 44) a guess that Davies might have been familiar with the work of Kepler on optics; but aside from the fact that Davies was no eager student of science, as Donne was, Kepler's *Astronomiae pars optica* was published five years later than Davies's poem.

LOUIS I. BREDVOLD

University of Michigan

SYNTAX DES HEUTIGEN ENGLISCH. Von Dr. G. Wendt. II. Teil. Die Satzlehre. Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung. Heidelberg, 1914. Pp. xi, 279.

SCHWIERIGKEITEN DES ENGLISCHEN. Von Dr. Gustav Krüger. II. Teil: Syntax. 3. Abteilung: Fürwort. Zweite, verbesserte und stark vermehrte Auflage. C. A. Koch's Verlagsbuchhandlung. Dresden und Leipzig, 1914. Pp. 703-1026.

Dr. Wendt's Syntax is an unmistakably important contribution to the study of English grammar. It were greatly to be desired that its influence should be felt by writers of grammars in English and its benefits enjoyed by English-speaking learners of the subject. It is in fact the first book in which the structure of the English sentence is analyzed in a lucid, systematic, and scientific fashion. The weakness of practically all English grammarians on the syntactic side has been the hopeless confusion of logical and linguistic categories and the excessive

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emphasis placed upon the parts of speech. Dr. Wendt has had the good sense to recognize that in explaining the composition of the English sentence one can dispense with the parts of speech almost entirely. Subject, Predicate, Attribute, and Adverb are the terms with which he works, defining Adverb according to its meaning and function in the sentence, which is highly variable, rather than as a *formal* part of speech. Preposition and Conjunction are, of course, purely syntactic in character, though classified among the parts of speech.

Having a firm grasp of what are the basic and essential elements in the structure of a sentence, Dr. Wendt understands that it is both useless and mistaken to parse all individual words and therefore treats verbal phrases and other combinations as syntactic units. Furthermore, he is a good enough linguist to make allowance for the fluidity of constructions, for the analogical growth of illogical usages, and for the existence of a broad border-land of doubtful interpretation. This may appear to be gratuitous praise for a student of language, but the truth is that there are scarcely any English grammars of this type, in which sound linguistic principles are consistently observed. How many text-books are there, for example, which are careful to point out that there is no necessary correspondence between the logical and grammatical relation to one another of the clauses in an English sentence, and then to pursue a formal grammatical principle of classification? Where shall we look for a description of sentence-combinations like the one before us? We even lack an adequate terminology for describing the various modes of joining sentences and clauses into larger units. Dr. Wendt distinguishes between "Satzreihe" and "Satzgefüge," which we might render by "Sentence-sequence" and "sentence-fusion." These do not correspond to Compound and Complex, being freer and more flexible in their application. It is made evident that in the devices for joining clauses and in the meanings attaching to their union there is no greater definiteness or rigidity than in other aspects of language. Due allowance is also made for the influence of rhythmic and stylistic factors on syntactic habits, particularly in the discussion of the position of the Adverb.

There is not so much to be said about Dr. Krüger's book, which continues the detailed description of English idiom on a scale already elaborately illustrated by him in two preceding volumes on the Noun and Adjective. The present section deals with the Pronoun and devotes more than three hundred pages to a patient analysis of every shade and modification of usage by which pronouns are affected. It is a method which does not bring into the light the structural principles of the language. Its value lies in its wealth of detail.

JACOB ZEITLIN

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FOUNDED BY GUSTAF E. KARSTEN

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THE MASTERSINGER STAGE

The great Mastersinger center was Nürnberg and its great master was Hans Sachs. We know, to be sure, of Mastersinger plays being given in a number of other cities, notably those near Nürnberg and more or less under its influence, and we know of a few Mastersinger dramatists other than Hans Sachs. But all this sinks into relative insignificance compared with the great theatrical activity of the Nürnberg Mastersingers, beginning with the middle of the sixteenth century, and the enormous dramatic productivity of Hans Sachs, beginning at about the same time. A study of the Mastersinger stage becomes thus in a very large measure a study of the Hans Sachs stage in Nürnberg.

The first special study of the stage of Hans Sachs was an incomplete one published as a dissertation by Anton Glock in 1903. He proceeds cautiously and establishes a few facts. Two subsequent studies have been attempts at reconstructions, with special reference to the church of St. Martha in Nürnberg, one by Professor Max Herrmann in his *Forschungen zur deutschen Theatergeschichte* (1914) and the other by Professor Albert Köster with the title *Die Meistersingerbühne des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts, ein Versuch des Wiederaufbaus* (1921). The writer of this article published in this journal in 1917 a short study aiming chiefly to show the impossibility of Herrmann's reconstruction but offering a few constructive suggestions. The purpose of this present article is to consider again the Mastersinger stage of Hans Sachs, giving first a criticism of Köster's reconstruction and then some independent conclusions.

In Herrmann's reconstruction the St. Martha stage is placed where nave and choir meet; it extends a little over two meters back into the choir and a little over two meters forward into the nave, this front part being twice as broad as the rear stage and extending thus beyond the side altars;[1] it has two

[1] The location of these altars, indicated by M and N, may be seen on the plan of the church here reproduced. For a plan showing Herrmann's stage see Vol. XVI, p. 21[illegible], of this journal.

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chief entrances, one up a few steps at the sacristy end of the front stage, the other through the curtains in the middle of the rear stage; a third, somewhat squatty entrance, used only occasionally for special purposes is through a door, or rather through the front half of a door connecting sacristy and choir, a door that is now walled up.

Köster admits that he found Herrmann's reconstruction at first convincing, but upon a second reading began to have his doubts and finally reached the opinion that it was impossible. He devotes the first third of his book to a justification of this opinion. War having so completely broken the international contacts of scholarship, Köster evidently arrived at his conclusion without knowledge of the study of the present writer published four years earlier, a study in which the same conclusion had been reached upon the basis of much the same reasons. These two attacks, each supplementing in some ways the other, have, it seems safe to say, effectively demolished Herrmann's structure.

The location, the general arrangement, and the approximate dimensions of the St. Martha stage as reconstructed by Köster may be seen from the plan here reproduced, with its accompanying scale in meters. In the center of the nave and facing the choir he places the large stage platform, assumed to be at least 1.80 and probably 2 meters high; his rear stage-curtains (the wavy lines on the plan) conceal part of the platform, and extensions of these curtains span the spaces on each side between the platform and the sides of the church; through these curtains he assumes a rear entrance at A, side entrances at B and C, and front side entrances through the extension curtains at X and Y and up the steps at T and U; the audience is in the choir and the small front part of the nave.

Compared with Herrmann's arrangement, and, one may say, compared with the more natural and probable directions, Köster has turned the whole stage and audience room around 180 degrees. The unusual chain of partly improbable, partly incomprehensible reasoning by which he attempts to show the need of this semi-revolution (pp. 32-34) deserves a hurried examination. He states that, although Herrmann's rear curtain, extending across the choir and having the usual height, would fulfill the important secondary purpose of concealing the

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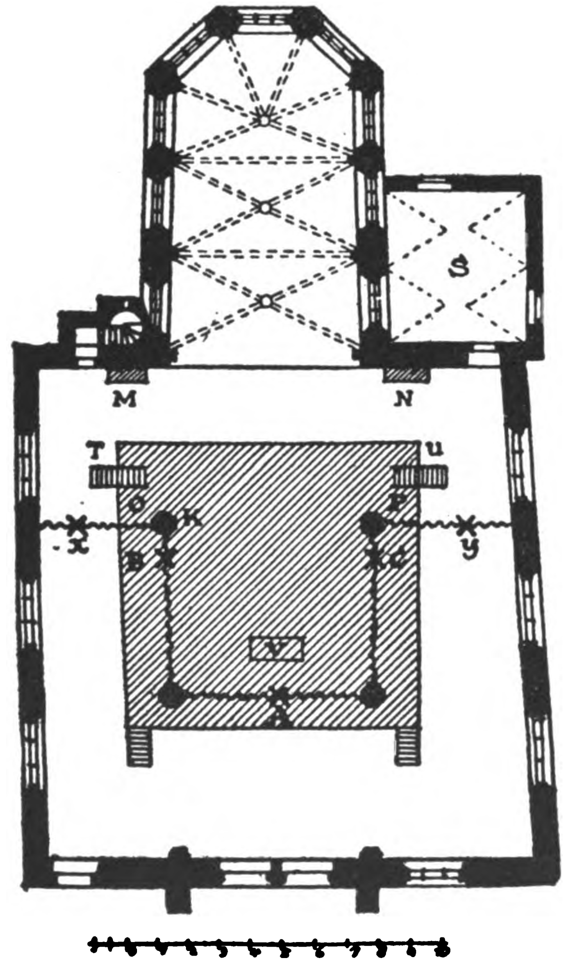
high altar, it would not conceal a huge wood carving which we know was high above the altar, a crucifix surrounded by the four Evangelists and their symbols. This, Köster states, would have to be concealed also; but, as it did not have the sanctity



of a high altar, and, in its lofty position, would probably not be very disturbing, the need of concealment does not seem compelling. Köster goes on to state that the rear curtain would thus have to extend up high enough to conceal the carving, i.e., up to the vaulted ceiling. To the sixteenth century audience,

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accustomed to the conventional rear curtain of the usual height, a curtain thus extended would probably seem stranger than the unconcealed carving, to say nothing of the possibility of concealing the carving more easily and naturally by draperies hung over it. Assuming the need of thus extending the rear curtain, Köster says "If that happened, then the stage platform and the whole church, squeezed in tightly between houses, would lie in deepest darkness at two o'clock in the afternoon, in January and February." But the nave of St. Martha did not depend upon the windows of the choir for its light. In this, as in most churches, the nave was undoubtedly lighted by windows along both sides as well as by those of the west front, often illumined by the afternoon sun. Köster himself, in a conjectural view of the interior of St. Martha with his stage set up in it (p. 94), shows a nave with abundant side and west windows, and an eighteenth century picture of the west front of St. Martha shows three good sized windows with no obstructing houses. In fact, recalling the position of Herrmann's stage, mostly in the nave and extending only two meters into the choir, one may feel quite sure that the light from the nave alone would light the whole stage reasonably well. Köster, on the contrary, says that in the case of the high rear curtain, the spectators would see nothing at all, and says further that, in the case of a curtain of the usual height, the spectators would be looking towards the light and the actors would appear black to them. One may well ask why Herrmann's actors should appear black to the spectators and Köster's should not, for Köster's stage has also windows just above and beyond the rear curtains, and, in fact, *west* windows with the possibility of a bright afternoon sun. From all these difficulties which Köster has conjured up by such strange reasoning he says there is but one escape, namely to turn the whole arrangement around 180 degrees. But, he says, we do not need to stop at such general considerations, we have evidence confirming directly the correctness of the proposed arrangement. This evidence is the fact that Adam Puschmann, pupil, warm admirer, and imitator of Hans Sachs, gave the play of *Tobias* in the city of Görlitz in 1575 "in der Mönchskirche auf Brettern *über den Weiberbänken*," which Köster thinks was in imitation of the St. Martha arrangement which he has so improbably conjec-

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tured. The assumption that these words mean that *Tobias* was given on a stage facing the choir, with the audience chiefly in the choir, is not necessary and, in my opinion, not at all probable,[2] and furthermore to base an assumed imitation of a conjectural St. Martha arrangement upon Puschmann's admitted admiration and imitation of Hans Sachs is utterly illogical in view of the fact, which Köster elsewhere establishes and emphasizes, that the Mastersinger performances directed by Hans Sachs were not in St. Martha, but in the Dominican monastery. The arguments of Köster fail thus completely to show the need of his shifting, by 180 degrees, of stage and audience room. It remains to be seen whether his arrangement is satisfactory enough to be its own justification. Here again doubts and questions arise in one's mind.

One of these questions concerns the size of Köster's stage and his space behind the scenes. His platform is about nine meters square. In St. Martha it stands approximately in the middle of a nave only about fifteen meters square. A glance at the plan that is here reproduced will show that the combined area of stage and space behind the scenes amounts to about two thirds of the total area of nave and choir, leaving only about one third for the audience. This is an improbable proportion under almost any circumstances and especially in a church as small as St. Martha. At this very period the Mastersingers were finding the whole of St. Martha too small for their singing festivals held at Easter, Pentecost, and Christmas. For this reason the city council in 1562 allowed these to be held in the Dominican monastery (doubtless in the church of the monastery, for the only other room that would come into consideration, the refectory, is smaller than St. Martha): "Die meistersinger sol man zu den dreien hohen festen kunftig alle mal im predigercloster singen lassen, weil es in der spitalkirchen (i.e. in St. Martha) zu eng ist."[3]

Not only is this large stage in the middle of the nave ex-

[2] I venture to conjecture that an inexpensive primitive stage platform was made by laying boards over the backs of several rows of fixed benches. A rear curtain could be stretched across, affording entrances. The "Weiberbänke" were probably towards the front, with the audience seated on the other benches.

[3] See *Hans Sachs Festschrift*, 1894, p. 284.

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tremely space-consuming; its arrangement facing the choir presents other difficulties. A glance at the plan will show that the main entrances, viz. the west doors, were behind the scenes. These were not only the sole public entrances to the church but probably the only entrances at all.[4] Even for the comparatively simple Mastersinger performances, an arrangement is improbable in which the audience enters through the 'stage doors' and, passing behind the scenes, enters the audience room through the curtains at X and Y. Furthermore, in view of Köster's assumption that most of the audience stood, there are distinct difficulties, as a moment's thought will reveal, in having the audience room fill up thus from the front. The first arrivals would take the best standing places near the stage and would soon fill the whole narrow strip of nave in front of the stage. As a result, late arrivals could reach the choir, which would have to constitute the main part of the audience room, only with great difficulty, by forcing their way through these earlier ones standing "Kopf an Kopf." Even if the St. Martha stage were of the improbably large size which Köster assumes, almost any location in St. Martha would be better than the proposed one. Assuming that the church was without fixed benches (and these would be distinctly in the way in Köster's arrangement), the stage might be placed to better advantage in the middle of either side of the nave, or, either with or without fixed benches, it could be in the middle of the front of the nave, just in front of the choir. Any of these positions would give more audience room and provide better entrance and exit facilities for the audience.

In addition to the question of size, certain doubts are raised by the shape of Köster's stage, especially by the deep rear stage. Köster makes a particular point of showing that the audience

[4] Since the sixteenth century, St. Martha has been several times renovated, with certain alterations which cannot be definitely determined. So far as is known, the only other possible entrance would be a small door, now walled up, which, if open, would now lead from the choir into the sacristy. Köster, accepting certain inferences transmitted to him by the Nürnberg city council, thinks however that the sacristy was originally not in its present position, and that this small door led originally, and still in Hans Sachs' day, out into the open. He does not however suggest its use as an entrance to his audience room. Herrmann assumes that it led then, as it would now, into the sacristy, and he makes vital use of it in his reconstruction.

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was not only in front but on the sides of the front part of his stage. But a careful look at the plan will show that those on the sides could not see the rear entrance at A and could not see the interesting scenes that took place about the trap-door at V. Furthermore, against such a deep stage stands a considerable mass of evidence in pictures and words, all tending to show for the sixteenth century a stage whose width was distinctly greater than its depth.

The probable height of the stage depends evidently upon whether the audience was seated or standing. This question, says Köster, can be answered from the prologs of the plays. These always end with an admonition to the audience to be silent and listen, and from seventy plays examined by Köster he culls two which in the wording of this admonition speak of the audience as seated and five that speak of it as standing; the other sixty-three (or rather the other hundred and eighteen, for I have looked hurriedly through the prologs of all of Hans Sachs' hundred and twenty-five comedies and tragedies, without finding any to add to Köster's seven cases) do not mention the point at all; no prolog addresses its admonition to both seated and standing spectators. This evidence shows only that the conventionally worded prolog might, perhaps under the exigencies of rime, refer to seated or standing audiences and that the sixteenth century knew both conditions. It does not warrant any conclusion concerning any particular audience room, and especially not concerning St. Martha, where Hans Sachs did not direct performances. Upon this evidence of the prologs, however, Köster concludes that in St. Martha most of the spectators stood but that there were seats for some prominent and privileged guests. His stage is therefore for standing spectators and is assumed to be at least one and four-fifths and probably two meters high. Both Anton Glock and Herrmann assume a stage of about half this height, evidently with seated spectators. In Dortmund in 1544 a stage was "breast-high," and this corresponds approximately to one in Annaberg in 1583 that was two ells high[5] and to the illustrations to Rasser's

[5] The ell was doubtless about 25 inches. For Dortmund and Annaberg see Expeditus Schmidt, *Die Bühnenverhältnisse des deutschen Schuldramas* (1903), pp. 48 and 52.

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Kinderzucht. In some of these Rasser pictures there are standing spectators about a stage that is only breast-high, something which Köster says is never found in pictures. Two meters seem rather high for a stage in a small audience room, even with standing spectators and the evidence for concluding that the spectators in St. Martha stood, is, as we have seen, quite without validity.

The only bases for a conjecture as to whether the St. Martha audience stood or sat are general probability in the case of performances in a church and the fact that for the performances in the Dominican monastery there were seats. In the sixteenth century plays in churches were frequent, and the churches were presumably equipped with benches or chairs. When the stage was in the choir, as at Münster in 1534 and repeatedly in St. Michaelis in Lüneberg,[6] it is natural to assume that the audience sat in the regular church seats, and for St. Martha it seems most reasonable to assume that the arrangement of stage and audience was such that the audience could use the church seats. In 1557 Hans Sachs was giving plays in the Dominican monastery and the city council warned him against beginning his Sunday performances or even admitting any spectators before the midday church services were over, adding "Und ob wol uf solchem angesagten beschaid gedachter Sachs der erbern frauen und jungfrauen so zeitlich zum spil komen und iren platz einnemen, luftung begert, so ist ime doch dasselb abzulainen bevohlen."[7] "Iren platz einnemen" means to take their seats, as Köster admits, but, committed as he is to the theory that most of the spectators stood, he assumes only a few seats and a high stage for a standing audience, as in St. Martha. A natural assumption, however, is that the audience was seated and the "erbern frauen und jungfrauen" wished to come early to get good seats. One difficulty which Köster, with his high stage and standing audience, fails entirely to envisage is the difficulty of placing his few seats that he assumes for a few privileged guests. Their natural place of honor would be near the stage, but there can be no seats near such a high stage unless they are on a raised platform (which would interfere with

[6] For Münster see Köster, p. 32; for St. Michaelis, Expeditus Schmidt, p. 46.

[7] Hampe, *Theaterwesen in Nurnberg*, II, No. 75.

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certain details of Köster's *mis en scene* to which I shall allude in the next paragraph). If the spectators near the stage stood, the seats behind the standing spectators would have to be raised, and, in his St. Martha arrangement, would be difficult of access. On the whole then it seems most probable that in St. Martha and in the Dominican monastery[8] the audience was, for the most part, seated and that the stage was lower than Köster's assumed height.

One more feature of Köster's stage seems doubtful, namely the front steps at T and U. There is no trace of such steps in all of the quite considerable pictorial material bearing upon the sixteenth century stage. Further doubt is cast upon them by some of the improbable details of *mis en scene* with which they are connected. In *Josua* (KG. 10, 96), at the fall of Jericho, "der grosse Zug der Israeliten unter Führung der Priester und der Bundeslade und unter dem Schall der Posaunen" marches three times around the whole platform before it storms up the front steps on to the stage, i.e., into the fallen city. In *Beritola* (KG. 16, 100), and several other plays, the ship, "das imposanteste Bühnengerät einiger Dramen des Hans Sachs," large enough for five occupants and too large and clumsy to be manipulated on the stage, comes into view at Y, discharges passengers at the base of the steps at U, continues its voyage around in front of the platform and disappears through the curtain at X. But this narrow strip of nave, about eight feet wide, around the three sides of the front stage, is supposed to be filled with standing spectators. Do the Israelitic warriors fight their way, and the ship plough its way, through them? To give these scenes effectively as Köster imagines them would require the whole eight-foot strip and leave for the audience only the tiny choir, in which there are already a high altar and some choir chairs, probably two rows facing each other and with the usual desks in front of them. Another doubtful use of these front steps is in connection with assumed initial and final processions of the players, which themselves call for some consideration.

[8] I have not raised the question as to what room in the monastery was used for performances. It is generally assumed that it was the refectory, but I have given elsewhere some reasons for thinking that it may have been the church. See Vol. XVII, p. 566, of this journal.

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Köster thinks that the stage direction *Sie gehnt alle in ordnung ab. Der ehrnholdt kombt und beschleust*, so often found just before the epilog, means not the exit of those characters only who happen to be on the stage at the end of the last act, but the processional exit of all the players, going, as Köster assumes, down the steps at T or U. That Hans Sachs had a fondness for a more or less processional final exit seems perfectly clear[9] but that this final procession was as general as Köster assumes and especially that it included all the players, and not merely those on the stage at the end of the final act, is not so clear. In one case Hans Sachs has given in full the order of processional exit, viz. in the manuscript version of his early play *Griselda* (KG. 21, 353). Here all the players are included, but in this play all the players are on the stage at the end of the last act. The stage direction itself *Sie gehnt alle in ordnung ab* does not furnish any conclusive evidence. *Sie gehnt alle ab* is used hundreds of times throughout the plays meaning the exit of those who are on the stage at any particular moment. The phrase *in ordnung*, which occurs practically only at the end, has the meaning "in proper order" and is found in cases where the final procession clearly did not include all, as in *Das jüngste Gericht* (K G 11, 400) *Christus geht ab mitt den auszerwehlten inn ordnung*, excluding thus the damned souls and the devils. In one case, the five-act play of *Jocasta* (KG. 8, 29) the direction *Sie gehnt alle in ordnung ausz* occurs at the end of the third act, and refers evidently only to those on the stage at that time.

In the absence of a front curtain on the Hans Sachs stage, it was necessary that all the characters on the stage at the end of each act should leave. This departure is usually motivated in the words of the last speaker. Then comes *Sie gehnt alle ab*. Similarly there is generally a motivation for leaving at the end of the last act followed by a stage direction for departure. In a number of plays this final direction is so worded as to show an exit clearly related to this expressed motivation. For example, in *Hagwartus* (KG. 13, 214), which ends with a fight,

[9] Especially clear instances may be found in the manuscript versions of *Griselda* (KG. 21, 353) and of *Achilles mit Polixenä* (Köster, p. 40), in *Jeremias* (KG. 11, 23), *Tristrant* (KG. 12, 142), *Artoxerxes* (KG. 23, 185) and the *Passio* (KG. 11, 246.)

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the last speaker says "Nun last uns blündern gar mit eil. Darnach abziehen. . . ," and then follows the direction *Man tregt die todten ab; nach dem man blündert, geht man ab.* In a similar way it seems reasonable to consider the less specifically worded *Sie gehnt alle in ordnung ab* as likewise related to the expressed motivation for leaving and limited by it. Thus at the end of the *Marschalck* (KG. 13, 52) the emperor says in motivation for leaving "Nun wöll wir hienein auff den sal, Mit frewden essen das frümal. . . ," then *Sie gehen alle in ordnung ausz*—surely not Sophus, the old marshal, who has died early in the play, or Diboldt, the thief and faithless servant, who has been led off to the gallows immediately before these final words of the emperor. In several cases, as in the *Belägerung Jerusalem* (KG. 10, 468), the motivation of the final exit is to go to the temple and offer thanks for a victory; the following *Sie gehnt alle in ordnung ab* could not reasonably include the vanquished enemy. Several plays end with the carrying off of the body of some one slain, then *alle gehen in ordnung ab.* They evidently follow the bier in proper order, as is clearly expressed in *Tristrant* (KG. 12, 142): *Man tregt die bahr ab, und gehen alle person in ordnung nach.* In such a procession the slayer would surely not appear. At the end of *Hertzog Wilhelm* (KG. 12, 488) the princess dies upon hearing that her husband has been murdered; *Man tregt die fürstin ab, und gehen alle in ordnung ab*—including surely neither the murdered man nor his murderer. The *Passio* (KG. 11, 256), ending with the descent from the Cross, has the final stage direction *Sie tragen den Herrn ab mit der procession zum grab*, certainly not including Judas, or Pilate, or the high priests and their servants.

So natural is it to take *Sie gehnt alle in ordnung ab* as applying to those on the stage at the end of the last act that in all probability no one would ever had thought of interpreting it as including the whole cast, were it not that in several plays it occurs where only two, or possibly only one character seems to be on the stage at the end of the last act.[10] Comparable with

[10] Köster (p. 40) cites *Arsinoes*, where there appears to be only one person on the stage, and *Hugo Schapler*, where Köster says there are only two, but where, at least in the printed version, there are four or possibly more on the stage. In *Thitus und Gisippus* (KG. 12, 15) there seem to be but two and the manuscript version of 1546 had *Die zwen gent aus*, which in the folio edition

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these cases and having presumably the same explanation are the somewhat more frequent cases where in places other than the end of plays, with apparently only two, or even one, on the stage, the stage direction is *Sie gehen alle ab.* These cases, whether at the end or in the middle of plays, are relatively very infrequent and the explanation may well be either that they are an oversight, or, more probably, that there are others, such as "trabanten" or "hofgesindt," on the stage but not mentioned in the stage directions. A good instance is in the fourth act of *Aretaphila* (KG. 13, 142), where, with apparently only two, Leander and Arethaphila, on the stage, the stage direction occurs *Sie gehen alle ab.* After this follows immediately the direction *Die trabanten kummen wider.* This *wider* seems to indicate that the two "trabanten" of Leander had been on the stage before, had accompanied their master as he left the stage with Arethaphila, and had then returned. An interesting case occurring at the end of a play and thus having especial bearing upon our question is in *Melusina* (KG. 12, 526). According to the stage directions only father and son are on the stage, the father in pilgrim's garb about to start for Rome. The final direction is *Sie gehen alle in ordnung ab.* But the final words of the son to motivate his leaving the stage with his father reveals the fact that the father's "hofgesindt" is also there. In this same play, near the beginning of the last act, the father is apparently alone on the stage when the direction occurs *Sie gent alle ab;* evidently the "hofgesindt" is again with the father.

As a convincing and illuminating illustration of his final procession of all the players Köster cites the "ausführliche und alles erklärende" stage direction at the end of the manuscript version of *Achilles mit Polixena: Der ehrnholdt tritt ein, und die personen alle wider machen ein Umgang, gent wider ab, darnach beschleust der ehrnholdt.* In the folio edition this final direction reads: *Neopthelemus führt sie* (i.e. Polixena) *gebunden ab. Der ehrnholdt tritt ein, neigt sich und beschleust* (KG. 12, 314). The play ends with words of Polixena saying that she is being led away from her home to suffer death and calling down blessings

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based on the version of 1553 has become *Sie gehen alle in ordnung ab.* In *Saul* (KG. 15, 31), with apparently two on the stage, the manuscript version has *Sie gent alle ab in rechter ordnung*, while the folio edition has *Sie gehen beyd ab.*

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upon her mother Hecuba and her sister Cassandra whom she will never see again. The processional exit described in the manuscript version is surely the leading away of the captive Polixena by those on the stage, namely Neopthelemus, Ajax, the herald, and quite possibly two or three followers of Ajax or Neopthelemus. The procession would naturally include no Trojans, and assuredly not Hecuba or Cassandra whom Polixena has just said she would see no more.

Max Herrmann, who shares Köster's opinion that there was a final processional exit of all the players, bases his view partly upon his discredited theory of the technical distinction between *eingehen* and *einkumen* and partly upon the cases, of which he cites two, where there would seem otherwise to be only two or even fewer characters on the stage available for the procession. He emphasizes particularly the *Hürnen Sewfrid*, the play upon which he builds up his whole St. Martha reconstruction. At the end of this play the dead body of Sewfrid is on the stage and also, according to the stage directions, Crimhilt, the herald, and a hunter. Crimhilt says "Nun tragt den dotten leib hinab, Das man in künicklich pegrab." Then comes the final direction *Sie tragen den dotten ab, die küngin get trawrig hinach, darnach alle in ordnung.* Herrmann assumes that the herald and the hunter carry off the dead body, which would leave no one on the stage to follow the queen *in ordnung* except upon his assumption that *alle* means the whole cast. Köster, however, has established the probability that a dead body was usually borne off the stage by two unmentioned attendants (p. 51). This would leave at least the herald and the hunter, with possibly some "trabanten" or "hofgesindt," for the *darnach alle in ordnung.* At any rate the procession is to be considered, I feel quite sure, as a sort of cortège following the dead body and so would most likely not include the murderer or such characters as the blacksmith and his assistant or the fire-spitting dragon.

I have tried, by a rather detailed examination of the evidence, to show that Köster and Herrmann do not make a convincing case for their theory of the final procession of all the players. But since there was often some sort of a processional exit, we may consider Köster's answer to his own query as to what course this final procession took. He says there are but two plays that give any sufficient evidence. On the basis

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of these he concludes that it went down his front steps at T or U and out through the audience room filled with spectators. The first of the two plays is his early *Griselda* and from its manuscript version he quotes his final stage direction which, beginning with *Sie gent alle aus*, gives the complete order in which the characters leave the stage. *Sie gent alle aus*, like *Sie gent alle ab*, means departure through any exit, and the whole direction gives no hint of the course of the procession and absolutely no support for Köster's conclusion. The second play is the *Zwölf argen Königinnen*, with its final direction *Der ehrnholdt geht vor den zwölff königin, die folgen im mit geneygten häuptern, samb trawrig, ausz dem saal. Der ehrnholdt kombt wider und macht den beschlusz.* Köster interprets *ausz dem saal* to mean "Sie schreiten die Treppe T oder U hinunter durch den 'Saal,' den Raum, den die Zuschauerschaft füllt." But "Saal" here means undoubtedly the stage itself, the hall of Frau Ehre.[11] Early in the play the herald says to Frau Ehre "Durchleuchtige königin, vor dem *saal* Da sind zwölff königin," and she bids him lead them in. At the end she says "Geh, ehrnholdt, für die königin ausz Der königin fraw Ehre hausz," and then the stage direction has the *twelve* queens, i.e. the twelve bad ones, follow the herald off the stage, "ausz dem saal," after which, we must assume, Frau Ehre leaves, probably by another exit. If this meaning of "Saal" be accepted, there remains no evidence for Köster's theory, and there is even evidence against it. In a considerable number of plays, including some with the final *Sie gehnt alle in ordnung ab*, the last speaker's motivation for leaving is expressed in such words as "Nun wöll wir hinein auf den sal," "Nun kombt herein in die thurnitz," "Nun last uns in den sal hinein," "Nun woll wir gen Parysz hinein." These and other similar phrases and especially one in *Mephiboset* (KG. 10, 316), where the manuscript version has at the end *David nembt Mephiboset pey der hant und spricht:* "Nun komb herein, mein werder gast," all point to a going *in* behind the scenes.

[11] The word "Saal," fitting so easily into a riming couplet, is constantly used by Hans Sachs' characters, when the stage represents, as it does here, the hall of a person of rank, and in several clear cases "Saal" in this meaning occurs in stage directions. See Anton Glock, *Die Bühne des Hans Sachs*, pp. 19-20. I feel sure that Köster again makes this mistake of interpreting "Saal" as audience room instead of stage on p. 44, where he conjectures that there was occasionally a procession through the audience in the midst of a play.

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Köster comes to the further conclusion that at the beginning of Hans Sachs' plays all the players, led by the herald, march in, probably through the audience, and go up the steps at T or U. Of this there is not the least suggestion in any stage direction. He bases his opinion solely upon the words of the prologs. In these the herald says in substance "We come to you to give a play of the following content." Köster asserts that, unless the players have just marched on to the stage, it would be more natural for the herald to speak of the audience as coming to the players. I can only say that I do not agree with Köster's assertion. It seems to me, as it does to others whom I have asked, that a prolog-speaker of the present day or of the sixteenth century, coming upon the stage from behind the scenes and addressing the already assembled audience on behalf of the players, would most naturally say "We come to you." While an initial procession, such as Köster assumes, is very common in the sixteenth century, there is no evidence of it in the plays of Hans Sachs.[12]

The discussion thus far, if it has been at all convincing, has shown that Köster's reconstruction must share the same fate as Herrmann's and be pronounced unsatisfactory and improbable. What then can be said about the Nürnberg Mastersinger stage? A safe answer will not be too positive in its conclusions and will not ambitiously attempt a complete reconstruction; it will also, in my opinion, need to give more consideration to the sixteenth century pictorial material, not only of Germany but of the Netherlands and France and Italy; and furthermore it may well inquire whether the relations between the Mastersinger drama and the school drama were not close enough for the latter to throw some light upon the staging of the former. Without undertaking here to give these general points of view as full a

[12] Köster has adopted the term "processus publicus" from a passage which he cites (p. 40) from the 1592 edition of Puschmann's *Joseph*. There is nothing in what Köster quotes to indicate whether Puschmann's "processus publicus" was at the beginning or at the end, and unfortunately I haven't access to the published play. It seems altogether probable that Puschmann is speaking of a procession at the beginning, this being the usual place for an elaborate procession. Köster adopts the term however as a designation for the final procession. He so defines it on p. 40 and on pp. 95 f. uses it exclusively in this sense. However on p. 43 he uses it for the procession at the beginning.

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consideration as they deserve, I shall say a few words about them and attempt to draw a few conclusions.

In a certain very general sense two types of sixteenth century staging can be distinguished, one with the large stage (or public square), the simultaneous setting and the more or less elaborate staging of the medieval passion plays, a type of staging found in the sixteenth century in some burgher plays and in the religious plays of Catholic communities, notably of Lucerne, the other with the simple stage and with the modern principle of having the stage at one time represent one place, a type found most widely in the school drama. The Mastersinger plays and the closely related artisan plays belonged also as a rule to this type.

There are plans and pictures of the sixteenth century showing each of these two general types. Those of the second type, the type of our present interest, all show a platform stage without scenery and without a front curtain. Upon these facts all agree. The pictures show several forms of rear curtain or rear enclosure. One is that of the well-known early Terence illustrations, where, back of the proscenium, there is a row of *scenae*, each with its curtain door, separated from each other by pillars, but with a broad moulding extending across over all of them; on this moulding, over each *scena*, is the name of the person whose 'house' it represents. In some of the illustrations, at one or both ends of the row of *scenae*, is an entrance which characters could use who were coming from a journey or for any other reason would not naturally enter from one of the 'houses.' In slightly later Terence editions in Italy the dividing pillars disappear, giving a continuous series of curtains, with the retention however of the names on the moulding to indicate the individual *scenae*. The frequency of these Terence illustrations in Italy seems to have led to the building of a similar stage. We have a description (but no picture) of a stage erected by the Medicis in Rome in 1513,[13] free on three sides, with only a rear wall or facade, in Renaissance style, divided by pilasters into five divisions, each with a door hung with rich portieres; this rear wall is flanked on each side by a large doorway surmounted by the inscription "Via ad forum." These correspond

[13] Herrmann, p. 353.

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evidently to the entrances at either end of the *scenae* in some of the illustrations. Interestingly similar to this Medici stage are the two Netherland stage pictures of the sixteenth century; they are free on three sides, have rich rear facades, also in Renaissance style, having large flanking doorways, between which one has three doors, the other a rather wide curtain, but they both have a sort of balcony or second story, developed to serve special purposes, especially to present two tableaux at the same time.[14]

Expeditus Schmidt has shown convincingly that a stage more or less resembling the Terence illustrations, with proscenium and *scenae*, was the characteristic stage of the school drama.[15] It is not necessary to assume that on the real stage the names were over the *scenae*, but it does seem probable that at times there were the separating pillars, or something similar to them, to make the various *scenae* clearly distinguishable. It seems practically necessary, for instance, to assume this in Muschler's *Hecyra*, where the prolog-speaker evidently pointing to one of the *scenae* says "Die drey person die jr da secht Ghören in diese Scen hinein."[16] So far as I know, there are no pictures of this type, with clearly distinguishable *scenae* but with no names over them. There are pictures of the slightly different type, doubtless also common in the school drama, in which the *scenae* bear no inscriptions and are not otherwise easily distinguishable. There is, in this case, simply a series of curtains, having the effect of a continuous curtain but permitting entrances and exits at various places. From having these places represent entrances into *scenae*, i.e. into definite 'houses', it is an easy transition to having them represent, in a more general way, simply the various entrances and exits necessary to avoid confusion or improbability in the staging of any particular play. It is manifestly impossible in a stage picture to tell with certainty which of these two possibilities is depicted. It is noteworthy however that the pictures of this type show

[14] Reproduced by H. J. E. Endepols in *Het Decoratief en de Opvoering van het Middelnederlandsche Drama*, 1903, p. 29 and p. 31.

[15] *Die Bühnenverhältnisse des deutschen Schuldramas*, 1903. A number of plays where the *scenae* are mentioned may be found in the introduction to Vol. VI of Bolte's edition of Wickram's works (Stuttg. Lit. Ver., vol. 236).

[16] Expeditus Schmidt, p. 125.

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characters entering at various places through the rear curtains, and not merely in the center, as both Herrmann and Köster assume for their rear curtains. This type with rear curtains permitting entrances and exits at various places is found in two sixteenth century French pictures, and, with slight modifications, in the important series of illustrations to Rasser's school drama *Kinderzucht*.[17]

The various types of stages seen in these pictures, although from different countries and used for different kinds of plays, have all interesting characteristics in common. They all have their entrances along the rear, all, except some of the Rasser pictures, have rear enclosure only and are free on three sides, all are wider than they are deep, most of them being very considerably so. These observations prove nothing for the Mastersinger stage (of which we have no picture) but it seems to me that they do affect the probabilities, especially as there is evidence of more or less close relations between the school drama and the Mastersinger and artisan drama. The schoolmaster, as a result of his theatrical experience with his pupils, doubtless became often an authority whose advice and aid would be sought by others. At Nördlingen in 1611 a Mastersinger and a schoolmaster unite to give a Bible play. Here in 1553 a schoolmaster, a bookbinder, and a tailor seek the intervention of the city council to get for them four Latin scholars to take parts in a play, doubtless for the women's rôles. Here also in 1526 a play was given by the schoolmaster and his pupils and some 'Handwerksknechte.'[18] In Ulm schoolmasters and Mastersingers often came into conflict in seeking the use of the usual locality for plays. In Augsburg the school teachers seem usually to have been members of the Mastersinger organization. In a partial list of sixteenth century Mastersingers, Friedrich Keinz[19] includes nine or ten Augsburg teachers, including

[17] Five of these are reproduced by Bolte in Vol. VI of his edition of Wickram, six (five of them not among Bolte's) by Schwabe in *Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Altertum, Gesch., und deutsche Lit.* Vol. XXX (1912), p. 196. Bolte says there are in all 44 illustrations, Schwabe says 69. The two French pictures are in Petit de Julleville's *Hist. de la litt. française*, Vol. III, p. 264 and p. 296.

[18] For these Nördlingen cases see Trautmann in *Archiv. f. Litgesch.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 50, 55, and 56.

[19] *Hans Sachs Forschungen*, 1894, pp. 320 f.

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Christof Brunnenmair who was the first to give a play with his pupils (in 1549), and Sebastian Wild who wrote thirteen or fourteen plays. In Nürnberg the decade of greatest interest and activity in the Mastersinger drama came immediately after a decade of interest in the school drama. The themes of Hans Sachs' plays show distinctly the influence of the school drama, and Herrmann and others have called attention to the fact that the manuscript versions of at least three of his early plays in their stage directions mention repeatedly the *scenae* and were evidently written with the characteristic stage of the school drama in mind. The lack of any mention of the *scenae* in the manuscript versions of his later plays as well as in his printed edition of all his plays indicates quite clearly that he had in mind later a stage without *scenae*, but this need not be assumed to mean any very fundamental change in stage and staging and in all probability does not mean a change as radical as that in Köster's reconstruction.

The Rasser illustrations give us, in my opinion, the most probable general idea of the Hans Sachs stage.[20] These pictures, appearing in 1574, perpetuate doubtless the memory of a performance, an out-of-door performance, of the *Kinderzucht* in Ensisheim, Alsace, in 1573. They all show, from slightly varying angles, a small part of the audience and a part, often a considerable part, of the stage and rear enclosure, including one end of the stage. Thus each moment that the artist depicts is put on a real stage. He is, as might be expected, not always consistent in all stage details, but it is fair to assume that all that he pictures was possible in the staging with which he was familiar. As we have, in Nürnberg, Mastersinger and artisan performances under the influence of the school drama, so we have here in Alsace a school play with probable influence of the burgher drama.

The stage of the Rasser pictures is a rectangular platform, apparently about breast-high and much broader than it is deep; across the back are curtains through which the players enter; most, but not all, of the pictures show the curtains

[20] It is strange that neither Herrmann nor Köster mentions these pictures, although Herrmann devotes almost two hundred pages to a special investigation of the drama illustrations of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and Köster makes a special point of seeking pictorial support for his conjectures.

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extending also across part or all of the end of the stage that is visible; in some pictures the curtains are plain, in others they are figured, in one both kinds occur; rising slightly above the curtains are the occasional posts to which they are fastened; in two of the ten pictures that have been reproduced part of the rear is taken up by a broad door-opening; in one picture there is, along with curtains, a bit of more solid partition in which a small window is seen; there is no front curtain, in two pictures, however, both showing the gallows, there is a short stretch of front curtain, apparently to conceal the gallows until the right moment; there is nothing to indicate that the curtain entrances were from *scenae*, or definite 'houses'; they are probably merely the general ones needed for the play. Thus the Rasser pictures show the general type of stage of the school drama, modified and adapted with a certain independence and resourcefulness, and this was apparently just the relation of the Hans Sachs stage to the stage of the school drama in Nürnberg.

The Mastersinger stage in Nürnberg was thus, in all probability, a broad and not very deep stage, with curtain entrances in the rear and possibly at the ends, and with such additions or modifications as the plays of a particular season might give rise to, a door, a window, an opening through the floor, an "ort" or place of partial concealment which might easily be made by curtain or screen, etc. Assuming a stage that permits readily of such modifications and remembering that at the height of Hans Sachs' dramatic activity he was writing twelve to fifteen comedies and tragedies each year, while only four seem to have been publicly performed, two on each of the two public stages, during a short annual season of three to six weeks, it seems unnecessary and unreasonable to assume a stage with every structural detail needed for all of Hans Sachs' hundred and twenty-five comedies and tragedies.

The method of approach by which these few very general conclusions have been reached is a somewhat new approach to this particular question. I trust that both method and conclusions may have some interest and value as a supplement to the critical examination of Köster's reconstruction, to which this article has been chiefly devoted.

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"O MARS, O ATAZIR"

I.

Recently I have presented considerable evidence supporting the general thesis that, in creating the Canterbury Pilgrims, Chaucer has employed to some extent what may be called the "scientific method." Specifically, I have tried to show that the Pardoner, the Reve, and the Miller are not merely literary figures conceived by the poet's imagination but personages fashioned, in appearance and in character, according to strict laws of metoposcopy and physiognomy.[1] Both the Summoner and the Cook, I have maintained, are pathological cases correctly diagnosed in accordance with the medical principles current in their day.[2] And in the presentation of the Wife of Bath especially, it seems to me, Chaucer makes copious and organic use of astrological material; apparently he sets up a horoscope easy of interpretation, produces a human being to be ruled by it, and amuses himself with the inevitable actions and emotions of his living figure.[3] This present study is concerned with the problem of how the scientific method operates where the incidents of a story are already fixed and the elements of character determined. In the *Legend of Hypermnestra* and in the *Man of Law's Tale* Chaucer attempts, I believe, to explain a ready-made story and to rationalize a given character by the process of referring them to astral influence, by introducing nativities which seem to govern the prescribed action.

Introducing a nativity in the *Legend of Hypermnestra* is something in the nature of an experiment on Chaucer's part. For the incidents of the story he consults apparently every available authority, Ovid, Boccaccio, and possibly Gower;[4]

[1] *Chaucer's Reve and Miller, Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXV, 189; *The Secret of Chaucer's Pardoner, Jour. Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, XVIII, 593.

[2] *The Malady of Chaucer's Summoner, Mod. Philol.*, XIX, 395ff.; *The Mormal of Chaucer's Cook, Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXVI, 274.

[3] *More About Chaucer's Wife of Bath, Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXXVI, 30 ff.

[4] Skeat, *The Oxford Chaucer*, III, xl. Cf. also Bech, *Anglia*, V, 365-371.

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in all of them he finds that only one of the fifty daughters of Danaus who were married to the fifty sons of Aegyptus failed to slay her husband at her father's command. Why? The story as it stands in the sources is entirely unmotivated and therefore inartistic. Straightway Chaucer sets about supplying the missing motivating power in the form of a nativity which explains Hypermnestra's character and hence her actions.

> Ypermistra, yongest of hem alle;
> The whiche child, of her nativitee,
> To alle gode thewes born was she,
> As lyked to the goddes, or she was born,
> That of the shefe she sholde be the corn;
> The Wirdes, that we clepen Destinee,
> Hath shapen her that she mot nedes be
> Pitouse, sadde, wyse, and trewe as steel.[5]

The horoscope is general and indefinite enough, but it will serve for an experiment. Chaucer continues:

> For, though that Venus yaf her greet beautee,
> With Jupiter compouned so was she
> That conscience, trouthe, and dreed of shame,
> And of her wyfhood for to kepe her name,
> This, thoughte her, was felicitee as here.
> And rede Mars was, that tyme of the yere,
> So feble, that his malice is him raft,
> Repressed hath Venus his cruel craft;
> What with Venus and other oppressioun
> Of houses, Mars his venim is adoun,
> That Ypermistra dar not handle a knyf
> In malice, thogh she sholde lese her lyf.
> But natheles, as heven gan tho turne,
> To badde aspectes hath she of Saturne,
> That made her for to deyen in prisoun,
> As I shal after make mencioun.[6]

Venus's influence, it would seem, is responsible for Hypermnestra's beauty of person and for the partial suppression of Mars's malice; and Jupiter, joined in some benevolent aspect with Venus, has been most powerful in the creation of her gentle and sympathetic character. As the heavens revolve, however, the progress of Saturn into a position of evil aspect results in her untimely death in prison.

[5, 6] Skeat, *op. cit.*, *Leg. Good Women*, 2575-2600.

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Even a casual glance at any mediæval astrology will show that Chaucer's interpretation of these planetary influences is scientifically correct. Baptista Porta gives a compendium of authoritative opinions regarding the beauty of person bestowed by Venus upon the fortunate native:

> Maternus: Venus geniturae domina si fuerit effecta, dat corpus longum, candidum, oculos gratos, venustatis splendore fulgentes, spissos capillos, aut moliter flexos, aut gradata pulchritudinis venustate componit, aut crispos crinium facit . . . Hali: Venus similis Ioui, nisi quod ex peculiari quodam beneficio ei continget esse formosiorem, ac maioris venustatis, melioris conceptionis, & pulchrioris formae, quoniam formositatem significat conuenientem formositati mulierum, et est magis mansuetus, & corporis blandioris, & proprie oculi eius sunt inter Zarchum & nigrum, & pulchrum . . . Messahala dicit: Hominem album declinantem ad aliquam nigredinum, & ex inde quorum nigredo aliquid maior, quam in illis reperiatur, tamen decens pulchros capillos, faciem rotundam, non tamen magnam, neque maxillas.[7]

Jupiter is likewise beneficent when he is alone in the nativity and entirely unoppressed by evil influences. Haly says,

> Si quando Iuppiter fuerit dominus significatio*n*is spiritus separatim & per se, & fuerit in bono statu, facit natum homine*m* magnae nobilitatis, laudis & magnae famae; integrum, liberum, mansuetum, tacitum & quietum; abdicante*m* se a uanis rebus, amatorem & amantu*m* ab hominib*us* artificiosis pulchrorum & honestoru*m* factorum, iustum et boni meditatorem, magnae ostentationis et honestae, castum; uult esse solus in bonis factis, & pius facit se diligi; scit custodire, servare, & retinere amicos.[8]

Now when these two planets, separately so favorable, are discovered together, beneficently placed in good aspect the one to the other and free from destructive influence, the resultant power for good is particularly strong:

> Preterea si Iuppiter habuerit conuenientia*m* cum Venere, et si fuerit in bono statu . . . , generat natum splendidum . . . & qui amat limpiditate*m* & pulchritudinem ac magisteria, & considerat res ex cupiditate addiscendi,

[7] Ioannis Baptista Porta, *Coelestis physiognomiae libri sex*, Neapoli, 1603, p. 61. Cf. Albohazen Haly, filii Abenragel *Libri de ivdiciis astrorum*, Basileae, 1551, p. 171 (This is Ali ibn Abi Al-Rajjan, an Arabian medico-astrological writer of the eleventh century, mentioned by Chaucer, *C.T.*, A, 431); Mā Shā'a Allāh Al Misrī (Messahala, 754-813), *De Ratione circuli & stellarum*, in *Astronomici scriptores*, Basileae, 1533, p. 119; Firmicus (Iulius) Maternus, *De nativitatibus*, Venetiis, 1497, sig. e_1; Claudii Ptolemaei Pelvensis Alexandrini *Omnia, que extant, opera*, Basileae, 1541, p. 481; and others referred to in my article on the Wife of Bath, *P.M.L.A.*, Note 11.

[8] *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

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amat ludos & iocos, contentus est rebus benefactis & bonis moribus, factorem boni & puri, bone uoluntatis & integrae, amat deum, bonae legis et bonae fidei, amat defendere legem et sensatum, diligit homines mansuetos, et gratum habet quod fit ei, amat inspicere libros et uersari in eis, et rem habet cu*m* mulieribus secundu*m* honestatem et com*m*unem usum et bono modo, diligit consanguineos, & amat ius & iustitiam, ornamentu*m* & intellectum, & generaliter bonus erit & iustus.[9]

This passage illustrates how much Chaucer the artist leaves to the imagination of his readers; he has only indicated the noble character of Hypermnestra when he says that she was born to all good manners, that the Destinies made her tender-hearted and compassionate, wise, earnest, stable, and true as steel. He is also careful—though without any attempt to deal in technicalities—to state that Mars is feeble in his influence, being dominated by Venus and suppressed by various and sundry afflictions of houses. Professor Skeat's learned note, in which he attempts to locate precisely the position of Mars,[10] is gratuitous. If Mars *had* been in power, however, Hypermnestra would undoubtedly have been able to use the fatal knife without a qualm. I have shown elsewhere[11] the disastrous results when Mars rules in oppression over Venus. But here Chaucer is interested in emphasizing the general influences of these several planets; it is quite sufficient for his present purpose to point out that Mars was feeble.

Chaucer says, however, that, at some time in the course of the stars' revolution, Saturn's malignant power became directed against the freedom and life of Hypermnestra. Now Saturn is the most potent and evil of all the planets; he is envious, covetous, jealous, a malicious dissembler, the servant of anger and the begetter of strife, delighting in destruction wherever

[9] *Idem.* Cf. also Porta, *op. cit.*, p. 107; Ptolemaeus, *op. cit.*, p. 482; Ja'far ben Muhammed el-Balchi abu Ma' sar (Albumasar), *De magnis conjunctionibus annorum revolutionibus*, Augsburg, 1489, sig. E_4; Abou Bakr ibn Al Kasil, Al Kharaschi Abubather (Albubather, d. 634), *Liber natiuitatum de Arabico in Latinum translatus*, Venice, 1501, fol. 7, verso. Albubather's discussions on this page 'De humilitate nati' and 'De veritati nati' take up chiefly the influences of Venus and Jupiter in various combinations.

[10] *Op. cit.* III, 384. 'We may conclude,' says he, 'that, at the period of taking Hypermnestra's horoscope, Mars was in Cancer, or else in Taurus or Libra. Both Taurus and Libra were mansions of Venus; and, if Mars was in either of these, his evil influence would be kept under by her.'

[11] *P.M.L.A.*, XXXVI, and Notes 18, 19, 20.

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he is able to accomplish it. He works havoc in every sign of the zodiac and in dominion over any of the other planets.[12] Albubather shows especially, in his observations 'De natis incarcerandis,' that Saturn brings about death through imprisonment, particularly when in aspect with Venus and Jupiter.[13] How, then, should Hypermnestra escape?

After this manner would Chaucer rationalize the life and character of Hypermnestra. Having provided a horoscope for her, he proceeds to lay great stress upon precisely those elements of her nature which are accounted for in the root of her nativity. She revels through the day of her marriage festivities like a true daughter of Venus and Jupiter; and when evening has come, she prepares to go meekly to the bed of her lord. But her father interrupts her passing with threats of death unless she will carry out his commands to slay her husband that night. What should this pious, honest young wife do under such circumstances? The fatal knife is produced, from which she shrinks away with terror. Still, because of the fear in her timid heart, she hides the instrument in her robes and promises that her husband shall not live. The night is cold; the destined hour has come. As she looks upon the face of him whom she must murder, all the tenderness and pity which the stars have bestowed upon her rises up in revolt against the infamous deed; staggering here and there about the room, she is torn by the inner conflict between fear, lest she lose her own life, and her gentle feminine nature which recoils at the sight of a knife. And, besides, he is her husband; she has plighted her faith to him. It were better to die than to shame her wifely purity or to become a traitor to her marriage vows.

> Now certes, quod she, sin I am his wyf,
> And hath my feith, yit is it bet for me
> For to be deed in wyfly honestee
> Than be a traitor living in my shame (*L.G.W.*, 2699 ff.).

Weeping upon the face of her sleeping husband, she embraces him; he must escape through the window. After he is gone she

[12] See Albumasar, *op. cit.*, sig. G₂; Haly, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 165; Achillinus et Cocles, *De chiromantia et physionomia*, Venetiis, 1619, sig. G₃;—or any other astrology mentioned in these notes.

[13] *Op. cit.*, fol. 16, rec. Cf. Skeat, *op. cit.*, V, 65.

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awaits with a noble calmness the blow which must crush her because of her unselfishness. Her angry father sends her away to prison—where she must die. Venus and Jupiter compounded together in her nature have made it impossible for her to be other than true as steel; and wicked Saturn, in a moment of power, has taken his revenge. Chaucer's experiment —if I may call it so—is complete; he is moved, I think, at the pathetic spectacle of Hypermnestra's suffering, but by referring the outcome of the story to the influence of the stars he has given a semblance of meaning to life and has transformed an ancient tale into a work of art. There is nothing more to be said after Hypermnestra has been lodged in prison. Consequently the poet ends his story in the middle of a sentence, which apparently begins to point a moral; but since the tale has been adorned, he is artist enough to see that, for this once, moralizing would be out of place. Nor does he ever continue the writing of the *Legend of Good Women*.[14] Some time after having finished his story of Hypermnestra, Chaucer sets about translating the pathetic, sad story of Constance into which he has introduced—either at the time of composition or later[15]—the motivating influence of the stars.

II.

Having satisfied himself by trial that the rationalization of a given story is made possible through the introduction of astrological material, Chaucer proceeds to place an exceedingly intricate and effective horoscope in the *Man of Law's Tale*. The original story is followed more or less closely up to the point where Constance, a devout Christian, is compelled to marry a pagan Sultan; whereupon the poet, intent upon explaining the succeeding misfortunes, breaks out in an apostrophe:

[14] Skeat (*op. cit.*, III, xlii-xliii) supposes that the Legends were completed about 1385.

[15] Skeat (*op. cit.*, V, 408) is inclined to think that the *Man of Law's Tale* was originally composed about 1380 and that, at the time of revision (probably about 1387), various independent passages were interpolated. I do not wish, however, to raise the vexed questions of dates; my argument is not materially affected by the priority of either of these stories. I am merely treating the simpler case first as though it preceded in time the more complex—as it probably did. See Tatlock *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, ch. v, § 6; and Hammond, *A Bibliographical Manual*, pp. 282-283.

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O firste moeving cruel firmament . . .
Thy crowding set the heven in swich array
At the beginning of this fiers viage,
That cruel Mars hath slayn this mariage.
Infortunat ascendent tortuous,
Of which the lord is helples falle, allas!
Out of his angle in-to the derkest hous.
O Mars, O Atazir, as in this cas!
O feble mone, unhappy been thy pas!
Thou knittest thee ther thou art nat receyved,
Ther thou were weel, fro thennes artow weyved (*C.T.*, B, 295-308).

Professor Skeat's analysis of this passage is, in the main, correct (V, 150 ff.). He observes that the ascendent, tortuous sign—i.e. the sign just rising above the horizon—is Aries, one of the mansions of Mars. The lord of this sign, Mars, has just passed from an angle into a succedent house, in this case from Libra into Scorpio, which is his other, darkest house. Luna, also falling from an angle into a succedent, is found to be in corporal conjunction with Mars without reception in Scorpio. What Skeat does not observe is that when the horoscope is in Aries—for horoscopes in all other signs the situation would be different—the sign Libra happens to coincide with the seventh house of the horoscope and Scorpio with the eighth. This is a conjunction of Mars and Luna not only in the sign Scorpio but in the eighth house. In order, then, to understand the full power of such a nativity upon the life and fortunes of Constance, the following data[16] must be interpreted: the horoscope is in Aries;

[16] Explanation of these technical terms may aid in making the horoscope clearer. In ancient astrology a figure of the heavens takes the form of a circle with a diameter drawn from left to right, representing the eastern and western horizons, and with another diameter drawn at right angles, representing the meridian. The quadrants thus made are further divided each into three equal parts, forming what is called the "twelve houses of the figure." Of these the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth are called "angles"; the four succeeding these—second, fifth, eighth, and eleventh—are called "succedents"; and the four after these—third, sixth, ninth, and twelfth—are called "cadents." Thus every quadrant (beginning from the cardinal points and progressing counter clockwise) has its angle, succedent, and cadent house. Supposing this figure to be stationary, we find that the twelve signs of the zodiac pass successively through all these houses. If, at a given moment, the sign Aries is just rising in the East, it occupies the first house of the figure, Taurus the second, and so on, until we come to Libra, which occupies the seventh house, and to Scorpio, which occupies the eighth. Now, as we have seen, the seventh house is an angle

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Mars, *casus ab angulo*, is discovered in Scorpio, which occupies the eighth house of the figure; Luna is also cadent, having passed from a favorable sign-angle, Libra-seventh, into an unfavorable sign-succedent, Scorpio-eighth, where she is in conjunction with Mars.

It is not quite clear whether Chaucer considers this horoscope a "nativity" or an "election." The science of "elections," much cultivated among ancient and mediæval astrologers, exercises itself with nothing more than a careful observation of "days" and "hours" and the motions of stars and planets by which times are known to be either lucky or unlucky, as they agree or disagree with the nativities of persons desiring success in the business they are about to undertake. A nativity, on the other hand, is a certain configuration of stars at a person's birth which determines the course of his future life. At the birth of a child, therefore, the astrologer may prognosticate success or failure in business, happiness or unhappiness in life, and may foretell with certainty the specific things in which the native will be fortunate or unfortunate. An election—for example, to determine an auspicious time for beginning a journey—is useless and signifies nothing unless the root of the nativity is known and unless the figure erected for the election corresponds approximately with the horoscope. If the nativity indicates that the child just born will be unfortunate in marriage, it would be useless later to seek an election which might secure a fortunate *time* for marriage; in such a case *all* times would prove unfortunate. We may reasonably suppose, therefore, that the horoscope in question represents the conjunction of stars at Constance's birth; this is the "root of her nativity." Already at the beginning of her life, as any astrologer might have foretold, cruel Mars had slain her marriages—

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and the eighth a succedent. Of the twelve signs of the zodiac each planet (except Luna) has two, called its "mansions," in which it is particularly powerful, i.e. "dignified." For example, Saturn's night mansion is Capricorn and his day mansion Aquarius; Mars's two mansions are Aries and Scorpio, of which the darker is Scorpio. These signs in which the planets are dignified are sometimes referred to as "houses"—as in Chaucer; but in order to distinguish them from the houses of the figure, I have consistently called them "mansions." Both Mars and Luna have passed—i.e. they are "cadent"—from the seventh to the eighth house, and so from the sign Libra into Scorpio, the night mansion of Mars.

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both the first and the second, which were still in the future. Chaucer, indeed, laments the fact that no election was made in preparation for the *voyage* to the Sultan's country,[17] pointing out that the root of the nativity is known:

> Of viage is ther noon eleccioun,
> Namely to folk of heigh condicioun,
> Nat when the rote is of a birthe y-knowe?
> Allas! we ben to lewed or to slowe (*C.T.*, B, 312).

In an interpretation of Constance's horoscope, therefore, we may safely refer indiscriminately to both horary and genethliac astrology.

Mediæval astrologers, who usually draw figures of the heaven representing horoscopes in all the signs of the zodiac, are agreed that a nativity in Aries predestines for the native a rather checkered and precarious life. Indagine finds that when Aries is rising *in oriente*, Capricorn is discovered *in medio coeli*, Libra *in occidente*, and Cancer *in imo coeli*, and proceeds to show the influence of each of these signs:

> Capricornus in medio coeli, honores decernit, facultatesque, & sumptus maximos, eminentiam, arcana religionis, versutiam ingenii. Libra in occasu, vitam & aulicos mores; quae vita et a Paucis probatur, estque inconstans, ita & hunc dejiciet de gradu, jamque paulo ante residentem in capite, mox post constituet in cauda, jam afflante hunc fortuna, et hilariter acclamente, statim variis calamitatibus affliget. adeo nullam commoditatem feret solam sine incommodis, atque sine appendice jacturam, eo hunc promovebit consodalium invidia pessimum malum, verum totum illud damnum quicquid est, Cancer resarcit in imo coeli.[18]

Albumasar gives a broader view:

> Dicam*us ergo* cu*m* fuerit ascendent alicuius temp*orum* revolubiliu*m* aries; aut peruenerint ad cu*m* anni ab aliquo loc*orum* quo*rum* rememoratione*m* premisimus sig*nificat* illud *que* apparebu*n*t in ciuitatib*us* sup*er* quas est almus-

[17] For a full discussion of the popularity accorded the science of elections among astrologers, see Wedel's *Mediæval Attitude toward Astrology*, pp. 53-5, 65, 149. Anyone in Chaucer's time might have elected a fitting time for beginning a voyage or a journey. Haly, *op. cit.*, 327ff., devotes forty folio pages to all kinds of elections, giving a whole section to the subject 'De electione itineris.' Cf. Ptolemaeus, *op. cit.* pp. 493ff.

[18] Ioannis ab Indagine, *Introductiones apotelesmaticae in physiognomiam*, Argentorati, 1622, pp. 125-126. Cf. Ioannis Taisnier, *Absolutissimae Chyromantiae Libri Octo*, Coloniae Agrippinae, 1563, where, on page 494, the figure of a horoscope in Aries may be found.

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teuli reges magnimin cu*m* eo *que* ciues eorum vtet*ur* instrume*n*tis ferreis *et* armis; et his similibus et interfectione *et* lite et combustione et igne; *et* derisio veniet hominibus in actionibus *et* festinatione*m* permutationis de esse ad esse et expandet*ur* mors in eis.[19]

And Haly is of the opinion that in matrimonial matters 'Aries totus est malus.'[20]

Now for a horoscope in Aries, it must be observed, the 'significator' is the sign Scorpio, in this instance located in the eighth house. In interpreting the nativity, therefore, one must give special attention to the position and the status of that sign. For, as Professor Skeat has shown, Scorpio is 'called the house of death, of trauaile, of harm, of domage, of strife, of battaile, of guilefulnesse and falsenesse, and of wit.'[21] The casual position of this sign in the eighth house of the nativity produces peculiarly violent and adverse conditions. With regard to the eighth house Haly says:

Haec domus est significatrix mortis, interfectionis, suffocationis, co*m*burendi homines, ueneni toxici, infirmitatis, diminutionis corporis propter species paupertatis, magnaru*m* minutionu*m*, metuum, ac hominum miserorum in hoc mundo.[22]

And Indagine, speaking of the eighth house in an Aries horoscope, observes:

Octava ab Oriente mansion est Scorpionis. Domus vel pars mortis, timoris, pavoris, haereditatis, mortuorum, & eorum quae post mortem fiunt. Commorante in ea Sole, vide ne quid auspiceris, neque iter arripias, non aquis credias te; facilé his impingitur. Quamobrem vitanda omnia sunt bella, contentiones injustis causae, inimicitiae, mulieres malae, maximé si ex parte haereditatis haec oriantur.[23]

A malignant fortune prepared for Constance from her birth is also indicated by the nature and position of Scorpio.

Luna is cadent from an angle, moreover, having passed from the seventh-Libra, where Chaucer says she was well situated and therefore powerful in exerting a beneficent influence, into

[19] *Op. cit.*, sig. E_7. Cf. Maternus, *op. cit.*, sig. i_1, verso.

[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 319.

[21] *Op. cit.*, V, 150. Cf. also Albumasar, *op. cit.*, sig. F_4; William Lilly, *An Introduction to Astrology*, p. 63.

[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 106. Cf. Alchabitius, *Libellus ysagogicus*, Venetijs, 1482, sig. b_1.

[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

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the eighth-Scorpio where she is not only without reception but in conjunction with Mars, the lesser of the infortunes. Now *any* planet is weakened and debilitated in passing from an angle into a succedent house, or when it is in corporal conjunction with either of the infortunes, Saturn and Mars, without reception.[24] Among the ten 'impediments' of the moon to be considered in general prognostications, Haly notes the following:

> Quartus, quando est iuncta infortunijs corporaliter . . . Septimus, quando est cadens ab angulis . . . (ut est finis Libre & initium Scorpionis) & hoc deterius est omnibus infortunijs Lunae, maximé in coniugijs, & omnibus causis mulierum, & in emendo & uenendo, & in itineribus,[25]

and adds elsewhere 'De qualitate matrimonij contracti':

> Si uero Lunam inueneris infortunatam aut cadentem ab angulis in 8 uel 12, aut cursu uacuam, dic quod malu*m* erit ambobus, & quod habebunt anxietates & labores secundu*m* natura*m* loci & infortunatoris ac signi.[26]

Whereas before she was exalted in Libra and in the seventh house—'Etiam si vero fuerit in septima, erunt homines in mulieribus fortunati'—,[27] Luna has been weakened by passing into the eighth house and into Scorpio, a mansion of Mars:

> At si fuerit in octaua, accidet mortalitas hominibus & si fuerit infortunata, erit peior; & si fuerit in aliqua domoru*m* Martis, erit mors per lites & interfectiones.[28]

Regarding the significance of Luna in Scorpio, Haly affirms:

> In omnibus partibus Scorpionis est multarum anxietatum et tristitiarum, et ex imprudentia conciliat sibi malum. et euenient mala impedimenta ei ex malis opinionibus suis,[29]

[24] See William Lilly, *The Astrologer's Guide*, Lon. 1886, p. 5. Cf. Haly, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

[25] *Op. cit.*, p. 303. Cf. further on the ten evil situations of the moon, Lilly, *op. cit.*, 4; Ioannis Ganivetus, *Amicus medicorum*, Lvgduni, 1550, pp. 170-1; Zaehl, Sahl ibn Bashr H6bib ibn Hani (Abu 'uthman), *De electionibus*, Basileae, 1533, p. 114.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[27] Ibid., p. 373. Cf. Maternus, *op. cit.*, sig. f_{ii}, vers. The interested reader will find detailed discussions of the *good* aspects and positions of the moon, for elections, in Haly, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 328.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 373 (see also p. 378). Cf. Maternus, *op. cit.*, sig. f_{ii}.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

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and Albumasar is in substantial agreement:

> Et si fuerit equidistans signo scorpionis sig*nificat* multos contrarietates *et* co*m*mixtiones *et* egritudines *et* mortem *et* causas *et* guerras *et* bella aduenie*n*tia hominibus cum paucitate atque fontium.[30]

This position of the moon, then, is particularly unfortunate either in nativities or in elections for marriage or for a journey.

Not only that, but in Constance's nativity Mars is discovered to be cadent from an angle, situated in his darker mansion, Scorpio, and occupying the eighth house of the figure. This argues great misfortune, for, says Haly, 'si infortunia habuerint inperia octauae domus, significa*n*t damnatione*m* per mortes & auxiliatores aduersariorum, & per magnas captiuitates,'[31] adding with special reference to Mars, the lesser infortune, 'si fuerit in octaua, erit ibi horibilis mortalitas subitanea, secundum naturam signi in quo fuerit.'[32] Mars evidences his malignant influence also in all the faces of Scorpio:

> In prima facie Scorpionis ualens custodit suum, apparens et nominatus, applicat se ad id quod uult, & facit de suis inimicis uelle suum. In secunda facie inuerecundus & inhonestus est, mali operis, inuidis, rixosis, et militibus seruit. In tertia facie multum deligit mulieres, petit eas uim inferendo eis, iracundus est, & maxime contra se.[33]

And his power for evil, in this instance, is augmented by virtue of his having fallen from an angle into one of his mansions where he has an essential dignity:

> Item si quando Mars fuerit . . . in malo statu ac malé affectus per retrogradationem . . . aut *per* casum ab angulo . . . significat modos cogitationum in rebus quae sunt secundum significationem eoru*m*, metum, anxietates, perturbatione*m* sensus, malas cogitationes, damnum considerationum, & quod prosequetur facta sua; etiam significat multas infirmitates & damna futura per ignes aut latrones uel animalia, itinera mala & periculosa, & quod peregrinus extra locum suum, & malum statum fratrum & sororum.[34]

When, in addition, a debilitated Luna is found to be in corporal conjunction with Mars in his own mansion where his dominion is supreme and undisputed, the resultant influence is disastrous particularly in matrimonial matters. Haly is of the

[30] *Op. cit.*, sig. I_7.
[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 299. (Cf. Albumasar, *op. cit.*, sig. P_1v.)
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 371. (Cf. Maternus, *op. cit.*, sig. d_1.)
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 12. (Cf. Albumasar, *op. cit.*, sig. H_5.)
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

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opinion that 'Si Luna iuncta cum Marte, significat rumores falsos & sanguinum effusiones, & mendacia multa';[35] or according to Goclenius, 'Mars elevatus in scorpione supra Lunam, (significat) captivitates & seditiones in multis locis';[36] or in the words of Ganivetus, 'Malum est in matrimoniis, quod Luna iu*n*gatur Saturno vel Marti; quia non erit pax inter eos, nec amor.'[37] Chaucer indicates that, in this conjunction, the resultant influence is all the more virulent because the 'feble' moon is not 'received' by the lord of the ascendent, Mars. Now 'reception' is a technical astrological term. A planet is said to be 'in reception' when it passes into one of another planet's essential dignities, e.g. into one of its mansions. The planet whose mansion is thus invaded is called the 'dispositor' because it 'disposes of,' or rules, or governs, or receives the visitor. Ordinarily when the dispositor is one of the fortunes, or beneficent planets, a reception is not without good influence; especially so if the dispositor of the planet signifying the thing asked for is himself disposed by the lord of the ascendent, a fortune.[38] But when the dispositor is one of the infortunes, Saturn and Mars, the influence of any planet in reception is weakened and vitiated. Since, in the horoscope under discussion, Luna is found to be situated in one of the mansions of Mars, Chaucer does not mean to say that she is without any reception at all; she is not *well* received, coming as she does under the evil influence of the malefic. Now if you are interested in learning the impediments to marriage, says Haly,

> Aspice significatores . . . & considera receptorem significatores recipientem; quia si receptor infortunatus fuerit uel cadens ab angulo, significat quod res illa non succedet postquam facta fuerit ual quasi. Et si infortunator maleficus fuerit dominus secundae ual octauae, significat quod disturbatio coniugij erit ex discordia dotis, etc.[39]

[35] *Op. cit.*, p. 394. Cf. Maternus, *op. cit.*, sig. f6; Messahala, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

[36] Goclenius, R., *Astrologiae generalis*, Marpurgi, 1618, p. 134.

[37] *Op. cit.*, p. 507.

[38] Lilly, *An Introduction to Astrology*, London 1886, pp. 240, 244.

[39] Haly, *op. cit.*, p. 65. In his discussion of planetary influences to be noted in elections of *good* marriages, this author says in part, 'Sed si nec in hoc quidquam inueneris, aspice si Luna est furtuna uel recepta; quia si Luna fuerit fortunata uel recepta & pura ab infortunijs, significat quod soniugium erit; maximé si receptor recipiens eam purus fuerit ab infortunijs, p. 65. Cf. Zaehl, *op. cit.*, p. 109; Ganivetus, *op. cit.*, p. 509; Ptolemaeus, *op. cit.*, p. 488; Lilly, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

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Chaucer may well cry out, as Constance prepares for her nuptials, that 'cruel Mars hath slayn this marriage.'

But what should be the significance of his exclamation, 'O Mars, O Atazir as in this cas'? That is a dark saying which of necessity must be scanned. So far as I am aware, only one lexicographer has attempted to give anything like an adequate definition of the term *atazir*. M. R. Dozy says: 'Atacir n'est pas dans les dict., mais il semble avoir eu droitde cité au XIII siecle. . . . C'est l'arabe (*al-tâthir*), qui signifie *influence;* . . . c'est specialement l'influence qu'exercent les étoiles, soit sur d'autres étoiles soit sur des objets differents, p.e., sur les choses d'icibas, sur la destiné des individus.[40] Through the precise astrological application of 'atazir' was being spiritedly discussed among Arabian wise men long before the thirteenth century, still Dozy's general and rather indefinite explanation is, for the most part, correct. What he does not indicate is that any concrete interpretation of the term *atazir* involves a consideration of its relation to *alcocoden* and particularly to *hyleg*, about which, says Haly, 'ualdé dissenserunt inter se sapientes antiqui, & crebris digladationibus tumultuarunt in hac re ualdé subtili, & profundae speculationes.'[41] Now *hyleg* is a term used in astrology to denote that position occupied by certain planets or parts of signs in a horoscope, from a consideration of which, in its relation to planetary influences, exact prognostications regarding the *life or death* of the querent may be made. It is sometimes called the 'point of life.' Astrologers have disagreed violently over the number and location of hylegia; but all of them agree, I believe, that there are at least five hylegiacal places. In order to find the *hyleg* one must consider the position

[40] R. Dozy, *Glossaire des Mots Espagnols et Portugais dérivés de l'Arabe*, p. 207. Cf. the same author's *Commentaire Historique sur le Poéme d'Ibn-abdoun*, p. 80. Skeat discusses Chaucer's word from the point of view of Dozy, *op. cit.*, V, p. 150.

[41] *Op. cit.*, p. 147. Haly devotes two folio pages to hyleg (148-149), in which he enumerates not only the five places prescribed by Ptolemy (Cf. Ptolemaeus, *op. cit.*, pp. 569-472, for his presentation of the subject, 'alhileg') but in addition something like a dozen other places apt *pro hylech*. Cf. on hyleg and alcocoden Omar, 'Umar ibn Farkhān (Abu Hafš), *De nativitatibus*, in *Astronomici scriptores*, Basileae, 1533, pp. 120-121; Alchabitius, *op. cit.*, sig. c₆r.; Albubather, *op. cit.*, sig. B₁ ff.

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of the Sun, or of the Moon, or the precise degree of the ascendent, or the Place of Fortune, or the location of conjunctions. From either one of these, posited in certain prescribed parts of the horoscope, the *hyleg* of the nativity may be determined. For example, Sol in the ninth house, in a masculine sign, and in quartile aspect with any one of his essential dignities, is said to "make hyleg" or may be called "the hyleg."[42] *Alcocoden* is nothing more than the name applied to the planet having the greatest power in hyleg;[43] enough of *alcocoden*. That which interests us especially in the nativity under discussion is the position of Luna. Says Haly: 'Progrediens ergo tu & prequirens hylech, aspice Lunam, & si eam inueneris in angulo uel succedenti, & in signo foeminino, & in quarta foeminino, & aspexerit aliquam dignitatum suaru*m*, accipe eam pro hylech.'[44] Reference to Luna's position in the Constance-nativity shows that all of these conditions are satisfied: she is in a succedent house, the eighth, in a feminine sign, Scorpio, and in quartile aspect with the feminine sign, Cancer, which is her only mansion and therefore one of her essential dignities.[45] Luna in this position is the hyleg of the nativity.

Having determined the hyleg in any figure, we are then ready to calculate—and interpret in terms of life and death, health or sickness, prosperity or misfortune—the influences, good or bad, which other planets direct by aspect upon that point. Now, the influence resulting from such a calculation of planetary influences exerted upon the hyleg by reference to various aspects of the planets is what astrologers call *athazir*. As Albubather says: 'Hyleg *enim* vita*m* nati et morte*m* significat. Ac p*er* athazir eius ad aspectu*m* fortunarum vel infortu*narum* scies vitam *et* mortem nati nutu dei.'[46] These influences may be either good or bad, depending upon the nature of the planet in aspect—whether a fortune or an infortune. 'Per athazir

[42] See William Lilly, *An Introduction to Astrology*, p. 24 (aspects); pp. 27-34 (nature of the houses); pp. 57-67 (nature of the signs); p. 69 (dignities); pp. 391, 393, 413, 403 (hyleh); pp. 338-348 (explanation of technical terms).

[43] Haly, *op. cit.*, p. 148. The succeeding eight folio pages, filled with technical matter regarding *alcocoden* and with greatly conflicting opinions of wise men, indicate how vexed a question this was in the time of Haly.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 147.

[45] See any of the authors quoted above.

[46] Op. cit., sig. B₁v.

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hyleg ad aspectu*m* fortuna*rum et in*fortuna*rum* scies t*empora* quibus nato bonu*m* aut malu*m* eueniet *et* qualiter et vtru*m* vel non.'[47] For example, if Jupiter is found to be in, say, quartile or oppositional aspect with the hyleg, his influence is uniformly beneficent: 'Per athazir (hyleg ad aspectum) Jouis scies amicitiam qua*m* natus cu*m* regibus aut pote*n*tentib*us* h*abe*bit et q*ui*cq*uod* erit de for*tune* et pulchritudi*ne*.'[48] When Mars, one of the infortunes, is in strong aspect with the hyleg, the case of the native is hopeless save for the grace of God: 'Per athazir (hyleg ad aspectum) Martis scies eius fornicatio*n*es nuptias amores amicitias; da*m*nu*m* vel p*ro*ficuu*m* a mulierib*us* ca*us*as v*er*ba *et* co*n*trarietes.'[49] In the horoscope of Constance, as we have already seen, Mars is in conjunctional aspect with Luna in the hylegiacal position. This signifies that, in addition to all the other misfortunes which we have predicted above might befall her, she is subject to death unless miraculously protected: 'Quando Luna fuerit hyleg et *gradus* ascende*n*tis in radice natiuitatis i*n*fortunatus *et* p*re*ue*n*erit . . . cu*m* sole aut *co*niunctio infortune t*em*p*ore* natiuitatis infortunato, natus erit in periculo mortis.'[50] The *athazir hyleg per aspectum Martis* hath slain this marriage and precipitated a flood of misfortunes upon the head of Constance.

[47] *Ibid.*, sig. A_2.

[48] *Idem.*

[49] *Idem.* Luna is also considered by some authorities to be the hyleg when situated in the eighth house of the figure, see Haly, *op. cit.*, p. 148; Albubather, *op. cit.*, sig. B_2.

[50] *Ibid.*, sig. B_2. It must be observed that this atazir of the hyleg by reference to the influence of the single planet, Mars, is the least complex imaginable. In a full and complete reckoning of the atazir of hyleg, the honest astrologer must consider not only the hylegiacal position but also the aspects of *all* other planets, of the tenth house, and of the Place of Fortune. He must observe, moreover, the declinations and relative motions of these planets; their benefic or malefic natures; their situations in good or bad signs; whether their influence is strong or weak, depending upon whether the nativity is diurnal or nocturnal; and whether they are, combust, retrograde, or peregrine. He must determine whether the aspects are accurate, or nearly so, and strongly favorable, i.e., semi-sextile, sextile, quintile, trine, and biquintile, or unfavorable, i.e. square, semi-square, sesquiquadrate, and opposition. And all of these positions and relative motions must be calculated to the minute and second. Haly gives a complete epitome of the whole matter 'De athazir' in five folio pages, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-162 (see also p. 397). Chaucer, being an artist and using astrological material for literary purposes, is not concerned with these technicalities.

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When the horoscope of Constance is interpreted after this fashion according to the directions of mediæval astrology, the main incidents of her life as Chaucer lifts them from the chronicle of Trivet are fully explained. This particular addition which the poet has made to the original story is not haphazard and aimless; it is organic. He is careful to notify the reader at the very beginning of his process of rationalization that every man's death is written plainly in the heavens:

> For in the sterres, clerer than is glas,
> Is writen, god wot, who-so coude it rede,
> The deeth of every man, withouten drede.

It was so in the case of Pompey, Julius, Hercules, and others; the conflict which raged about the city of Thebes was foreshadowed in the stars. The finite minds of men, however, are so dull that they are unable to read the mysterious messages completely or aright. Else men might have known that, even for the Sultan, his marriage with Constance must bring about misfortune and death; in that great book which men call the heavens it was long ago written with stars that love should prove to be his destruction.[51] And so it happens. As for Constance, her marriages are doomed in advance, by the inexorable laws of the stars having power at her birth, to be accompanied by unhappiness; her journeys must be attended by suffering; and the baleful influence of Mars directed against Luna, the hyleg, quite clearly and unmistakably makes her death practically inevitable. That she escapes this pre-ordained fate in the midst of calamities is due to the intervention of the grace of God.

When it is remembered that at the birth of Constance Aries was just rising in the East, no one need be surprised that her life is precarious and beset with dangers which, in the ordinary course of human events, would prove fatal. She is continually being raised to positions of eminence and honor, and as often cast down. Her marriage to the Lord of Syria is heralded with pomp; but no sooner has she arrived in the pagan country than the wicked Sultaness begins plotting against the happiness and the very life of the young wife. A great feast is prepared, it will be remembered, at which both pagans and Christians are

[51] *C.T.*, B, 190-203.

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entertained; there is much reveling—but in the end the Christians and all the pagans who are on the point of betraying their faith are murdered and hewn to pieces. Constance alone escapes the vengeance of the Sultaness, to be set adrift in an open boat, carefully provisioned to be sure, but without sails or rudder. It is only after terrible hardships that she arrives upon the shores of England. This once she has escaped the ultimate decrees of the stars. Living a devout life in this new country and winning many souls to Christianity, she is entertained by Alla and Hermengild, his wife, with respect and honor. But she may not long remain in peace. A young knight, having conceived an unholy passion for her and having been repulsed, takes his revenge by murdering Hermengild and placing the bloody knife in the hand of sleeping Constance. Here again, however, the decree of death pronounced by the stars is averted at the last moment by a sign from heaven.

New honors are later showered upon her in the form of marriage with Alla, and she rejoices afresh in the birth of a child. But Mars, cadent from an angle, powerful in Scorpio, and ruling in oppression over Luna, proves malignant to this marriage also—for a time. Alla's jealous mother, Donegild, by a skilful interchange of letters works the downfall of the young wife, who is torn from her child and again set adrift upon the sea. In the course of her aimless wanderings she is tortured by hunger, threatened with the lust of men, beset round about with pirates, and broken with grief. She is the afflicted of fortune. Her marriages, as might have been expected, are accompanied not only by her own sorrows but by wars and the struggles of men in arms, by murders and assassinations, and by the misfortunes of whole peoples. Scorpio and the eighth house have taken their toll of the afflicted and the dead; they with Mars have worked destruction.

No one must suppose, however, that in his astrological beliefs Chaucer is an out-and-out fatalist.[52] He is too good a

[52] I have hesitated before making this affirmation since there is so much authoritative opinion to the contrary. Wedel finds that Chaucer seems to be an outspoken determinist in astrological matters (*op. cit.*, pp. 143-153), and the scholars to whom he refers in the foot-notes are, for the most part, in agreement. Since these opinions, however, are usually based on astrological references taken *as isolated fragments*, I ask for an unbiased consideration of my point of view based on a treatment of these independent passages as *organic*.

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church-man, I suppose, for that. Being familiar with the most advanced astrological thought of his time, he could scarcely have escaped pondering over the problem of God's relation to the more or less unalterable influence of the stars upon the lives of men. If the laws of astrology are valid and effective, what part does a Supreme Being play in the universe? The violent controversy which raged over Europe for centuries during the Middle Ages[53] must have attracted Chaucer's attention to the subject; he must have been intimately acquainted, I think, with the arguments on both sides in the great intellectual conflict. Men believed in astrology; they also had faith in God. In most of the independent passages which he has introduced into the *Man of Law's Tale*, the poet is eager, it seems to me, to make his position unmistakably clear: the stars are undoubtedly powerful in directing human affairs, but they are still subject ultimately to the will of God. While he has not slighted the horror of the original story, one cannot help noticing that he has apparently attempted to soften it by insisting upon the power of a Christian faith. As we have seen, Constance ought to have lost her life at several points in the narrative; according to the laws of astrology her death might ordinarily have been predicted with accuracy. Chaucer has indeed permitted the stars to afflict her in any and every way—short of death; she *must* escape death. So it is in the original version of the story—which he does not feel inclined to change,—and so it may be in real life when God stretches forth His hand among the stars. In addition, therefore, to introducing a horoscope for the purpose of explaining the main incidents of the story, Chaucer now sets about creating other independent passages in order to prove the supremacy of a Divine power over astral influence.

Thanks to the beneficence of the sign Libra in the East, Constance was endowed at birth with a religious nature; she lives and moves by faith. Why does she alone escape death at the feast given by the Sultaness? It is a miracle, says Chaucer, such as one finds common enough in the pages of

[53] See Wedel, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, 125-7, 134ff., 145-8. Says he, 'Practically every writer on the subject from Alexander Neckam to Gower, while accepting the rule of the stars over mundane affairs, had with equal insistence asserted the freedom of the human will.'

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Holy Writ and in the legendary lives of the saints.[54] Again, as she is sent out to sea the first time, Constance addresses herself to Christ and submits herself into His hands; it is His power which directs her ship into a safe port.[55] When in despair she is being tried for murder before the court of Alla, alone and without a champion, she remembers that two of God's saints were once similarly oppressed and that by His grace they were rescued;[56] she too is vindicated by the mysterious appearance of an arm from heaven which smites to death her false accuser. And when an impious man comes aboard her ship for the purpose of ravishing her honor, some divine power preserves her chastity; he falls overboard and is drowned. Nor is this surprising, says the author, for so God gave courage, strength, and protection to David when he went alone against Goliath, and to Judith when she was carried to the couch of Holofernes.[57] And the final happiness of Constance, after all her sufferings at the hands of a malignant fortune, is presented as a free and pathetic gift of Christ.[58] Chaucer here stands with the best of mediæval astrologers who recognize, in their darkest prognostications, the fact that certain combinations of stars which seem to foretell inevitable death are subject to the intervening and arbitrary hand of God. By emphasizing this belief Chaucer has made reasonable not only the escapes all along the way of Constance's life but also her final happiness.

After this manner the artist works, it seems to me, when he wishes to rationalize the ready-made incidents of the Constance story and explain a fixed character. Many things in the life of Constance, which may have puzzled the poet at first, are made clear by reference to the *alhazir hyleg per aspectum Martis* and by insisting upon the intervening hand of God. And all this is accomplished in the independent passages. I cannot understand, therefore, how Professor Skeat's opinion can be any longer accepted as wise when he says, 'All of these insertions are, in fact, digressions, and have nothing to do with the

[54] See *C.T.*, B, 470-504. This is Chaucer's addition.

[55] *Ibid.*, B, 449-462.. Also Chaucer's.

[56] *Ibid.*, B, 631-658. Chaucer's addition.

[57] *Ibid.*, B, 925-945. The Author's comment.

[58] *Ibid.*, B, 1037-1043, 1049-1070. Independent passages.

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story.'[59] While I would not willingly have it inferred from the emphasis which I have placed upon these passages that Chaucer is making his story illustrate the workings of astrological principles, still it does seem to me that, without a horoscope showing the influence of the stars and without the recognition of Divine power, this life of Constance would possess little more unity than Trivet's version. But as we have it the *Man of Law's Tale* seems to be a whole complete within itself, compact in spite of its apparently straggling and unconnected incidents, excellently motivated, possessed of an unusual—in the Middle Ages—unity of character, and therefore a piece of artistic workmanship.[60]

[59] *Op. cit.*, III, 408, 410.

[60] It has been observed that the so-called *Man of Law's Tale* is not suited to the character of a jurist (see Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 283). Lounsbury remarks, 'The legendary story of Constance which is assigned to him is the one instance of absolute incongruity found in this work between the character of the narrator and that of the narrative' (*Studies*, III, 436). If Professor Kittredge's conception of the *Canterbury Tales* as a Human Comedy, in which the 'Pilgrims do not exist for the stories, but *vice versa*,' is true (*Chaucer and his Poetry*, p. 154), and if Chaucer is to be taken seriously when he indicates that he is attempting to fit each story precisely to the man or woman who tells it (*C.T.*, A, 725 ff.), then I should like to suggest, though with considerable hesitancy, that the story of Constance may have been first composed for the Doctor of Medicine.

In the first place, only the Physician of all the Pilgrims is intellectually capable of introducing into the story an accurate and motivating horoscope. He is well grounded in astrology, which is the basis of mediæval medicine. He knows how to set up a figure of the heavens and to forecast the future of his patients; he is versed in natural magic to such an extent that, having fashioned an 'image,' he can call down the influences of certain combinations of beneficent stars into it and insure the health of the sick; he is perfectly familiar with the science of elections, necessarily, in order that he may know when and what kinds of medicines to give to the afflicted (*C.T.*, A, 414-420). This is as it should be; all mediæval medical writers agree that a thorough knowl edge of the basic principles of astrology is the *sine qua non* of the successful practitioner. The Physician is alone interested enough in the practical workings of the science to make an organic use of it in his story.

In the second place, I observe that the additions made to the original narrative taken from Pope Innocent's *De contemptu mundi* are precisely such passages as would appeal to this particular Doctor. Chaucer says, it will be remembered, that he has a main eye for the business side of the profession; he and his druggists make considerable profits upon drugs and electuaries; and since gold is especially attractive to him, he is partial in his prescriptions to that panacea known as *aurum potabile* (*C.T.*, A, 425 ff.). This is the man who would probably introduce his story with such a sermon on the inconveniences

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of poverty as is found in the Prologue to the *Man of Law's Tale* (*C.T.*, B, 99-130). 'Beware of poverty,' he would say, 'for all the days of a poor man are evil; friends and brothers forsake him. Therefore, lay up wealth as I have done from my winnings during the pestilence.' In addition, having made a close study of the medicinal qualities of various wines and having observed the ill effects of over-indulgence upon the human system, the Physician is fain to pause in the midst of his story and give an apostrophe to the disgusting physical symptoms of drunkenness (B, 770-777)—taken from Pope Innocent. He is also interested in the dire results of gluttony; being himself a man who diets carefully, he breaks out again in an apostrophe directed against the sin of over-eating (B, 925-931)—also lifted from Innocent. These apt interpolations, together with the organic astrological passages, might well point to the Physician.

I would suggest also that the story now known as the *Physician's Tale* is admirably suited to the Man of Law. It is a narrative which turns upon the injustice of a wicked judge who, having a false bill of accusation presented to him, condemns an innocent young woman to prison against all law and equity. The language of the story is legal and technical, precisely fitting for the man who knows all the judgments from the time of William the Conqueror.

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THE RELATION OF OLD NORSE *-rđ-* TO GOTHIC *-rd-*

The question as to whether in the Germanic languages the spirants *ƀ, đ* and *ǥ* are older than the corresponding stops *b, d* and *g* is one which has not yet been satisfactorily determined. The purpose of the following article is to show that O.N. *-rđ-* (= Goth. *-rd-*) lends no evidence to the assumption that the spirant *đ* here represents a P. G. **đ* and is therefore of older origin than the corresponding stop *d* in Gothic.

The majority of Old Norse scholars[1] have followed the accepted view advanced by Paul ("Zur Lautverschiebung," *P. B. Beitr.*, I, pp. 147-201) that the spirants *ƀ, đ, ǥ* are of older origin than the stops *b, d, g* in Germanic and that therefore the O. N. *đ* after *r* over against the corresponding stop (*d*) in Gothic (cf. O. N. *garđr*, Goth. *gards*) represents the Primitive Germanic status of this consonant.

This theory however, contradicts the simple fact that the Gothic language is older by several centuries than the Old Norse and that, therefore, the Gothic consonantal (as well as vowel) system must represent a more archaic status than the Old Norse. Unless we assume with J. Frank[2] ("Germanisch

[1] Cf. A. Noreen, *Aisl. Gramm.*,[3] §333, B. Kahle, *Aisl. Elementarb.*, §168, A. Heusler, *Aisl. Elementarb.*, §170, §205, Anm. 1., W. Streitberg, *Urgerm. Gramm.*, §122, 2 b, p. 119, E. Sievers, *Grundr.* I,[1] p. 373, R. M. Meyer, "Die germanische Sprachbewegung," *I.F.*, XXII, p. 116-133, cf. especially p. 122.

On the other hand, both L. Wimmer (*Anord. Gramm.*, §5, Anm. 3) and A. Holtzmann (*Altd. Gramm.* I (I. Abteilung), "Anord. Lautlehre," p. 113) view O.N. *-rđ-* (= Goth. *-rd-*) from the standpoint of the Goth. *-rd-* and not from the standpoint of a P.G. **-rđ-*. The same is true of both Falk and Torp (*Norw.-Dän. Etym. Wörterb.*) and A. Fick (*Vergl. Wörterb. der Indogerm. Sprachen*); cf. Falk and Torp, I, 292 *Gaard*, Goth. *gards*, O.N. *garđr*, P.G. **garda-*, I, 370 *Haard*, Goth. *hardus*, O.N. *harđr*, P.G. **hardu* , etc; Fick, p. 129 P.G. **gerd*:**gard* (Goth. *gairda*:*gards*), p. 78 P.G. **hardu* (Goth. *hardus*), etc. Similarly F. Kluge (*Etym. Wörterb. der deutschen Sprache*[4]) derives the High German *-rt-* (<W.G. *-rd-*) from a P.G. **-rd-* and not from a P.G. **-rđ-*, cf., e.g., p. 144: "Hirte . . . , anord. *hirđer*, got. *hairdeis* M. 'Hirte': vermittelst *ja-* aus germ. *herdô-* 'Herde' abgeleitet."

[2] Among other scholars sharing this view may be mentioned Fr. Holthausen (*Anz. fda.*, XVIII, p. 368, Anm. and *As. Elementarb.*, §244 ff.), K. Brugmann, *Grundr.*[2] I, p. 706, R. Trautmann, *Germ. Lautgesetze*, p. 55 and Hermann Collitz (cf. grammatical introduction to Bauer's *Waldeckisches Wörterb.*).

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B D G," *Zfda.*, 54, pp. 1–23) that the stops *b*, *d* and *g* in Germanic were older than the corresponding spirants, we disturb the chronological order of the Germanic languages. It is in itself unreasonable to assume that the North and West Germanic spirants over against the corresponding stops in Gothic represent an older status of the consonants in question than does the Gothic, in view of the fact that the Gothic is much older than either of these two groups of Germanic dialects. Nothing has been shown, on the other hand, to disprove the theory that the Gothic consonantal system represents the final step in the Germanic sound shift and therefore the Primitive Germanic status from which the later North and West Germanic were derived. Paul's theory cannot subvert the fact that the North and West Germanic consonantal systems have undergone developments of a secondary origin to a much greater degree than has the Gothic.[3] It would be surprising, therefore, if the North and West Germanic spirants represented the original status of the consonants in question, whereas the corresponding stops in Gothic represented a secondary sound shift.

If we compare the status of stop and spirant (*b*, *d*, and *ƀ*, *đ*) in the Gothic, on the one hand, with the Old Norse and the West Germanic on the other, we shall find that the only cases where either the North or the West Germanic shows the spirant over against the stop in Gothic, occur after the liquids *l* and *r*.

After the nasals *m* and *n* the consonant represents a stop in all three groups, i.e., the consonant must have been a stop in Primitive Germanic:

P.G.	Goth.	O.N.	W.G. (Angs.)
**bindan*	*bindan*	*binda*	*bindan*
**lamb*	*lamb*	*lamb*	*lǫmb*

[3] Cf., e.g., the softening of P.G. **þ* in sonant surroundings in North and West Germanic over against the unchanged *surd* spirant in Gothic, thus Goth. *airþa*, *brôþar* but O.N. *jǫrð*, *bróðir*, Angs. *eorðe*, *brôðor*. Similarly P.G. **f* = Goth. *f* in intervocalic position must be considered a sonant spirant *ƀ* in North and West Germanic, altho the sign *f* may be regularly employed, thus Goth. *ufar* but O.N. *ofar*, Angs. *ofer* (*f* = *b*). Cf. further P.G. **z* = Goth. *z* > North and West Germ. *R*:*r*, thus Goth. *maiza*, O.N. *meiri*, Angs. *mâre*.

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After the liquids *l* and *r* the labial consonant appears in Gothic as a stop[4] (*b*), in North and West Germanic as a spirant (*ƀ*):

P.G.	Goth.	O.N.	W.G. (Angs.)
**silba*	*silba*	*sjalf-*	*seolfa*
**hwerban*	*hwaírban*	*hverfa*	*hweorfan*

After the liquid *l* the dental consonant appears as a stop in all three groups, i.e., the consonant must have been a stop in Primitive Germanic:

P.G.	Goth.	O.N.	W.G. (Angs.)
**haldan*	*haldan*	*halda*	*healdan*

But after the liquid *r* the dental consonant appears in Old Norse as a spirant (*đ*), but as a stop (*d*) in both Gothic and West Germanic:

P.G.	Goth.	O.N.	O.S.	Angs.
**gard-*	*gards*	*garđr*	*gard*	*geard*
**gerd-*	*gaírda*	*gjǫrđ*	*gurd-(isli)*	*gyrd-(els)*
**herd-*	*haírdeis*	*hirđir*	*hirdi*	*hyrde*
**hard-*	*hardus*	*harđr*	*hard*	*heard*
**werd-*	*waírdus*	*verđr*	*werd*	————
**ward-*	*wardja*	*vǫrđr*	*ward*	*weard*
**word-*	*waúrd*	*orđ*	*word*	*word*

If we hold that the Gothic consonants *b* and *d* in all these cases represent stops, it is certainly a much sounder view to consider the North and West Germ. spirant *ƀ* after the liquids *l* and *r* and North Germ. spirant *đ* after the liquid *r* as secondary developments from the Primitive Germanic stops (*b*, *d* = Goth. *b*, *d*) than to force the status of these consonants into the Procrustean bed of Paul's theory. Even if Paul's theory were correct, the Old Norse consonantal status, being of much later origin than the Gothic, can lend no evidence in support of it. The contention that the Old Norse spirants over against the

[4] G. A. Hench's contention ("The Voiced Spirants in Gothic," *J. E. Germ. Phil.*, I, pp. 45-58) that after the liquids *l* and *r* the Goth. *b* represents a spirant (*ƀ*) is not conclusive. There are no cases of final *lb* in Gothic, nor of final *rf* = intermediate *-rb-* (which in final position appears regularly as *rb*). The *f* in Gothic *þarf* represents a P.G. **f* not **ƀ* (cf. Braune, *Got. Gramm.*,[8] §56, Anm. 3). Therefore, there is no valid reason for assuming that the Goth. *b* after *l* and *r* represents a spirant (*ƀ*) and not a stop (*b*); cf. Frank, "Germanisch *B D G*," *Zfda.*, 54, p. 10, Anm. 1.

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corresponding stops in Gothic do support Paul's theory as to the priority of the Primitive Germantic spirants *ƀ*, *đ* is a mere assumption in conformity to the theory.

In support of this assumption Old Norse scholars have had recourse to the Runic inscriptions in which the consonants *b* and *d* in initial position and after the liquids *l* and *r* are, according to the accepted view, considered as spirants, cf. d*agaR* (Einang, 4th cen.), ƀ*orumR*, ƀ*ariutiþ* (Stentofta, 7th cen.), *hel*đ*aR* (Tjurkö, 7th cen.), *hagustal*đ*aR* (Valsfjord, 6th cen.), etc. But this view is due to the theories of Wimmer and Bugge (in keeping with Paul's theory regarding the priority of the spirants *ƀ*, *đ*) and has no historical evidence to support it. As a matter of fact, the Runic alphabet, just like the Gothic, lacked the means for denoting the difference between the stop and spirant *b* and *d* (cf. Runic ᛒ =*b* or *ƀ*, Runic ᛞ =*d* or *đ*), cf. Goth. *Nau*b*aim*b*air*=Lat. *November*, Gr. νοβέμβρος. It is, therefore, a perfectly arbitrary assumption (in conformity with Paul's theory) to conclude that in the Runic language *d* and *b* in initial position or after liquids represented original spirants. The theory that the Runic language represents a more archaic status than the Gothic[5] is based chiefly upon the existence of these "Runic spirants" over against the corresponding Gothic stops. It cannot be shown that in this respect at least the Runic language shows a more archaic status than the Gothic. Too much stress has in general been laid upon the status of the Runic language, the phonetic interpretation of which is too uncertain to serve as a basis for the construction of our Primitive Germanic phonetic system.[6]

On the other hand, the assumption is a priori justified that in view of the Gothic-West Germ. *-rd-* the O.N. *-rđ-* represents a secondary development peculiar to Old Norse alone. Evidently

[5] Cf., for instance, Streitberg's statement in his *Urgerm. Gramm.*, §14, c, p. 16: "Sie (die ältesten nordischen Runeninschriften) übertreffen an Altertümlichkeit der Sprachform *alle anderen Denkmäler* und repräsentieren einen Sprachzustand, den man als 'Urnordisch' bezeichnen muss." The italics are mine.

[6] Cf. Frank, "Germanisch *B D G*," *Zfda.*, 54, p. 3: "M. e-ist es überhaupt sehr mislich, bei unseren vielfach doch noch recht unsicheren kenntnissen über ihren ursprung und den gang ihrer entwicklung die runen zu lautgeschichtlichen schlüssen zu verwerten."

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the secondary tendency to shift an original stop (*b*, *d*) after a liquid to a corresponding spirant had progressed further in Old Norse than in West Germanic, for in West Germanic this shift was confined to the *labial* stop *b* (cf. Goth. *hwaírban*, O.N. *hverfa*, W.G. *hwerƀan* but Goth. *gards*, O.N. *garđr*, W.G. *gard*). This secondary tendency, common to both North and West Germanic, had apparently not yet affected the dentals in West Germanic, although this may have been the case later, i.e., after the division of the West Germanic into dialects. In Old Saxon, for example, the sign *d* is often used for *đ*, but the fact that the sign *đ* is not often used for *d* except after *r* may indicate, as Holthausen[7] points out, a phonetic change from W.G. *-rd-* to O.S. *-rđ-*.

A similar later (i.e., historical) shifting of *d* after *r* to *đ* occurred in Old Norse, namely where *d* was developed from[8] *d*+*đ*, as in the preterit of weak verbs, cf. **hirdiđô*>**hirdđa*> **hirdda*>*hirda*>*hirđa*. The priority of the stop *d* in this case over the spirant *đ* is proved by the fact that the forms with *đ* are not found in the oldest manuscripts.[9]

I am tempted to view this tendency to shift a secondary *d* (from *d*+*đ*) after *r* to the spirant *đ* in Old Norse as a continuation of the *original* tendency in Primitive Norse to shift the stop *d* after *r* to the spirant *đ*. At any rate, it is certain that the tendency to shift the stop *d* after *r* to the spirant *đ* was peculiar to Old Norse over against Gothic and West Germanic (with the possible exception of Old Saxon) even if it can not be shown that this tendency was fundamental (i.e., was already affective in Primitive Norse).

The attempt to explain an Old Norse spirant over against an earlier Gothic stop as a retention of a Primitive Germanic spirant (i.e., that the *đ*, for instance, in O.N. *garđr* is older than the stop *d* in Gothic *gards*) is the same sort of fallacy as the

[7] Cf. F. Holthausen, *As. Elementarb.*, §247, Anm. 1: "Nur nach *r* steht ofters *đ*=*d* in *V C*, z.B. *wordon* 'Worten,' *hord* 'Hort,' was möglicherweise eine lautliche Veränderung bezeichnet."

[8] According to the accepted view *đ*+*đ*, since after *r* the dental (=the stop *d* in Gothic) is considered as a spirant (not as a stop) in Primitive Germanic, thus **hirdiđô*>**hirdđa*>**hirdda*>*hirda*>*hirđa*. So A. Heusler, *Aisl. Elementarb.*, §188, 1, A. Noreen, *Aisl. Gramm*[3]., §230, 1, Anm. 2, §237, 2, F. Holthausen, *Aisl. Elementarb.*, §74.

[9] Cf. A. Heusler, *Aisl. Elementarb.*, §188, 1.

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accepted notion that a North (and West) Germ. *ĕ* (=Indo-Eur. *ĕ*) is older than a corresponding Goth. *i* (i.e., that the *ĕ*, for instance, in North (and West) Germ. *wĕg* (=the *ĕ* in Lat. *vĕho*) is older than the *i* in Goth. *wigs*). Professor Collitz[10] has advanced very cogent reasons for assuming that North and West Germ. *ĕ/ŏ* must be derived from and, therefore, secondary to the corresponding Goth. *i/u*; that consequently the Gothic vowel system here (as elsewhere) represents the final stage of the Primitive Germanic vowel system. No convincing argument has yet been advanced as to why we should not likewise assume that the Gothic consonant system represents the final step in the Germanic sound shift and not "secondary Gothic peculiarities."

The analysis of this question, i.e., the relation of the O.N. *đ* after *r* to the corresponding stop (*d*) in Gothic, shows that the accepted view regarding the priority of the spirants *ƀ*, *đ*, *ǥ* over the stops *b*, *d*, *g* in Germanic is at least open to very serious difficulties. The so-called Runic "spirants" in initial position and after liquids have no sound basis at all; they represent merely the arbitrary theory that the spirants in Germanic are older than the corresponding stops. Similarly, the accepted "*urgermanisch*" and "*urnordisch*" *ĕ* over against the Gothic *i* owes its existence in our Germanic grammars to the theory that an Indo-Eur. *ĕ* (just as an "urnordisch" *rđ*) was preserved in North (and West) Germanic without having undergone the intermediate Gothic change.

In the reconstruction of the Primitive Germanic vowel and consonant systems the evidence afforded by the Gothic dialect should serve as our basis, for the fact cannot be disregarded that the Gothic represents the earliest phonetic stage recorded in the Germanic languages. The age of the Runic inscriptions is still a mooted question and our knowledge as to their phonetic status is far more uncertain than is our knowledge of the Gothic. Therefore, it seems to me, it is just as imperative for a correct notion of the development of the Germanic vowel and consonant systems to view the Old Norse from the standpoint of

[10] Cf. Hermann Collitz: "Segimer: Oder germanische Namen in keltischem Gewande," *J. E. Germ. Phil.*, VI, p. 253-306, 1907, and more recently "Early Germanic Vocalism," *M. L. Ns.*, XXXIII, p. 321-333, 1918.

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the Gothic[11] as it is to view, for example, the Anglo-Saxon from the standpoint of the older Saxon upon the continent. So far as the relation of spirant to stop is concerned, it cannot be shown that the Gothic underwent secondary developments which were not shared by the North and West Germanic, even tho the spirants *ƀ*, *đ* and *ᵹ* (in unaccented syllables) may have been in Gothic subject to Thurneysen's "Dissimilations Gesetz" (*I. F.*, VIII, p. 208 ff.).

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[11] The failure to view the Old Norse from the standpoint of the Gothic has resulted in Paul's view not only that the O. N. *đ*, e.g., in *garđr* is older than the corresponding stop *d* in Goth. *gards* but also that the O. N. *đ* in yđ (*w*)-*ar*, *yđr* is older than the z in Goth. *izwara*, *izwis* ("Zur Lautverschiebung," *P. B. Beitr.*, I, p. 517). The correct explanation for the O. N. *đ* over against the Gothic. *z* in this latter case has been given by Sophus Bugge (*K.Z.*, IV, p. 251), namely Goth. *izwis*>P. Norse **iRwiR*>**iđwiR*>O. N. *yđr*, i.e., thru dissimilation of *R* to *đ* because of the following *R*. Even Heusler (*Aisl. Elementarb.*, §151) accepts Bugge's explanation, i.e., that the Goth. *z* here is older than the O. N. *đ*, yet at the same time holds that the Gothic stop *d* after *r* (*gards*) is younger than the corresponding spirant in Old Norse (*garđr*).

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THE QUESTION OF MORAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THE DRAMATIC WORKS OF ARTHUR SCHNITZLER

Schnitzler the dramatist—it is with his dramatic achievements that we are more directly concerned—is fundamentally a naturalist, but, in the majority of his works, a naturalist of the neo-realist type. In only one instance, in the dramatic dialogues of "Reigen," does the author yield to the lure of crass naturalism. Occasionally he resorts to a grotesque realism, as in the case of "Der grüne Kakadu," or in "Der tapfere Cassian" and "Die Schwestern," with settings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. With few exceptions, he has selected his dramatic material from the life of the comfortable middle-classes of his native city. It is from the professional element particularly that he has taken his principal characters. The physician, the artist, the actor, the musician, the poet, the student, the young officer, with their varied and sensitive temperaments and personalities, are the types which he places upon the stage with a vivid reality. These are the men and women of his personal acquaintance. His life is intimately linked with theirs, and he knows their every move and inner thought. Consequently, in plays like "Professor Bernhardi," "Das Vermächtnis," "Zwischenspiel," his realism is most apparent and convincing. In each of the plays the dramatist is occupied with definite problems in definite contemporary social groups. These plays are illustrative of what Eduard Engel asserts: "In most of his plays and playlettes he stands with a firm foot in the midst of worldly life."[1]

The ethical worth of Schnitzler's writings can scarcely be over-estimated. In certain dramas the purposiveness is more evident than in others. Especially is this true of his earlier dramatic works. In his later plays the moral import is more subtle and implied. The satirical, and not infrequently cynical and piquant, dialogue frankly exposes the author's views upon

[1] Engel, Eduard, Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis in die Gegenwart, 15te Auflage, Leipzig, 1912. B. II, p. 442.

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the vital questions of the day. The duel, militarism, politics, and the conventional moral standards of society he attacks repeatedly.

To obtain an appreciative and sound understanding of Schnitzler's art, we must bear in mind the fact that he is primarily influenced by the life of Vienna which in pre-war days was second only to Paris in the vivacity and the excitement of pleasure which pervaded it. History and geographical position have greatly influenced the temperament of the Viennese. Here the sober spirit of the North is fused with the brilliant and fantastic temperament of the South; it is romance tinged with sadness, merriment and animation subdued by a philosophical seriousness, passion suppressed by intellect. The blood of the Slav, of the German, of the Italian, of the Spaniard has helped to form this strangely unique spirit. When we recollect that Schnitzler is above all else a Viennese, surrounded by the life he so vividly dramatizes, we no longer marvel at his keen understanding of the soul of the people, the basis of all of his characterizations. Even in his historical plays, "Der Schleier der Beatrice," an episode of the Renaissance period, and in "Der junge Medardus," which carries us back to 1809 when Napoleon appeared for the second time before the gates of Vienna, even in "Paracelsus," the setting of which is laid in the beginning of the sixteenth century, we are not in the least aware of the presence of historical figures parading before us out of a remote past. In his characters Schnitzler depicts life as he observes it, with its "gay romance" and its "melancholy reflection." The soul of Beatrice Nardi, who lived in the Italian city of Bologna in the year 1500, has much in common with Schnitzler's characters of the nineteenth century. She is a care-free, pleasure-loving maiden who, like Marie and Katharina in "Der Ruf des Lebens," like Christine in "Liebelei," is beguiled by the illusions of life which obsess her. She hears the call of life and she responds to its magic allurement:

"So warm! Why, thou drawest breath—thou liv'st!
Was even this a test to prove my love
For thee? Arise, Filippo, come and flee!
We'll flee, together flee! Kind fate will yet
List unto us, and life 'round us will surge
With joy, the sun will rise again for us—
Come thou with me, we'll flee and live—live!
Filippo—live!"

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This cry of anguish from the heart of Beatrice as she bends over the lifeless body of her poet lover, whose death is in large part due to her dilettanteism, is typical of that ardent desire to live, live while life shall last, which proves to be the dynamic force in the actions of the greater number of Schnitzler's characters. It is the dominant impulse which forces them to break the bounds which hedge them in on all sides. In "Das weite Land," "Komtessi Mizzi," "Der tapfere Cassian," "Die Schwestern," "Liebelei," "Der Schleier der Beatrice," and "Der Ruf des Lebens," it is more or less the salient motive.

The true secret of Schnitzler's success as a realist lies in his ability to fathom the depths of the human soul. Character is the essential in all of his works; plot is subservient to it. Moreover, his interpretation of human action is ingenious. This results from his deep interest in psychology and in the newer phase of the investigation of the mind of man, psycho-analysis. That he is a psychologist of the foremost order is very evident in his character delineations, which are decidedly Ibsenian in tendency. As a young man Schnitzler became deeply interested in psychology, and the study of hypnosis, dual personality, and dreams fascinated him. Nervous and mental diseases occupied the attention of Schnitzler the physician. His experiences as a medical student and later as a practicing physician, are reflected in his dramas and short stories. That his father was also a physician of renown is of great importance in the development of the son's career both as physician of the human body and as analyst of the human mind. His profound understanding of the recently formulated theories of auto-suggestion, psychotherapeutics, heredity, environment, biology, and psychology, has enabled Schnitzler to give a highly natural characterization of the human being with all his frailties and shortcomings. He has penetrated the surface and revealed the inner, fundamental workings of the soul. His cynicism "proceeds not from a distrust in human nature, but from an extraordinarily astute perception of its frailties—the legacy of all physicians of the human body."[2]

In all of Schnitzler's characters there is a conjoint operation of the physical and the psychical. There is not the slightest

[2] North American Review, Nov. 1912, p. 657.

evidence of incongruity of character and action in the writings of this dexterous dramatist who is obsessed with the problem of sex and enamoured of the thought of death. If his characters deviate from the straight and narrow path of moral action, it is because they have not the strength of will to assert themselves, or because they are pathologically unfit to struggle against overwhelming obstacles. "Immanent forces, passions, moral convictions, impulses, the influence of the 'milieu' we discover to-day as the principal motives of dramatic action in a more or less restricted sense and to the almost complete exclusion of human freedom,"[3] and these are also the dominant motives of action in real life. We, as human beings, however, must possess implicit faith in the power of the will in our incessant efforts in the struggle of life. We must will to do and will to achieve if we desire to attain the highest and best that is in store for us. But the psychologist is aware of the limitations of the human will. He is cognizant of the forces that operate to obstruct its freedom. To him our actions are more or less dependent upon events that have preceded, upon conditions which exist about us, and upon our own limited possibilities. Hence in the contemporary drama in which psychology plays a more or less important part, the motivation depends largely upon the forces against which the human will constantly and, all too often, vainly struggles. Precisely for this reason the problem of moral responsibility in the dramas of Arthur Schnitzler assumes an aspect of all-absorbing interest.

That the innocent must often suffer the consequences of another's guilt, that the human will is at times quite ineffectual in its functioning, herein lies life's inevitable tragedy. The inexorable theories of fatalism are no longer the philosophical ideas upon which the contemporary drama is constructed: the theories of determinism have supplanted them. Although the theories of determinism are not as spectacularly displayed in the delicate art of Schnitzler as in the more crass presentations of the pure naturalists, nevertheless a deterministic philosophy forms the basis for the interpretation of his characters. Consequently, in analyzing Schnitzler's characters we are impressed by the

[3] Doell, Otto Die Entwicklung der naturalistischen Form im jüngst-deutschen Drama (1880-1890), Halle a. S., 1910, p. 1.

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fact that they act because of the passions, the impulses, and the influence of adverse circumstances which they are powerless to combat. Generally, they must struggle against a combination of these forces. From such causes, according to the poet, their moral delinquencies originate, and individual responsibility becomes thereby a greatly reduced or negligible quantity.

According to the functional predominance of the forces which determine the action of Schnitzler's characters, his plays—that is, those works in which the question of moral responsibility may be made a subject of intimate study—fall into three general divisions. In the first are those dramas in which the characteristics of temperament are the primary and environment, circumstance, or social conventions the secondary forces. In the second group external and accidental circumstances are principally responsible for the actions of the characters, although inherent and immanent forces are also in evidence. And those dramas into which the playwright has introduced contemporary social conventions and ultra-modern tendencies as the dynamic forces governing the conduct of the characters comprise the third division.

"Anatol" (1889–90), the playwright's first dramatic venture, is peculiarly representative of the works in which temperament, mood, and atmosphere blend in approximately equal proportions, constituting virtually the sole source of action. In spirit it is a forerunner of many of Schnitzler's plays and playlettes which appeared after 1900. It is a cycle of seven distinct dramalettes, representing as many episodes in Anatol's insatiable quest for happiness in love. Anatol is a typical Viennese of that social class where it is the legitimate right of the male to humor his amatory instincts and indulge in as many love affairs as he wishes with women socially his inferiors. Besides being representative of a certain social group, Anatol is an example of a definite type of temperament. In fact, the entire play is based on the idealistic views of this temperamental youth who analyses himself as a "light-hearted hypochondriac." He is an irresponsible philanderer in search of the perfect woman, and a vain search it proves to be for him. It does not surprise him that woman is as inconstant in her love as he; it merely injures his pride and vanity.

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The erotic nature of Anatol, who is guided by the hedonistic doctrine that pleasure is the sole good in life and that moral duty is fulfilled in the gratification of pleasure-seeking instincts and dispositions, finds no restrictions to these impulses in the circle in which he moves, and Max, his bosom friend and confidant, whom the author has characterized as a cynical, matter-of-fact youth, is inclined to tolerate Anatol's vagaries even though he, because of rational considerations, does not approve of them. While Anatol exhibits a certain amount of idealism and is not altogether insincere in his attitude, Max ostentatiously displays a brutal and frank cynicism. Schnitzler introduces into this play the theme which he has dealt with in many of his later dramas, the double moral standard of society. The woman must remain pure and faithful in her love, the man may enjoy unhampered license. But Anatol is a "Gefühlsmensch," egotistical to the extreme, and ever doubtful and suspicious of woman's professed constancy. So obsessed is he with the thought that woman is always disloyal, that doubt resolves itself in his mind into a fixed idea.

Anatol: No . . . I'm not in doubt. I know that she is deceiving me! While her lips are pressed against mine, while she caresses my hair . . . in our most blissful moments . . . I know that she is deceiving me.

Max: Madness.

Anatol: No.

Max: And your proofs?

Anatol: I suspect it . . . I feel it . . . therefore I know it.

Max: Strange logic!

The fact that he is dominated by the conception that it is the nature of woman to be fickle, and that he is perpetually in a vain search of reliable methods to test woman's constancy, is proof enough of the morbidity which torments him. Psychologically, this constant doubting and habitual lack of faith in persons and things is typical of those suffering from some form of neurosis. It would seem as if such a hypercritical sense as Anatol possesses must have some pathological foundation. It certainly is not typical of the normal human mind. Furthermore, Schnitzler is both pathologist and psychologist and is accustomed to analyzing precisely such temperaments and moods in real life, and his experiences in treating mental and nervous diseases have most likely affected his characterizations

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to a certain extent, for "Anatol" was written at a time when he was deeply interested in and occupied with the study of neurotic temperaments.

Throughout the entire series of playlettes we discover evidences of Anatol's neurotic temperament. "Oh, I'm tired—I'm nervous, I don't know what I want," is quite explicative of his vacillating, unstable will-power. On the very morning of his wedding-day, after a night spent in the arms of another, he cries out: "I'm absolutely not in the mood to be married to-day. I'd like to call the thing off." Thus we see that Anatol possesses not the least iota of moral stability, and yet Max, who erroneously believes "that it is the first duty of friendship to leave a friend to his illusions," is willing to vouch for his friend's moral character at the wedding ceremony. Under such circumstances it is not strange that Anatol does not find it necessary to be strong. "It is quite possible that I might be able to be so! But the far more important thing is lacking—the necessity!" he says. Herein is revealed the keynote to Anatol's philanderings. He is an idealistic weakling who flits along in the path of least resistance. He does not discern the need to reform, and Max does not over-exert himself to change this attitude. On the contrary, he is more inclined to consider his friend's erotic aberrations lightly. "They are happy, that's the main thing," he remarks in "Die Frage an das Schicksal." Anatol with his inherent sensuality, weakness, and exaggerated idealism, it is evident, cannot be considered entirely to blame for his dissipations when society is apparently lukewarm in its disapproval.

One of the most winsome and naive of Schnitzler's feminine temperaments is found in "Der Schleier der Beatrice" (1899), a Renaissance tragedy in verse, depicting the sensual excesses in which the inhabitants of Bologna indulge in order to obliterate from their minds the horrors of the threatening invasion, during the night when Cesare Borgia is preparing to enter the city. The delicate grace and charm, typical of the poet's art, pervades the entire spirit of the drama's principal character, Beatrice Nardi, and gives to her being a light and easy elegance characteristic of the "veil of wondrous beauty," Beatrice's bridal gift from the duke, which appears to be symbolical of her child-like nature. Carried hither and thither in her flights of

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fancy, she, with her simple and naive conception of things, is fundamentally pure and unsullied by any realization of impropriety in her actions. She is a mere child, with the thoughts and ideas of a child, but replete with the dangerous instincts characteristic of maturity. The simplicity of her understanding experiences no awe at the complexity of life's realities or at the glory of its miracles; she remains unmoved by the pathetic fatuity of her father, and she feels no dread at the voluntary death of Vittorino, the only man who really loved her. Life with its delusions beguiles her, and the tragic realities of life are beyond the comprehension of this irresponsible child.

Soft and melodious words from the lips of a poet, a casual glance from a passing duke, these are the stimuli which excite her trifling fancy and transport her into rapturous day-dreams. And the fatal impulse to attain the realization of her dreams leads her to forget all save the admiration which may be hers as the consort of the duke. But with all her eagerness to enjoy the transitory pleasures of earthly existence, Beatrice is influenced by a sense of honor and self-respect. Not until the duke promises to make her his lawful wife does she consent to do his bidding.

It is only the fear and horror of impending death that drives her from falsehood to falsehood, from ignominy to ignominy, and in this very effort to shield her ignoble actions we detect that same former, instinctive desire to keep her name free from taint or blemish. She possesses a false valuation of things. What to her is nothing but innocent joy, is to others deceit and wantonnness. The duke, conscious of the lightness with which Beatrice is wont to regard the grave and serious matters of life, realizes, finally, that she is not to be held accountable for her delusions.

> "But we are all too stern
> And will have none of this; each wished to be
> Not principally the only toy—nay, more!
> The entire world. And so we called thy acts
> Deceit and wantonness—and thou wast but a child."

These gentle words indicate that Beatrice is not entirely responsible for the inconstancy of her love. And there is no evidence in the play that the dramatist considers her in any measure answerable for her transgressions. He characterizes

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her as a bit of feminine frailty with whom inherited instincts, unfortunate circumstances, and evil influences work havoc. The moral support which should be man's by birthright and training is denied to Beatrice. Her mother is a vain, trifling woman, who has been unfaithful to her marriage vows and guilty of illicit relations with another. Frau Nardi is the prototype of Beatrice's elder sister in whom passions and emotions have unrestrained sway. And the father is a fond, fatuitous, old man whose mental derangement is the consequence of the immoral excesses of his unfaithful wife. The sole member of this ill-fated family who possesses a strong character is the brother, Francesco. Even he is ultimately overwhelmed by the passions which have wrought the ruin of this unfortunate household when, in a moment of wild anguish, he thrusts his dagger into Beatrice's broken heart. Foreseeing the impending disaster, he says of her:

> "I wish that you might e'er be pure, yet deeply feel, that all
> With you is not as we are wont to find in human-kind."

Francesco is, however, not ignorant of the fact that Frau Nardi is in some manner responsible for the pathetic lot of his unfortunate father and for the impending doom of Beatrice. With all the venomous sting of an embittered heart he cries:

> "Mother!!
> I soon hope to forget that you were this!
> For too much baseness have I seen in you,
> And see new ignominy in the making.
> When I was young, I could not comprehend,
> I only felt it. But now a year has passed
> Since my dull eyes have seen, and now I know
> What made my father mad and crazed his mind;
> And that which you have been, she too will be!
> One ready to submit herself, to sell her soul
> To him who wills!"

Heavy indeed does the weight of responsibility for the tragic lot of this ill-fated family rest upon Frau Nardi. Deep within the recesses of her heart lurks the knowledge of her undeniable share in shaping the sad destiny of these unfortunate beings, and frankly, though unfeelingly, she confesses her responsibility for her husband's sorrowful plight. "—I am responsible for that, I have made him what he is. See, how honest I am, I

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freely confess it, I am so honest! I, wretched woman, have reduced him to this through my sins—."

From Schnitzler's revelation of the traits in these minor characters, it is evident that deterministic forces play an important part in deciding Beatrice's course of action. Inherited libidinous instincts arouse within her "a longing that was mightier than all else" and foreordain her tragic end. The misery and sorrow that she brings to all about her is inevitable. And when the veil of life's illusions is removed from before her dazzled eyes and she beholds the cruelty and the relentlessness of life's realities, she murmurs with a weariness that sighs for rest from earth's sad turmoil:

> "And why was I selected before all
> To bring such sorrow to so many, and
> Well know: I wished none harm!"

There is evidence here of the dramatist's conviction that there is a resistless power that rules with an inexorable sway over all her actions. "Who knows by what forces this maiden is governed, willingly or unwillingly," says Magnani. To maintain that the inhibitory influences, the constraining power of the will are entirely lacking in Beatrice's psychological make-up would be futile, but in contrast to the inherent forces at work upon her character, to the innate traits of moral weakness, and to the baleful influences of her surroundings they are of minor importance.

> "It may be that being culpable denotes:
> Being subject to eternal laws. If 'tis so,
> Then guilt resides within us from our infancy,
> As death within our bosom while we breathe."

These insignificant words of the poet Filippo reveal without a doubt the dramatist's own conception of guilt in the light of modern biological and physiological ideas. With his keen and scientific insight into the fundamental order of things, he is able to discern the why and the wherefore of an action. Beatrice he has portrayed as one doomed to the sad fate which befalls her; in her inherited salacious tendencies determine the destruction of an innocent human soul.

A similar deterministic attitude toward the forces which condition one's actions is found in "Der Ruf des Lebens'

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(1905). In the delineation of the pathological temperament of Katherina, Schnitzler has depicted a girl driven to immoral excesses because she is aware that an inexorable fate, the same that befell her father and her sisters, hangs over her with its threatening pall. So she yields to the beckoning spirit of life which bids her cast aside all gloom and live to the fullness and abundance of her powers. "At twenty-two I shall be in my grave, today I am nineteen. I don't want to remain with my mother for these three years. When I live along so quietly, fear overtakes me. Only those who have many memories to look back upon sleep peacefully in the earth,—the others . . . don't you know it? . . . flutter about over the earth and complain. I have often seen my dead sisters at night. I want to sleep quietly." There is no lustful desire in this pathetic utterance, merely the wistful longing to live to the utmost the few short years which may be hers upon earth and the wish to smother the sorrow of an unrequited love.

When Katharina returns to her mother, broken in body and in mind, the youth whom she loves and who has deserted her for another feels deep pangs of remorse at her pitiful condition, but the physician in attendance is aware of the inherent forces that have slowly performed their work and effected their pitiful end, and with the assurance of a keen observer he says: "Not you, forester, have reduced her to this. For is ever one human being another's fate? He is only the means which fate employs. Katharina was destined to be what she has become. You were at hand, that is all." From these words we clearly understand that the poet does not consider Katharina responsible for her delinquent acts. Inherited physical and moral weakness lessens her powers of resistance and permits her to yield to her pathological desires. In characterizing Katharina as he has, Schnitzler has taken into account a fact that is well understood by all physicians, that tuberculosis, from which she suffers, tends to increase the sexual desire. The spirit of the times is also brought to bear upon her acts, for the excitement in the air of troops departing for the battlefield and of hasty and passionate farewells, incites and inflames her erotic tendencies.

In "Der einsame Weg" (1903), a tragedy of lonely lives, the author has deftly interwoven into a unified whole two essentially

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different themes. The one centers about the son who until manhood lives in ignorance of his natural father; the other is concerned with the neurotic temperament of a young girl who ends her life by suicide and who, we are convinced, is not responsible for her deed, first, because of her abnormal mental state, and second, because of the indifference toward her welfare of the circle in which she moves. The preeminent characteristic common to all the persons introduced is the utter loneliness of each. The whole spirit of the play is an attitude of cold reserve. There is no mutual confidence or love between any of these people with their melancholy reflections and sad memories. Each lives for himself in his own way, in apparent unconcern of those about him. Lonely is the husband who is deceived by his wife and forsaken by his daughter. Lonely is the man on whose account the daughter takes her life. Lonely is the daughter, whom no one seems to understand. Lonely are they all as they journey down life's highway. "To love means to live upon this earth for someone else," and they belong to no one in particular. A realization of this fact is the ultimate cause of Johanna's fatal act.

She is a melancholy, over-sexed young girl, possessing a peculiar psychic insight into things. Like many of Schnitzler's characters, she seems to have a rare, intuitive knowledge of impending events, with Johanna especially, a divination of approaching death. "When little Lili von Sala's hour of death was at hand, I knew it—even before the others suspected that she was ill." Likewise there steals over her a premonition of her mother's death, and this leaves her quite estranged from her family.

It is not extraordinary that this girl with her abnormal psychologic make-up, whose mind is occupied by gloomy thoughts, who never smiles or laughs, who believes she is not made to be of comfort to people in their days of sorrow, should also contemplate her own death, especially when the conviction is impressed upon her that the man whom she loves and who feels only friendship for her, is suffering from an incurable disease and must soon leave this earthly existence. The question of what her fate will be then is constantly in her thoughts as she meditates upon their separation. In a conversation between Sala and Johanna the author has intro-

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duced a clever play upon the significance of the words which reveal in a subtle manner Johanna's unusual psychic powers. In reality, the conversation centers about Sala's approaching departure for Bactria where he is to participate in an important archaeological expedition. To Johanna, however, that land where there is neither winter nor snow is suggestive of another interpretation, and the proposed departure intimates that journey whence no traveler returns.

The overwhelming thought that life will have nothing of interest for her when this man, whom she loves with a strange love, has left her, crushes Johanna and drives her in her despondency to take her own life. After all, there is a grain of truth in this sad conviction, for none of these people has been in any way solicitous of her happiness or welfare. The father is wrapped up in his academic work, the brother in his plans for the future, Sala in his proposed expedition. No one considers her particularly, no one makes any effort to understand her enigmatical nature. Felix is aware of the neglect they are guilty of when he says: "And who among us really knew her? Who, in fact, troubles himself about the well-being of anybody else?" Wegrath, also, recognizes the responsibility that rests upon him for his daughter's fatal act when he exclaims in his anguish: "Why did she never confide in me? Why have I never known anything about her? Why was I always such a stranger to her?" According to universal sentiment, they who should have been much to her through the ties of blood and friendship and were nothing, should share in the responsibility for her act, but Schnitzler has in part relieved these people of this accountability and has characterized them as unable to act otherwise because of their own temperaments and their inability to understand Johanna's nature. They unwittingly neglect their duty towards her.

In these four plays there is conclusive evidence that the dramatist does not consider these people with their pathalogical and neurotic temperaments responsible for their acts. He has characterized them as abnormal, deluded creatures in whom hereditary and inherent forces ordain the course which they follow. It is of great significance to note that they do not act with any malicious intent, nor are they even impressed with a consciousness of guilt in their transgressions. They are the

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innocent victims of immanent forces, of delusions and pathological tendencies over which they have little or no control and which circumstances and environment tend only to augment.

The moral responsibility of Schnitzler's characters is not always determined primarily by their inherited or pathological instincts and tendencies, as was true of the individuals discussed on the preceding pages. The influence of environment and the pressure of attendant, unfavorable circumstances are often the immediate causes of their moral instability. This is decidedly true of Schnitzler's less abnormal temperaments. Indeed, we can scarcely overestimate the importance of environment or surroundings upon the action of any individual, and more particularly upon that individual who has not the strength of character necessary to assert himself or the will-power or pertinacity of purpose required to combat whatever difficulties may exist about him. It cannot be denied that the same individual would react quite differently under different surroundings and under different circumstances. Actions, as a rule, do not arise solely within the person; there is generally some stimulus from without to excite the impulse and lead the individual to action. We must also take into consideration the fact that certain characters will react to certain stimuli or influences much more readily than to others. The psychologist is well aware of the potency of environment as well as heredity in determining the destiny of the human being. In his delineation of the sensitive and pathological temperaments of Anatol, Katharina, and Johanna, and in the immature, child-like disposition of Beatrice, Schnitzler has not disregarded the influence of environment or external circumstances, but he has been rather more occupied in showing that the characters mentioned reacted in a certain manner to these influences because they were so destined by nature. In another group of plays, where the characters possess more normal temperaments and personalities, it is clearly demonstrated that the adversity of accidental circumstances, or the unfavorableness of their surroundings, are the potent forces which condition the sad destiny that befalls them.

That the depressing influence of environment is the immediate cause of a parricidal act is particularly discernible in "Der Ruf des Lebens" (1905), in the presentation of the home

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life of Marie and of her aged, disease-wasted father, without exception the most repulsive and horrible of all Schnitzler's characters. Indigent circumstances compel these two to live in a desolate tenement in a crowded section of Vienna. Here Marie, with her innate tendencies toward refinement and beauty, must spend the best years of life in slavish attendance upon this unreasonable, querulous man, who does not allow her one moment's peace from his incessant and fretful complaining. He is so fearful lest she be enticed to indulge in the legitimate pleasures of youth that he does not permit her to leave his side for even an instant. This oppressive atmosphere is making rapid inroads upon the delicate nature of Marie and fast destroying what faint vestiges of courage and hope in the future have been left her. She is sacrificing her life for a man who is undeserving and who can be of no further use to humanity, who may linger on for years in his state of incapacity, unkind, and pitiless toward the daughter, whose youth and beauty are withering and fading . . . "for what reason?—For nothing more perhaps than a few words written in an old book." The physician who speaks these words to Marie realizes the futility of her efforts to bring either comfort or happiness to the father for whose sake she is making an unavailing sacrifice of her life. What she does for him a professional nurse could do. She has another duty, a higher duty towards herself—"and the God to whom we do not pray, but in whom we must all believe, will inflict a bitter punishment if it is neglected," he adds.

Marie: And what do you advise me as my friend?
The Physician: That you go away from here.
Marie: Where?
The Physician: Go to the man who is worthy of you, as soon as he asks for you.
Marie: That is what you advise me?—

Had this counsel been given to her sooner it might have availed. Then the future would have had some happiness in store for her, but now the longing for happiness has irrevocably vanished. For her the future is nothing but a dark abyss of uncertainty. The youth for whom she would have deserted her father, for whom she was ready to throw to the four winds honor, life, and eternal salvation, has just ridden away with the regiment that is consecrated to death in order to expiate the

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cowardice of its ranks at the battle of Lindach, thirty years previously, and this youth will never return. Marie had seen this officer only once, the evening when she had swept in his arms through a gaily lighted hall to the soft melody of a dreamy waltz. From that instant not an hour passed in which she did not pray for the death of her father, in which her fingers did not convulsively twitch to strangle him, only that she might be free to go to the man for whom her whole soul yearned. With the despair of one who suddenly understands that she is capable of perpetrating the madness lurking within her thoughts, she cries: "Why didn't you speak sooner . . . why didn't you speak like this to me yesterday? Why not?. . . Then your words would have driven me forth, then I knew where to go . . . then life lay before me. . . And had it only been for one day and one night, it was life that called to me, life that waited for me. Now it has flown away, and I have lost it while asleep and you waken me from my slumbers!"

At this psychological moment, when her spirit is alive with awakened memories, the report comes that the last squadron of the blue cuirassiers, the regiment that is consecrated to death, is not to leave the city until the following morning, and from her lover comes a message which stirs her soul.

Katharina: "Give my remembrances to your cousin Marie," he said. "She ought not to have let me wait in vain for her."

Marie: He said that?

Katharina: And he said still more: "It is too bad that she didn't come," he said. "She might have saved me from evil."

Marie: Saved him from evil—?

A single thought burns within her now, to go to him whom she will see for the last time. Nothing must hinder her, not even her father who, surmising that Marie's lover is among those consecrated never to return, laughs in fiendish and satiric glee over the fact that these young men must die, and that he is responsible for the disgrace that these youths are to expiate with their lives, since he, by his cowardice and fear of death, caused that ignoble defeat so many years ago. Marie, agitated still more by this inadvertent confession, pours into her father's drinking water the potion which contains "the sleep of a hundred nights," for on the other side of the door which her

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father has locked to prevent her escape, she hears life calling to her and arousing all the latent forces of her being.

Through the delicate motivation which he has employed in this tragedy of life, the dramatist has clearly indicated that external circumstances, the excitement of the hour, the fact that the man she loves is doomed to death because of her father's cowardly act, arouse within Marie the latent instincts of sexual passion and weaken and conquer the powers of resistance of this young girl of twenty-six who is forced to endure a horrible existence with a cruel and relentless father of seventy-nine, irretrievably lost to a life of usefulness through the disease that is slowly eating away his life. To show further that he acquits Marie of any responsibility for her deed and that he justifies her act, Schnitzler has taken the liberty to waive the responsibility of a physician to prolong life when such a course would entail nothing but misery and suffering for all concerned. It is the family physician, Marie's only counselor, who first awakens her to the possibilities of a life of freedom and unconsciously points out the way of escape from her bondage by the words: "This vial contains the sleep of a hundred nights."

Upon discovering the fatality which occurs, the physician refuses to report the truth or even to allow Marie to confess her crime before the courts of justice. To save her from a form of penance which would benefit neither the living nor the dead, he removes all traces of her deed and perjures his own soul by the declaration that he himself watched over the dying man's last moments. For this deeply repentant girl he sees another method of atonement: "Just this morning I saw a group of nurses who were stopping to rest a bit on their way to our army at the border. Difficulties and dangers of many kinds are ahead of them. And not all of them will return." We are thus permitted to foresee the fate which awaits this unfortunate girl whom the author does not deem accountable for the crime which she commits. The psychology of the dramatist pictures her as one who is torn by forces from within and driven by forces from without. The burden which the adversity of an unkind fate heaps upon her weakened powers proves more than she can endure when the irresistible call of life awakens her deadened spirit to the joys of earthly existence.

The gloomy and oppressive atmosphere, so vividly pictured

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in detail in this drama, is merely suggested through the conversation in an earlier play, "Das Vermächtnis" (1897), where an unreasonably irritable father is likewise the primary cause of a daughter's apparent filial neglect. It is very possible that old Moser in "Der Ruf des Lebens" is but an elaboration of what Schnitzler conceives Toni's father to be in "Das Vermächtnis." Whether or not the dramatist had Toni's father in mind when he wrote "Der Ruf des Lebens" cannot, of course, be stated with absolute certainty, but these two characters are indeed both representative of a certain type of male temperament characteristic of advancing age, and in direct contrast to that type so admirably presented in the character of Weiring in "Liebelei."

Toni, like Marie, is driven to satisfy the yearning for love and companionship beyond the pale of the oppressive surroundings of her home. With the glimpse into Toni's home life which the author permits us, we cannot censure her too severely for seeking happiness elsewhere, even when it is with the man whom she loves, but to whom she is not bound by wedlock. She does not desert her father ruthlessly; it is no fault of hers that she is not there to care for him during his last years. Would she have been less neglectful of her true duty, had she given the child that was born to her to strangers, had she renounced her duty towards her child instead of that towards her father who refuses them both admittance into his home? "It was not my fault that all had to end as it did," says Toni, and we are inclined to agree with her. Youth must have joy and light and love. If these requisites to happiness are not at hand, youth will go in search of them. In this drama, as in many of his other works, Schnitzler presents, in a sympathetic manner, human frailty in its weakest form, but in dealing with Toni's desertion of her father, the author has not once struck a note of censure for the course forced upon her by the adversity of circumstances.

In "Der Ruf des Lebens" the author has dramatized the reaction of an innocent girl to the wretchedness of her existence at the psychological moment when the desire for freedom and enjoyment is rekindled in her heart by the tragic course of events. In "Der junge Medardus" (1909), fortuitous circumstances likewise determine the ruin of the drama's stalwart

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hero of whom it is written, "God wished to make a hero of him, the course of events made a fool of him." The theme of this most pretentious of Schnitzler's few historical dramas is parallel to Hebbel's "Judith"—an inner conflict between love and hate, nobility of patriotic purpose sullied and destroyed by the poisonous breath of sexual passion. Medardus is intent upon revenge for the tragic fate of his sister, Agathe, but his spirit of vengeance is permeated by a fiery passion for the Princess of Valois against whom he wishes to wreak his wrath. Hatred and love, these are the mighty forces that clash within him and over-shadow his nobler aims. With his unusually astute perception of the weaknesses of man, the dramatist reveals the mental aberrations of this youth, in a manner typical to Schnitzler the psychologist and pathologist. It is significant that epoch and accidental circumstances are the actuating motives of the drama and condition the course of action to which Medardus succumbs. That he is not to be held accountable for the failure of his exalted purpose is evident from the fact that deteriorating influences are brought to bear upon him at a time when his mind is in a peculiarly susceptible state and least able to resist or control the passions which the influence of a woman awakens within his being.

In this tragedy of the Napoleonic era, a patriotic youth, whose whole soul glows with a noble purpose, measured by the common standards of mankind, yields to the strange and resistless powers of a woman's charms. If Medardus were sound physically and undisturbed mentally when encountering Helene, his reaction would be vastly different, for it is worthy of notice that Medardus weakens and yields to the dictates of passion only when he is exhausted and feverish from loss of blood from the wound which nearly cost him his life. This he sustained in a duel, fought because he refused to allow Helene to place her offering of flowers upon the common grave of her brother, the Prince of Valois, and Agathe, his sister. A few hours later, Helene, with solicitous inquiries for his condition, sends Medardus these self-same flowers. The maddening effect of this occurrence upon his fever-racked brain, which had been harboring revengeful thoughts, is obvious in the following incoherent outburst: "Certainly, my lady . . . that's fine, my lady . . . (with pauses) my thanks . . . oh please . . . (to

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himself) if only no one comes! Heavens! heavens! Princess Helene . . . I'll slip away at once. If only no one sees me. Else it will be too late. (Aloud) O not dangerous! . . . An excellent physician! . . . In three days . . . (to himself again) And what if I should tumble down and bleed to death? Well, then it will be all over. . . Her look this morning . . . didn't I suspect it right away? Quite secretly I'll go to her. . . But I'll leave her by the main stairway and I'll shout into their faces. . . No, I'll call them all together, master and mistress and servants, still while it's night, while I have her in my arms . . . away . . . away . . . may heaven help me. (Takes his dagger, aloud) A good doctor . . . an excellent doctor."

That those about him are also convinced of the temporary mental disturbance, which this mad infatuation produces, is affirmed by these words from his mother: "This isn't like one of his customary, simple adventures. . . This is . . . madness." Medardus himself is conscious of this delirious condition of his when in a more lucid moment he cries out: "Etzelt, help me! A change has come over me! I am no longer myself, I am raving in a mad dream."

But the incomprehensible forces of a woman's charms have cast their spell upon this susceptible youth who, for the first time, encounters their overwhelming effect. In his heart glows a flame more powerful and destructive than the cannon fire of war, and it matters not whether we interpret it as love or hate, it is predestined to consume both him and Helene. Try as he will to arouse himself from his lethargy so that he may free his land from its foreign oppressor, intermingled hatred and love of the Princess of Valois stay his hand, and the dagger that was destined for the heart of Napoleon finds its way into the bosom of Helene.

"All this was doubtless fore-ordained . . . on the day . . . when we buried Agathe," says Medardus as he dauntlessly faces death because he will not promise to take an oath which he knows himself unable to keep; to make no attempt against the life of Napoleon, an act which he believes himself elected to perform, but which an unusual, not to say, improbable sequence of events prevents. Medardus is by nature of heroic temperament, capable of great actions, but at the crucial period in his career, mighty and indomitable forces and circumstances handi-

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cap him when he is least able to combat them because of physical weakness and mental suffering, and they ignominiously defeat his heroic aspirations.

As in the above mentioned tragedy, so, too, in "Der grüne Kakadu" (1898), a brilliant bit of grotesque art, an accidental concordance of events is the cause of Henri's murder of the Duke of Cadignan. Henri, an honest, well-intentioned sort of fellow, has recently become the spouse of an amatory actress who has renounced her former associates for love of him. With ecstatic fervor, he relates to his colleagues, in such a manner as to lend an unquestionable semblance of verisimilitude to the tale, how he slew the duke whom Léocadie had inadvertently failed to dismiss with the others. With ever increasing animation, Henri describes all the horrible details of his imaginary crime, only to learn from his companions, who look upon the whole affair as an actual occurrence, that Léocadie has in reality been the duke's plaything.

With the suddenness of a thunderbolt, Henri's feigned rage is transformed into genuine madness at this information. "She was his mistress? She was the mistress of the duke? I wasn't aware of that . . . he lives . . . he lives," he shouts in his fury. At that critical moment the duke makes his appearance upon the scene, and the creation of Henri's imagination becomes a reality.

In "Der Ruf des Lebens," "Der junge Medardus," and "Der grüne Kakadu," Schnitzler has made the actions of the characters under discussion dependent upon an uncontrollable psychic reaction to accidental circumstances. Mental reactions to situations and events as important factors in the development, we also find in other plays by this author, in which the causes are, however, not as obvious, or of the same nature as in these three tragedies. Marie and Medardus, especially, are representative of a certain type of character whom this diagnostician of the human soul finds of particular interest. Whether we should speak of dual personality as the source of their conduct is problematical, but the author has left no doubt in the minds of the readers who are inclined to his point of view, that their better natures suffer a decided shock from the suddenly awakened, over-powering forces of their more perverse selves. They are characterized as the victims of untoward

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circumstances, guilty of acts for which they can hardly be held responsible.

Schnitzler has revealed the conflicts which rage within the inmost soul by a strangely unique procedure in "Paracelsus" (1897), one of his exquisite one-act masterpieces, a form of art which he has brought to perfection and in which he has won unparalleled fame. By the magic art of hypnosis, Paracelsus affords Cyprian a glimpse into the soul of Justina of whose loyalty he boasts in glowing terms. But when Paracelsus, who had in youth fervently loved Justina, opens to his comprehension the suppressed thoughts and desires which Justina has harbored in silence during these long years, then Cyprian, too, realizes that

> "Dreams and realities, falsehood and truth are mingled
> Together. Nowhere is certainty found.
> We know naught about others, naught of ourselves;
> We are actors all, and wise is he who knows it."

This is the same philosophy which is expressed in "Der junge Medardus" and in "Der grüne Kakadu" and which Schnitzler intimates in several of his plays and playlettes; nothing in life is certain, and the human being, with the complexity of forces that constitute his make-up, of whom the slightest circumstance may make an unsuspecting victim, is the most unstable of all. This fact the author also discloses in "Die Frau mit dem Dolche" (1900) where Pauline struggles against two diametrically opposed forces, the desire to remain true to the man to whom she is bound by wedlock and whom she does not love, and the longing to flee with Leonhard, who exercises an irresistible power over her. As she and Leonhard stand in an art gallery, contemplating one of the works of the Italian Renaissance period, a miraculous occurrence reveals to Pauline the fact that she, like the beautiful, white-robed figure in the painting, to whom she strangely bears some resemblance, signifies nothing more to her poet-husband than Paola and her destiny were to the artist Remigio,—she was merely an opportunity for the artist to exercise his wit and genius, for "more than his wife he loves his pride."

The suggestive force of the painting is an important factor in determining the choice of Pauline who yields to the fervent

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implorations and irresistible influence of Leonhard; it is not because she has made no effort to act according to the dictates of her better judgment, but because there are moments when "no one has a choice . . . it is allotted to us by destiny."

Together with these dramalettes we must also mention "Die Gefährtin" (1898), "Lebendige Stunden" (1901), "Die letzten Masken" (1901), and "Der Puppenspieler" (1902), for although the mystic element is not as prominent in these plays as in the two just discussed, and is in some of them entirely lacking, nevertheless, in spirit and in content, they may be grouped with the works in which conflicts of mind or tragic circumstances condition the destiny of the characters. In none of these plays is the action which is the vital part of the drama represented upon the stage. It is weighed and analyzed, the characters themselves seek to lay bare the primary causes, to establish their share of responsibility and the effect upon others. The characters may exert all the will-power at their command, but finally they become the victims of the innate or the external forces to which by destiny or accident they must succumb. They are not free to act as reason dictates, for their natures and the circumstances against which they struggle prove stronger than the human will which Schnitzler represents as a weak and frail instrument at all times.

Man is part of a great social order and is, perhaps quite unconsciously, directed by its dictates and bound by its conventions. So long as he continues to act in apparent harmony and concord with the mandates of this social machine, society will bestow upon him the favor of her approbation. But the conventionalism of social standards denies man the right to develop as an individual, to live his life in accordance with his own personal creed, and to be himself in spite of all obstacles. Thus the individual who has the courage to will, who dares to live according to his own philosophy of life, invariably finds himself at odds with the merciless ranks of society. Schnitzler is quite aware of the inability of the individual to rise, at times, above the narrowness and bigotry of social conventions and to act according to his own precepts when he brings to judgment the social prejudices and evils of the age in his dramas dealing distinctly with social problems.

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Several of Schnitzler's works perceptibly air his views upon the double moral standard of society. These are introduced in his first dramatic effort, "Anatol," but in "Liebelei," "Märchen," "Freiwild," and "Das Vermächtnis," there is an open and pointed attack against the malevolent attitude of society toward those individuals who suffer unjustly under the scourge of social contempt. For the male, society sanctions a freedom in matters of sex which is denied the female. Woman must exercise her powers of self-repression at all times. Permission to resume a respected place in society is not granted the woman who has once strayed from the straight and narrow path. Instead of the extended hand of brotherly love to help her to a new and larger life, a cold condemnation awaits her, even though originally her actions may have been prompted by the noblest and purest of motives. Schnitzler is imbued with a deep sympathy for the individual who is thus degraded by the inhumanity of a supposedly humane society, for that the social system is often at fault for the ultimate ill fate that befalls many unfortunate beings, is the incontestable inference to be drawn from the vivid portrayal of real life in his social dramas.

"Liebelei" (1894) is closely akin to the Anatol episodes with the essential difference that "Anatol" is a comedy and "Liebelei" has a fatal issue. "Liebelei" is, in fact, the tragedy of that type of heroine perfected by Schnitzler—"das süsse Mädel," whom Anatol so appropriately describes in "Weihnachtseinkäufe": "She isn't fascinatingly beautiful—she isn't especially fashionable—and she is absolutely not clever. . . But she possesses the soft charm of an evening in spring . . . and the grace of an enchanted princess . . . and the spirit of a maiden who knows how to love." This characterization is particularly applicable to Christine, the daughter of an aged violinist as the "Josefstädter Theater." Since the death of an aunt these two have made their humble home together among people with whom they, with their finer aesthetic feelings, can have little in common. Then romance steals furtively over Christine's horizon—acquaintanceship with a young student, clandestine meetings, love on the part of Christine, an apparently passing fancy which soon deepens to love on the part of the youth for whom this friendship has been arranged so that he may the more easily break loose from his entangle-

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ments with another man's wife. When Theodor is finally killed in a duel by the "outraged" husband and buried even before Christine knows that he is dead, there suddenly flashes upon her awakened consciousness the realization of her position, and she cries out as one aroused from a dream: "And I—? What am I then?" With peace and contentment supplanted by despair, she rushes out into the darkness of the night never to return.

Christine is, in truth, a victim of the conventionalism of society, although the influence of circumstances and her own nature also shape her destiny. The solitariness of her daily life drives her to seek the friendship of this youth in whom she finds her only source of happiness. The irresistible call of life—to live and enjoy life—runs through this simple tragedy with its undertone of sadness. Christine means no harm by the equivocations to which she resorts to be with him whom she loves beyond all else; they are the simplest means of breaking the narrow confines of her lonely existence and seeking life's meager happiness. So Christine drinks of the cup of life and finds it tinctured with wormwood. The strain of disillusion proves too much for her tender nature. She gives her love to a man who proves unworthy of it; she would have given her life for him had it been necessary. But she cannot continue to live with the tormenting thought that he has died for another, that she was nothing more to him than a toy. Nor could she have been aught else, because Theodor was too cowardly to rise above the narrowness of the precepts of class distinction to declare openly his love for this girl for whom he cherished in his heart a secret and sincere affection. Had Christine possessed the nonchalant temperament of Mizi, with whom she is strongly contrasted in the play, life might have ended otherwise for her. Or would it have been a better choice for her to have submitted to the joyless monotony of her humble existence, to have married a respectable man from among the people against whom her whole nature rebelled, to have had no happy memories of youth? Christine's father is aware of the pathos of such an existence when he says: "Well, and is there anything left—if she—hasn't even any memories to look back upon—? If her whole existence is passed, one day like the other, without happiness and without love—would conditions be better then?" He had in former

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years protected his younger sister from all the dangers of life and as he expressed it "from all happiness" too; and happiness Weiring did not wish to deny his child.

About a year after the completion of the dramatic episodes of "Anatol," Schnitzler wrote "Das Märchen" (1891) in which he intimates the ruinous effect of a pitiless social order upon a fundamentally pure young woman. Fanny Theren is a young, promising actress who, at the thoughtless age of seventeen, had had an "affair" with a man who had bewildered her at first, but whom she soon learned to abhor with an unspeakable horror. To escape from the misery which the enchantment of those summer months in the country had brought upon her, she welcomed the acquaintanceship of another,—kind, cheerful, handsome he was, one whom chance seemed to offer as her redeemer, but who soon tossed her aside to marry another. "I should probably have loved him all my life—but I had already become one of those creatures whom one may forsake with impunity—and he forsook me . . . with a smile, as if that were the only possible thing for him to do," Fanny exclaims. She had loved simply and naturally, though with the thoughtlessness of youth, and at the very outset of life had become the innocent victim of that legitimatized moral standard—privilege for the male, self-repression for the female. Thus she suffers under the arrogance of a society that contemptuously points the finger of scorn at a woman whom it considers lost forever because she once loved naturally and truly. Her only hope now of gaining the domestic happiness for which she yearns lies in the hands of the man whom she has learned to love, a young and idealistic journalist, ultra-modern in his ideas concerning the "fairy-tale of the fallen woman" and whom she has heard inveigh in forceful terms against a social system that places the stigma of contumely upon a woman who has transgressed unwittingly and whose very soul is eaten away by remorse. "I do not speak of a woman who sells herself or wastes her life in dissipation—but what right have we to declare a woman outlawed, because she dared to love before we appeared upon the scene?" Fedor asks. He is aware, nevertheless, of the moral courage required to disregard social convention when he says: "How many women have been irrevocably lost because

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men who might have saved them, feared the derision of the multitude!"

Is it the sceptical attitude of the author toward the practical application of such a Utopian philosophy as Fedor's that causes him to align Fedor with the very men whom he censures for their lack of moral stamina, when it is a question of acting in opposition to public opinion and breaking through social conventions, when he himself is put to the test and learns that Fanny, the girl whom he loves, is one of these "fallen women," whose cause he so gallantly championed? At least Schnitzler demonstrates the potency of the conventional standards of an inflexible social system when Fedor proves too vain to put aside the thought that another's kisses have been pressed upon Fanny's lips. He is too cowardly to face the derision of a slanderous public and too prone to accept the verdict of public opinion that the woman who has acted against conventional rules must inevitably fall to the depths of degradation just because that is her nature. Therefore, Fanny is forced to renounce all hope of domestic happiness and signs the contract binding her to a theatrical engagement which will actually jeopardize her respectability.

To heighten the effect of the inexorableness of an incongruous social system, Schnitzler has introduced into this drama the episode between Klara and Wandel. Fanny consistently acts according to her conception of right, which does not happen to agree with the decrees of society, and is condemned. Klara, on the other hand, in agreeing to marry a man for purely mercenary motives, and not out of love for him, acts in opposition to her ethical creed, yet because she complies with the conventionalism of society, she is respected.

In "Das Märchen" Schnitzler makes a direct allusion to the sceptical attitude with which the members of the theatrical profession are regarded. Wandel, the affianced husband of Klara, Fanny's elder sister, insistently argues in favor of Fanny's accepting the engagement which will necessitate her leaving home because of the disgrace that she as an actress might bring upon the family if she remains among them. He asserts: "It is not to be denied that all artists and especially those of the theatrical world are looked upon with a certain respectful suspicion which, unfortunately, in the majority of

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cases, is justifiable." There is a similar allusion to the legitimatized social freedom granted to members of the theatrical world in "Komtesse Mizzi" (1907). "As long as I had a vocation, I was permitted—how can I express it—to entertain freer views. That, to a certain extent, went along with my profession," says Lolo, who for years carried on an affair with a count. She did not regard her actions then as improper. It was nothing more or less than that which was expected of her as an actress. This theme Schnitzler has developed still further in "Freiwild" (1896) where he paints, in extremely unfavorable colors, the moral looseness which exists within the theatrical profession and permits us to foresee its disastrous effects upon a virtuous, naïve girl who has entered the profession out of love for the art and because she is compelled to earn her own livelihood.

The author has portrayed in a most unfavorable light the spirit of "camaraderie" that exists among the members of a summer theatre just outside of Vienna and the young army officers "who compose the main constituent of their public." He has also characterized most disparagingly the manager, who considers it not only the requisite, but the duty of every good actress to participate in this loose social life. Whether conditions are exaggerated or not, Schnitzler has at least succeeded in depicting the inability of the individual who finds herself a part of this social group to rise above its influences and demands, however sincere and earnest her desire may be to live according to her own ethical precepts. One of the actresses, Anna Riedel, finds the social laxity and excesses of her colleagues contrary to her ethical standard. Furthermore, she refuses to cater to the whims of an arrogant manager demanding her to become the plaything of this one and that, because she may thereby help fill a few of the more expensive seats in the theater. Consequently, she receives her discharge or the more revolting alternative of the reduction of her already meager pay to one-half its amount. Then a realization of her ultimate fate is forced upon this young actress who knows that finally one's powers of resistance weaken under the constant strain of worry.

Anna: O, who knows; it's possible for me to change. With time, when I've lived under this sort of thing a little longer.

Paul: And what do you mean by that?

Anna: In time I'll become what the others are.

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Thus we divine the ultimate end that awaits this girl who has bravely battled against submitting to a precedent which she cannot sanction, for the actress encounters the same conditions everywhere. She must yield to the demands imposed upon her or run the risk of losing her position. And when Anna stands beside the lifeless body of the man who had entertained a sincere affection for her, and who longed to remove her from the baneful surroundings where the most virtuous person must suffer the calumny of malignant suspicion, she is brought face to face with the acute problem that confronts her. Where is she to go; what can she do? With the single word "Whither?" which contains the tragedy of a life, we are led to the conclusion that there is only one way open to her if she continues along life's highway—to yield to the evil influences which she cannot combat, not because of inherent weakness, but "because when one is continuously harassed one finally becomes weary of it all."

Similar to many of this Austrian dramatist's works, "Freiwild" contains two closely interwoven plots. The one is a forceful attack against the moral looseness of the theatrical world, the other, a "sardonic satire" against the duel. Anna Riedel is the tragic figure of the former, Paul Rönning is the unfortunate victim of the latter. Both are inspired by high ideals and refuse to humiliate themselves by submitting to the dictates of conventions that are abhorrent to them, but before which they ultimately succumb. The author has even shown that Karinski, an army officer whom Paul "boxed upon the ears" for maliciously slandering the woman whom he respected and loved, is not to be condemned too severely for the deliberate murder of his assailant. He was merely following the dictates of a code which demanded that he take the life of the man who had insulted him. "Now you have your honor again!" is the salutation which greets him upon the fulfillment of his duty. Paul had rejected the challenge to a duel, hence there was no other course left for Karinski if he wished to retain the respect of the social group of which he is a member. Paul suffers by revolting against the duel code which he holds in contempt; Karinski suffers because he strictly conforms to the precepts of the officer's code of honor.

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The same reason that Wandel gives for his opposition to Fanny's remaining a member of the household into which he is about to marry, is the one Dr. Ferdinand Schmidt offers when he objects to Toni's residence with the Losattis (Das Vermächtnis, 1897). Toni, to this social bigot, is one of those "who come from another world, and whose breath must not be allowed to touch the soul of a pure girl like Franziska." And why does he consider her an impure creature, unfit to associate with the girl into whose family he aspires to marry?—merely because she springs from a more humble, but not less respectable station in life than the man to whom she is bound by ties stronger than the kinship of blood or social equality, but which society does not sanction. Toni, like Fanny, a type of "unsophisticated fallen girl," is virtuous and sincere at heart, but suffering ignominiously from the relentless decrees of class distinction and a twofold moral standard. She had loved the father of her child with a pure and true love, and he had cherished the tenderest feelings of affection for her. It was the disparity of the social status of each that had prevented Hugo from introducing this girl of the people into the academic atmosphere of his father's house. The desire, however, to have Toni recognized as his wife, and as the mother of his child, is expressed to his parents when death suddenly removes him from their midst. For the sake of their son's child, the parents are willing to receive Toni as a member of their household, even at the expense of social ostracism for themselves. But Franziska, one of the finest characters that Schnitzler has drawn, is the only one who really opens her heart to this lovable girl, whose happiest years had been those spent with Hugo. When a few weeks later the child is also laid in his grave, these people are led to believe that their obligation toward their son's "legacy" to them has been fulfilled. And Toni, who has so recently lost all that is dear to her on earth, who fears a life of loneliness beyond all else, is informed that she must leave the house that has given her shelter, leave Hugo's mother and his sister, vanish from the social class to which by birth she does not belong and live her life as best she may, alone with the memories of a few short, happy years to console her. Death is preferable to such a joyless existence, and she cannot be condemned for seeking it. Those who might have restored her to a

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life of happiness and usefulness merely by being kind, allowed themselves to be too readily influenced by the cold-hearted dogmas of the man whom they desired as a son-in-law. The mother was not unmindful of the responsibility which rested upon them when she said: "We cannot send her away, Ferdinand; the responsibility would be too great." But she was not strong-willed enough to do what in her heart she knew to be right,—to keep Toni among them and accept her as their own. This did not suit their convenience nor their pride, so they offered her money instead of love and confidence. "We, too, are at fault, mother, we too," Franziska cries out when she learns what has happened. "We were cowards, we didn't dare to love her as much as she deserved. We granted her our pardon, pardon—we!—and ought simply to have been kind, mother!" Kindness and love would have saved Toni from suicide, but those who might have been kind to her were condescending instead. They were too interested in their own well-being to save a misjudged human soul.

These plays show the hopelessness and futility of the struggle carried on by these stigmatized and ostracized individuals who suffer more or less unjustly from social decrees and precedents. Several of Schnitzler's more recent plays dealing with social problems embody ultra-modern ideas and philosophies and illustrate the disastrous effect of such principles upon the human mind. This is especially true of three of Schnitzler's most successful later plays which give an excellent and unparalleled representation of life as it exists among people of certain temperaments and social standing. In many respects "Zwischenspiel" (1904), "Komtesse Mizzi" (1907), and "Das weite Land" (1910) are alike. They are dramas depicting in particular the ultra-modern mode of life among certain extreme social groups. It is worthy of note that in these plays, as in the greater number of Schnitzler's later dramas, the ethical purpose is less obtrusive than in his earlier works, hence there is less tangible evidence concerning the question of moral responsibility than in most of the dramatic works already mentioned. It is from the atmosphere in which the characters of these three dramas live and move that we draw our inferences more than from anything else. These characters are typical of certain phases of European society, and perhaps specifically

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representative of the once so gay Viennese life where there existed a social freedom scarcely found elsewhere. In these dramas we find that woman, too, aspires to self-expression and demands that she be granted the same freedom as an individual which the opposite sex claims. Each of these plays represents a merry round of illicit relations between people of certain social classes where such a procedure is considered quite à la mode. It is not necessarily because of perverted desire that these people become involved in friendships which prove so dangerous to their erotic natures. "Friendship between two people of opposite sex is always a dangerous matter—even between married people," (Zwischenspiel). When souls understand each other all too well, they gradually become involved in relations which they would gladly avoid. Human nature is weak and "man is occasionally drawn into strange entanglements" (Komtesse Mizzi), and in this age when the individual clamors for unrestricted freedom, when platonic loves are freely arranged and socially approved, the individual feels no need of exercising his powers of self-control. Besides, we must also keep in mind the fact that Schnitzler's characters possess quite invariably sensitive, artistic temperaments, in whom sensual instincts and tendencies predominate. They feel most delicately and have little power to repress their inherent instincts. The author has defined their personalities well when he calls the human soul a "spacious country" in which reign "love and deceit—loyalty and disloyalty . . . we worship one woman and at the same time indulge a secret desire for another or even several. We may attempt to establish order within us as much as possible, but this order is at best something artificial . . . the natural tendency is toward chaos." (Das weite Land.)

Whatever may have been Schnitzler's purpose in writing these plays, at least he has made it clear that there is a certain, indefinable something in man's nature which, at certain moments, makes him capable of deceiving and deserting the one whom he most loves and respects. It is not lack of mutual love which separates Cäcilie and Amadeus (Zwischenspiel), which destroys Genia's confidence in Friedrich (Das weite Land) and leads her to be disloyal to him as he was to her, or which ruptures the marital peace of Aigner and his wife (Das weite Land). Cäcilie fathoms the situation precisely when she

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says: "All has happened as it was destined to happen. We had either too much confidence in each other . . . or too little. We were neither created to love each other with eternal loyalty, nor strong enough to keep our friendship pure." (Zwischenspiel) These people are weak because they feel themselves incapable of being strong. They perceive no need to exert their powers of self-repression or their wills; they may give free vent to their inner feelings and erotic instincts, which in Schnitzler's characters dominate all other passions, because the tendency of the age is to pamper the ego and encourage the individual to act according to his natural instincts and desires. This action ultra-modern society excuses but never condemns. Man is freely granted his social liberty at all times, and the modern woman, who has so recently come into her own, considers it her right to assume a similar independence in her actions.

Schnitzler does not make his characters morally responsible for their conduct; this fact finds abundant corroboration in his dramatic works. With his extraordinarily keen understanding of human nature and his psychologic insight into the fundamental working order of the human mind, this Austrian poet and narrator manifests a rare ability as a master painter in the portrayal of human character, with its potentialities for good and evil. In his characters he exhibits the illusions, the passions, and the weaknesses which constitute part of man's nature. In the conflicts of mind, of passion, and of tragic circumstance which his characters experience, we see the havoc that destiny plays with the human soul and he fathoms this as only one with his intimate knowledge of biological and physiological laws and his acumen has the ability to do. The actions of his characters are, quite generally, the result of causes beyond their control. And in his method of character delineation, we are aware that he is much more concerned with the cause of the action than with the action itself.

In this analysis of his dramatic material, an attempt has been made to show how Schnitzler appraises the question of moral responsibility. In a certain number of his plays, it is clear that innate tendencies and temperament are the determining factor in the action of the characters. Anatol, Beatrice, Katharina, Johanna, he has portrayed as creatures doomed to

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the course of action to which they succumb, because of their neurotic and pathological tendencies and inherited instincts. Schnitzler, the physician, realizes the potency of such forces, and in the delineation of these characters has shown that they are the primary source of action. In other plays, moral weakness and external circumstances combine in ordaining the destiny of the individual, and in a third group, which includes a large number of his works, Schnitzler reveals man as the victim of social conventions and practices. In several instances the dramatist has portrayed individuals whose moral fibre and will have been weakened and destroyed through the scepticism of the age. Paul Rönning, Fedor, and Hofreiter are men who hold advanced views, who wish to ignore what to them are detrimental social customs, but who ultimately succumb to the conventional standards that are offensive to them, in part because of their pride, and, in the case of Hofreiter, because of the potent forces of his egotistical nature. Naturally, temperament also plays an important rôle in determining the action of these individuals, but of greater importance in many of the social dramas of Schnitzler, is the fact that the character of the age paralyses man's will-power and makes him choose a course of action against which he instinctively rebels.

It cannot be denied that Schnitzler in his writings reveals a philosophy that is above all else that of the determinist. What his characters are and what they do depends fundamentally upon what has preceded and under what conditions they exist. Natural instincts and pathological tendencies, converging at times with fatal external influences deprive them almost entirely of any freedom of the will. The erotic element, we have seen, is the predominant force in the majority of his characters. In cases, as, for instance, in the characters of "Reigen," it has resulted in the inevitable and has reduced human beings to derelicts. "Such creatures are determined by nature to sink deeper and deeper. It cannot be prevented," says the author. "Perhaps everywhere in the realm of thought there is freedom, but in the domain of the emotional and subconscious life tyranny rules. Here there is no opportunity for chance or choice. The sternest laws prevail and function in opposition to the conscious will of the individual."[4] This, of

[4] Reik, Dr. Otto, A. Schnitzler als Psycholog, p. 84.

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course, is the theory of the pure determinist. But very few of Schnitzler's characters are irredeemably perverted through their natural instincts alone. This Austrian dramatist, who is primarily occupied with the moral and emotional nature of man, has not excluded accident and chance from the chain of cause and effect. But the external, actuating forces in his works are almost invariably of a harmful nature and serve only to arouse the latent impulses and tendencies which cause the moral ruin of such characters as Marie and Medardus. The innate instincts and passions and the fatalistic attitude toward life before which their saner reasoning succumbs might not have assumed control had not destiny determined otherwise, for accidental circumstance and the disastrous influence of the "milieu" often prove to be the causes which arouse the latent tendencies in Schnitzler's characters and make them the mainspring of action. At such times we perceive what a weak and ineffectual thing the human will apparently is. And from Schnitzler's revelations of the inner conflicts in man, when nature contends with reason, we see how easily man's will-power is dethroned. Marie, Anna Riedel, Medardus, Helene, Toni, Pauline, Hofreiter, for example, are not fundamentally weaklings. It is merely circumstance or influence that has made them so and robbed them of the moral stamina which, under different conditions or less baneful influences, they might have exhibited.

Determinism, therefore, plays an important rôle in Schnitzler's literary production. Man is at best the creature of destiny, and rarely is it permitted him to shape his own lot in life. He may be deluded into believing that the will is able to conquer at all times, under all circumstances. The freedom of the will is a delusion, however, contrasted with the more potent influences of environment, epoch, and heredity, and particularly is the power of choice a delusion when social conventions are brought to bear upon the individual. Schnitzler severely and pointedly attacks the conventionalisms of society and often makes them the causes of the inability of the individual to exercise his nobler impulses and aspirations. And the common practice of a legitimatized licentiousness he frequently discloses as the causes of moral laxity among the members of society. In fact, morals do not exist for some of these individuals. This point of view

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we discover particularly in "Komtesse Mizzi." The countess does not condemn the illicit relations of her father with an actress, on the contrary, she condones the count's acts and sympathizes with the actress.

Significant, too, is the fact that the dramatist frequently permits some of the characters to realize and acknowledge their responsibility for another's fate, or at least he suggests that one individual is the accessory which destiny employs in shaping the life of another individual. In "Der Ruf des Lebens," when the author says: "Can ever one human being be another's fate? He is only the means which fate employs. Katharina was destined to be what she has become," we conclude that Katharina was reduced to her sad plight in spite of the forester's desertion of her and despite the influence of the time. The contrary opinion is presented in "Der junge Medardus" when Etzelt exclaims: "God wished to make a hero of him, but the course of events made a fool of him." Perhaps Schnitzler is himself at doubt whether man is what he is notwithstanding existing conditions or because of them. Either point of view, however, precludes the freedom of the will, for Schnitzler, the physician, the alienist, and the psychologist, has clearly demonstrated in an exceedingly large proportion of his dramatic and narrative production, that the question of individual responsibility is replaced, in his estimation, by the vaster conception of man as a being subject to laws over which he has little or no control, those of physiological, biological, and social science.

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BOSWELL AS ESSAYIST

In the *Scottish Historical Review* for January, 1921, appears an article by Dr. J. T. T. Brown on *James Boswell as Essayist.* It should, perhaps, rather be called *James Boswell as Craftsman.* The essays in question are the seventy numbers of the series which Boswell published anonymously under the title of *The Hypochondriack;* they were printed in the *London Magazine* from October 1777 to August 1783.[1] Dr. Brown's thesis is laid down in the reserved statement which concludes his paper: "The essays are intimately related to the Biography (the *Life of Johnson*), and were used by Boswell in the preparation of the final text. That is the only proposition I have advanced." As a matter of fact, the author of this suggestive article stands in the position of a lawyer who asks a leading question; it may be over-ruled by the judge, and be stricken from the records, but the desired impression has been made upon the jury, just the same. The impression that we carry away from *James Boswell as Essayist* is not merely that the essays are closely related to the Biography, and were used in the preparation of the final text, but that Boswell had a firm purpose to write the life of Johnson from the time of meeting him, and turned all his activities to that account as a sort of exercise for the great work; and that these essays were the exercise in style.

Dr. Brown begins his paper by a short account of the essays themselves, and by limiting his consideration to an evaluation of them as documents in the "great secret" of Boswell's life. He notes that Boswell had already published his *Tour to Corsica* (1767–68), in which evidence of his methods in gathering material is found, and that the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides,* although unpublished, was certainly a feat accomplished, with every indication in Boswell's own words[2] that he would use it as

[1] They have never been reprinted, and even Boswell's biographers know very little about them. For instance, Mr. Percy Fitzgerald, in his *Life of James Boswell,* mentions *The Hypochondriack* among Boswell's works as a series of papers extending over two years. Mr. Mallory, in his *Boswell the Biographer,* although he shows in his text a clearer knowledge of the essays than Mr. Fitzgerald does, copies the list of works given by Mr. Fitzgerald without correction or comment.

[2] In a letter to his friend Temple, 1775.

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material for the Biography if he could not print it during Johnson's lifetime.

In 1777 Boswell was unable to associate with Johnson as freely as he had been used to do. Without any opportunity to pursue his collection of material, he may have turned to the writing of these essays as a means of clearing his mind on topics which he knew he would be treating in the *Life*, and polishing his style, as well as occupying his time until he should resume his former activities with Johnson himself. Dr. Brown quotes the introductory essay on this point:

"(Periodical essays) fill up the interstices in (men's) lives, and occupy moments which would otherwise be lost. To other men who have not yet attained to any considerable degree of constancy in application, the writing of periodical essays may serve to strengthen their faculties and prepare them for the execution of more important works."

Dr. Brown believes that the essays were written "mainly with the object of clarifying his mind on points discussed between him and Johnson during the fourteen years of their acquaintance, and were in great part derived from and suggested by the Journals and notebooks containing the memoranda of these discussions." He gives a selection of carefully chosen parallel passages from the essays and the *Life*, which seem to show that Boswell turned to these papers in the preparation of his final text for the great biography; that frequently he tries one style in the essays, which is made better or clearer by other methods in the *Life;* that he seems in the essays to be trying to recapture the exact terms of some conversation or discussion before it shall slip from him; that he was sounding his own sturdy standards in his mind, testing and re-assuring himself in this communion with ink and paper, on subjects in which he and the Doctor did not think alike.

The last point made by Dr. Brown is that the excuse given for ending the series in 1783 is a thin one. Boswell stops ostensibly because he has reached the seventieth essay, and does not wish to continue until he becomes a bore to his readers. As a matter of fact, says Dr. Brown, "there were other and better reasons not needing then to be publicly divulged. (Boswell's) succession to the family estates in August 1782 . . . had brought new cares and new employments which were pressing heavily upon him. That was one reason: another and weightier

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one was the sudden and serious illness of Dr. Johnson, whose paralytic seizure in June exactly synchronises with the dispatch to the printer of the seventieth essay, which appeared in the July number of the *London Magazine.* The essays were tentative and preparatory for the greater task that now seemed at hand. They had served their purpose and been useful more than once in furnishing topics for conversation during the most fruitful period of his intimacy with Johnson, the years 1777–1783. What perhaps is most remarkable to a twentieth century reader is, that nearly every subject discussed in them is brought under review in the Biography during these six years; giving the impression that the Biographer had proposed the themes and incited Johnson to talk on them."

The very reserve with which Dr. Brown makes his cautious points has a convincing effect. I think that there can be no quarrel with his declared intention of showing that relations existed between the Hypochondriack essays and the *Life;* my only objection would be to the interpretation of those relations. We have too much a tendency to wipe out Boswell as an individual, and set up a recording machine of Johnson in his place. However we admit that Boswell conceived the idea of the Biography very soon after meeting Johnson,[3] and that he very early developed his method of taking down notes on the talk of great men and of arguing insincerely in order to bring them out, we can in no wise, at least with the material we now have at hand, conclude that there was a firm thread of united purpose throughout everything that Boswell did. (That in itself is not characteristic!) He began his diary writing under the influence of Mr. Love, in 1758, before he knew Johnson; he took notes on the conversation of Voltaire "when I was with him at his chateau at Ferney"; he used his tablets upon the horror-struck Paoli, asked personal questions, and talked like a libertine in order to

[3] Boswell had "for several years read his works with delight and instruction, and had the highest reverence for their authour," before meeting Johnson, in 1763; but he speaks also of *recollecting* the first conversations, and we have Malone's word for it that Boswell did not seek Johnson with the idea of "writing him up." Boswell's first letters after meeting Johnson show him to be merely the happy disciple basking in wisdom and goodness. It is not until March 31, 1772, that he asks Johnson for data on his early days. His successful book on Corsica, filled with his hero Paoli, had been published in 1768.

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set the Corsican hero off upon his wholesome philosophy; and in Corsica, "from my first setting out on this tour, I wrote down every night what I had observed during the day, throwing together a great deal, that I might afterward make a selection at leisure." These are methods which he later employed upon Johnson, but we cannot say that they were first used as exercises to that end alone. Boswell was content to shine as *Corsica* or *Paoli* Boswell for years after his first success. It is necessary to remember too, that he planned a long list of works beside the great *Life*; his authenticity, his instances, his exercises in style, could also be employed in the service of A History of James IV of Scotland, A Life of Thomas Ruddiman, A Life of Sir Robert Sibbald, A History of Sweden, A History of the Civil War in Great Britain, an account of his own Travels, or any other of his numerous projected[4] works.

Moreover, in the large number of parallels which I have collected—parallels which show the essays to be a delightful cento of Boswell's recollections of all sorts—we find represented, not only Johnson and his circle, but Voltaire, Rousseau (anathema to Johnson!), a number of anonymous Scots (also anathema), and what I consider as chiefly important, many good bits from Boswell himself.

Boswell seems to have been particularly fond of repeating Voltaire's evasion on the subject of ideas. In the essay on Memory (*LXVII of the series*) he says,

> I had the honour to have a conversation with *Voltaire* on the subject. I asked him, if he could give me any notion of the situation of our ideas which we have totally forgotten at the time, yet shall afterwards recollect. He paused, meditated a little, and acknowledged his ignorance in the spirit of a philosophical poet, by repeating as a very happy allusion a passage in Thomson's Seasons—Aye, said he, 'Where sleep the winds when it is calm?'

In the much earlier paper on Conscience (*VII of the series*) he makes a distinct reference to this conversation, though through the medium of a very different quotation:

> The construction of the human mind is a mystery which there seems to be no probability will ever be known in this state of human existence. Of its operation we have many registers, as we have many meteorological journals. But of itself we know no more than of the original substance of the planets. He, 'who spake as never man spake,' saith of one well-known quality in the

[4] For the list, see George Birkbeck Hill's volume v of the *Life*, 103 note 2.

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natural world, 'The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof; but cannot tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth.' The sound of the mind we hear; but what it is we cannot tell.

If Boswell was writing the essays with one eye upon Johnson, it is strange that he should refer so often to Rousseau, whom the sage characterized as "a man who talks nonsense so well (that he) must know he is talking nonsense." It is true that the Scot joined the Englishman in laughing at the Frenchman's exaltation of simplicity as the only means of happiness; but aside from the numerous references to that part of Rousseau's philosophy, always made in a joking tone (in numbers X, XIX, and—at some length—XX), the essays show the influence of his *Nouvelle Héloïse*, and give evidence of Boswell's having read *Émile*, the *Letter to D'Alembert*, and other works. In number III, Boswell refers to the plan for a thousand years of peace, as sketched by the Abbé de St. Pierre, and developed by Rousseau, and asks the un-Boswellian question,—what does war do for the masses? In number VII he speaks of the neccessity of proportioning one's performances to one's capabilities, and proceeds,

For I take happiness to be a science fairly worth the seven, . . . and we know the French are of this opinion, for they have a very good phrase for the art of being happy, *savoir vivre*.

This was not the common meaning of *savoir vivre*, which had then, as now, much more the flavor of sophistication about it. An explanation of this passage may be found by turning to the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, v. ii, where, after speaking of the happiness which is attained in the Wolmar household by proportioning the activities to the possibilities inherent in the little society, Rousseau says,

S'il falloit dire avec précision ce qu'on fait dans cette maison pour être heureux, je croirois avoir bien répondu en disant: 'On y sait vivre'; non dans le sens qu'on donne en France à ce mot, qui est d'avoir avec autrui certaines manières établies par la mode: mais de la vie de l'homme et pour laquelle il est né: de cette vie . . . qui dure au delà d'elle-même, et qu'on ne tient pas pour perdue au jour de la mort.

In number VII, Boswell concludes that if conscience were our only director, there would be less vice, and less of that

weak, and often vicious compliance, by which men of gaiety do what is ridiculous and criminal, not only against their knowledge, but against their own inclination.

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The letter from St. Preux to Julie (*Nouvelle Héloïse*, ii.xxvi) is the story of his debauch in the city, against his better judgment and his will; Julie's answer is but an extended sermon on the text here laid down by Boswell.

The essay on Suicide (*LI of the series*) contains two references to the suicide letters in the *Nouvelle Héloïse* (iii.xxi and xxii), one a direct quotation of some three or four lines. Both of these are acknowledged, but there are also two unacknowledged parallels, which had doubtless remained in Boswell's mind without his remembering their source; he says of the morality of suicide,

> It is remarkable, that in the law delivered by divine legation to the Jews, though it be abundantly full and minute in specifying crimes and circumstances of prohibition, there is no mention of Suicide; but in the Jewish history, as recorded in the Old Testament, we find that Saul, their unfortunate king, fell upon his sword in Mount Gilboa; nor is it mentioned as a thing strange or shocking.

And St. Preux writes to Bomston,

> En effet, où verra-t-on dans la Bible entière une loi contre le suicide, ou même une simple improbation? et n'est-il pas bien étrange que dans les exemples de gens qui se sont donné la mort, on n'y trouve pas un seul mot de blâme contre aucun de ces exemples! Il y a plus; celui de Samson est autorisé par un prodige qui le venge de ses ennemis."

Near the end of his essay, Boswell observes,

> Every melancholy man who has groaned under the temptation to destroy himself, has afterwards had such enjoyments as to make him fully sensible that he would have acted very absurdly had he cut himself off from this 'pleasing anxious being,' from a persuasion that all that remained of it would be sadness.

And Bomston answers to St. Preux,

> Tu t'ennuies de vivre, et tu dis: La vie est un mal. Tôt ou tard tu sera consolé, et tu diras; La vie est un bien."

Of the parallels to his *Boswelliana*, (that delightful "collection of good things" which is evidently the only notebook now preserved, out of an original store of many), the most striking likenesses are found in anecdotes used as instances to prove a point. In XXII he says,

> I remember a friend of mine applied to a barrister of great practice who was gathering money, what Horace says of the ant—'*Ore trahit quodcunque potest atque addit a cervo*—gets with its *mouth* what it can and adds to the heap.' I marked this down in my collection of good things.

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The collection of good things has it thus:

> Mr. William Nairne observed that it may be said of a well-employed barrister who lays by much money, what Horace says of the *ant*,—'*Ore* trahit quodcunque potest atque addit cervo.'

The story of the Scotch Highlander who censured his companion for the luxury of a stone beneath his head at night; a contrast in the measure of drinking among northern and among southern nations; the comparison of an author who gives false praise to the work of an unknown man, to an assayer certifying base metal to be gold,—and a number of other stories and happy thoughts are found both in the *Boswelliana* and in the essays. Of them all, the best is one on Boswell himself, carefully disguised in the essays. In *Boswelliana* there occurs the naïve confession,

> I can more easily part with a good sum at once than with a number of small sums—with a hundred guineas rather than with two guineas at fifty different times; as one has less pain from having a tooth drawn whole than when it breaks and is pulled out in pieces.'

Number LVII of the essays, on Wealth, gives the same idea in an altered version:

> It has occurred to me, that if a saving man is obliged to part with money, it is easier for him to part with a large sum all at once than with many small sums at intervals. There is but one pain in the first case; whereas in the second, he is, as it were, torn piece-meal. It is easier to have a tooth pulled out entire than that it should break in the operation, and be drawn in ragged fragments, and sharp splinters.

It is to be remembered that in the *Life* (Hill's edition iv.220), Boswell admits his being "occasionally troubled with a fit of narrowness." In number LVI of the essays, he writes with vigor,

> Some men have alternate fits of narrowness and prodigality, and they, like all other inconsistent characters, can neither be easy in themselves, or esteemed by others. And many who have a strong passion for saving, are from a false shame, or cowardly dread of the world, perpetually endeavouring to disguise it. They are still more uneasy and uncomfortable.

His other faults of talkativeness and carelessness are censured in the same way, parallels occurring between the figure of Limbertongue in *Boswelliana*, and Boswell's description of himself in the *Tour to the Hebrides*, and essay number

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XXIII, on Reserve. The indolence which beset him continually is set forth feelingly in essay number VI, which is largely a development of the ideas in one of Boswell's letters to Garrick, dated April 11, 1774:

> That I have not thanked you for (your letter) long ere now, is one of those strange facts for which it is so difficult to account, that I shall not attempt it. The Idler has strongly expressed many of the wonderful effects of the *vis inertiae* of the human mind. But it is hardly credible that a man should have the warmest regard for his friend, a constant desire to show it, and a keen ambition for a frequent epistolary intercourse with him, and yet should let months roll on without having resolution, or activity, or power, or whatever it be, to write a few lines. A man in such a situation is somewhat like Tantalus reversed.
>
> He recedes, he knows not how, from what he loves, which is full as provoking as when what he loves recedes from him. That my complaint is not a peculiar fancy, but deep in human nature, I appeal to the authority of St. Paul, who, though he had not been exalted to the dignity of an apostle, would have stood high in fame as a philosopher and orator, 'What I would, that do I not!'

The essay reads,

> Hypochondria sometimes brings on such an extreme degree of languor, that the patient has a reluctance to every species of exertion. The uneasiness occasioned by this state, is owing to a vivacity of imagination, presenting at the same time, ideas of activity; so that a comparison is made between what is, and what should be. . . . To be therefore overpowered with languor, must make a man very unhappy; he is tantalized with a thousand ineffectual wishes which he cannot realize. For as Tantalus is fabled to have been tormented by the objects of his desire being ever in his near view, yet ever receding from his touch as he endeavoured to approach them, the languid Hypochondriack has the sad mortification of being disappointed of realizing any wish by the wretched defect of his own activity. While in that situation, time passes over him only to be loaded with regrets. The important duties of life, the benevolent offices of friendship are neglected, though he is sensible that he shall upbraid himself for that neglect till he is glad to take shelter under the cover of disease. . . . To pay a visit, or write a letter to a friend, does not surely require much activity; yet such small exertions have appeared so laborious to an Hypochondriack, that he has delayed from hour to hour, till friendship has grown cold for want of having its heat continued.

Another letter to Garrick, lamenting the death of Goldsmith in 1774, forms the basis for a fine passage in essay number XVI.[5]

The parallels to the *Life of Johnson* undoubtedly outnumber those from any other single source, but exact parallels are very rarely the sayings of Johnson himself, or phrases about situations in which Boswell and Johnson disagreed. In fact, two of

[5] See *Garrick Correspondence.*

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the precise parallels which Dr. Brown instances to prove his point are not, strictly speaking, parallels between the essays and the *Life*, but more of Boswell's repetitions of himself. In number XXVIII he quotes Lord Lyttelton on Thomson—" he loathed much to write"; in number LXX he uses a figure about beautiful flowers springing upon a dunghill. Both of these appear in the *Life*, it is true,[6]—but both times in letters *from Boswell* to Johnson, inserted complete in the biography. What really seems to be represented most is the Johnsonian attitude toward life; for instance, the whole of number XIX, on Government, can be traced through the many conversations on subordination, in 1772, 1773, and 1778; and number VIII, on Luxury, has the familiar ring. All of this may have been culled from the notebooks, no doubt; but the expression is that of the edified disciple nodding a general assent to the opinions of the master, not that of the stylist trying his hand at artistic reproduction of the master's pronouncements. A very strange thing is that in the essays Johnson appears under his own name but half a dozen times, all of them references to his famous works. Otherwise—some eleven times—his informal sayings, or his opinions, appear as those of "an old friend of mine,"—"an extraordinary man, by whom all should be willing to be instructed," —"a great observer of mankind," and so on. We should expect more than this. The more I consider the proportion of parallel passages, the more I become convinced that Boswell's whole interest in these essays is Boswell, not Johnson.

I agree with Dr. Brown that Boswell closed the series with singular abruptness, and that his excuse for it was thin. I cannot, however, accept Dr. Brown's surmises on the subject. It is true that new cares, coming with Boswell's accession to the estate, had probably made the essays difficult to prepare on time, and it is possible that Boswell was so sincerely worried about Johnson's health that he could not fix his mind on the note-books of their conversation without a pang. I am certain that he did not conclude *The Hypochondriack* because the writing of the *Life* seemed imminent. Boswell was yet to be active in the effort to send the old philosopher to Italy. Moreover, Dr. Brown errs in saying that Dr. Johnson's paralytic

[6] George Birbeck Hill's volume iii, pages 133 and 409.

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seizure in June "exactly synchronizes with the dispatch to the printer of the seventieth essay, which appeared in the July number of the *London Magazine.*" There was no essay by Boswell at all in the July number. Essay LXIX came out in June, with no hint of any intention to cease publication; the last essay, number LXX, appeared in the August issue, long after the worry about Johnson's life was over.[7] My explanation may seem the serious consideration of what was really mere chance, but I offer it for what it may be worth. The simple fact was, that the *London Magazine* had either gone into new hands altogether, or else the editorial staff was reformed for some unknown motive. At any rate, the half-year January to June, 1783, was bound by itself, and the volume containing the months from July to December was labelled *The London Magazine Improved.* The June number was preceded by an announcement that the magazine would be "printed on a new type, and conducted on an enlarged and improved plan." Further, the proprietors "wish it to be known, that they have engaged writers of ability, who have never been employed in the conduct of their former Magazine, to superintend these new departments, and to execute these improved plans, ably and vigorously." This announcement arouses no excitement, because we know that Boswell had been one of the proprietors of the *London Magazine* at least since 1771.[8] The surprise is the complete absence of *The Hypochondriack* from the July number, and the cool note above the final essay in the August issue:

> We are sorry to inform the public, that the ingenious correspondent, who has so long engaged the attention of our readers in THE HYPOCHONDRIACK, has closed his design in the following paper. But though we are no longer to be favored with his communications under this title, we hope that we shall not be altogether deprived of his correspondence.

If Boswell was still one of the proprietors, this was strange language, and in a strange tone. Is it my imagination, or are the following passages in the last of the essays, the reflection of the internal upheaval in the *London Magazine?*

> To retire in proper time from any state of exertion is one of the most nice and difficult trials of human prudence and resolution. Every man of any classi-

[7] Johnson made a trip to Rochester in late July.

[8] See his letter to Garrick dated 18th Sept. 1771, in which he speaks of the *London Magazine,*" in which I have some concern."

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cal education recollects the well known allusion to a horse growing aged, who ought no longer to be pushed in the race lest he should be left behind breathless and contemptible. But the misfortune is, that self-love deceives us exceedingly in the estimation of our mental abilities, so that we cannot be easily persuaded that they are in any degree decayed. . . . I can truly say in the words of Pope,

> 'I love to pour out all myself as plain
> As downright Shippen, or as old Montaigne.'

Perhaps, indeed, I have poured out myself with more freedom than prudence will approve, and I am aware of being too much an egotist. But I trust that my readers will be generous enough not to take advantage of my openness and confidence, but rather treat me with a liberal indulgence.

Yet let it not be understood that I supplicate favour with an abject timidity. For I am not afraid of a fair trial by impartial judges. This comfort I have, that my intentions have all along been good, and that I cannot be condemned for having failed in my undertaking; because I undertook nothing determinate, but only to give a series of essays, which I have accordingly done.

That silent month of July may indicate struggle with the new editors, chagrin, proud retreat before a resignation was asked,—or simply a pressure of affairs at home so great that the break in the essay series was seen to be inevitable,—simple coincidence. But I think that if anything my coincidence is a little more certain and a little more striking, than that of Dr. Brown.

There can be no quarrel with the statement that these essays were employed by Boswell in the preparation of his final text of the *Life*. Again and again bits from the essays appear in it, now as actual parts of the text, in anecdotes or sayings, and now as explanatory or merely ornamental notes. Dr. Brown, however, sees Boswell writing the essays and looking forward directly to the *Life;* I see him beginning the *Life* as a completely new and distinct piece of work, but turning back occasionally to the already finished essays for phrasing or an instance in point. It is natural that a man of Boswell's disposition should, in preparing his masterpiece, revert to compositions in which he took a certain pride, in order to cull choice bits. The *Life* was a gigantic production, which, on Boswell's own testimony, often found him sad, tired, and discouraged. There is scarcely a person in that situation who would not turn for encouragement to some former evidence of his best faculties, to cheer and re-assure himself. Boswell did think well of *The Hypochondriack*,—he told his friend Temple that he "really thought that it went wonderfully well."

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However they were written, and for whatever purpose, they still go wonderfully well; they are the essence of Boswell and a delightful commentary on his century, and all good Johnsonians or Boswellians owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Brown for calling attention to these ingenuous and charming pages.

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THEODEBERT OF AUSTRASIA

The poet of the *Beowulf* (ca. 700) relates the fact that Hygelac, a king in Southern Sweden, accompanied by his nephew, Beowulf, undertook a raid into the land of the Franks. There Hygelac and many of his followers were slain by a Frankish army, and ever afterward the Merovingian king is represented as having been unfriendly to the people over which Hygelac had ruled (*Beowulf*, ed. Klaeber, p. xxxix; see lines 1202 ff., 2354 ff., 2501 ff., 2913 ff.). A historical parallel to this is found in Gregory of Tours (3. 1, 3; Klaeber, *op. cit.*, p. 252; cf. p. xxxix; p. xli, note 2). He relates that Theodoric, the eldest of Clovis' sons, shared the kingdom of the Franks with his brothers on the death of his father in 511. The king of the Danes, Chlocilaicus (elsewhere Chocilaicus, Huiglaucus, all for Chogilaicus, Hugilaicus), having invaded the territory[1] of Theodoric, is attacked[2] by an army under Theodebert, the latter's son; Hugilaicus (=Hygelac) is slain, his army vanquished in a naval battle, and the spoil they have taken recovered (cf. Lavisse, *Hist. de France* 2.1. 129-130).

Theodebert (Theudebert) may have been born about 496. This would result from the following calculation. Clovis was born in 466, and died in 511 (Greg. Tur. 2. 43). His legitimate wife was Clotilda, whom he married about 492-3. Theodoric, the son of a concubine, was born earlier (Greg. Tur. 2. 28). Clotilda's first son died very early; her second, Clodomir, was born in 495 (Greg. Tur. 2. 29), and was accordingly 16 in 511. In that year Theodoric is described (Greg. Tur. 3. 1) as being the father of Theodebert, who was then *elegans et utilis* ("d'une beaute et d'un mérite remarquables"; "stattlich und wacker"; "handsome and valiant." Theodoric can not well have been born before his father, Clovis, was fifteen years old (cf. the case of Childebert: Lavisse, *Hist. de France* 2. 1.1 46, 143), that is,

[1] For this territory, see Lavisse (*Hist. de France* 2. 1.117; Longnon, *Géographie de la Gaule au VIe Siècle*, p. 104, and Plate II. The capital was Rheims (Lavisse).

[2] In 515, according to the edition of Omont and Collon.

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in 481;[3] nor Theodebert before Theodoric was fifteen, that is, in 496 (not "vers 504", as *La Grande Encyclopédie* and Larousse would have it). Accordingly, Theodebert may have been 15 in 511; and, as he was leading a successful army in 515, he can hardly have been younger. When Theodebert was fighting against Hygelac and Beowulf, the latter, according to Klaeber (p. xlv), was 25, having performed his exploits at the court of Hrothgar when he was 20.

His martial ardor and ability were displayed in a campaign with his father against the Thuringians in 531 (Greg. Tur. 3. 7), and more conspicuously in 533 (Longnon, *op. cit.*, p. 56), when he was sent with an army against the Visigoths of southern Gaul (3. 21, 22). In 539 he invaded Italy with 100,000 men, and defeated both the Gothic and Roman armies, but disease caused his return over the Alps (Procopius, *Bell. Goth.* 2. 15; cf. Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders* 4. 348–351). In 534 he had succeeded his father (Greg. Tur. 3. 23), and in 548 he died (3. 36). Though Procopius in one place says that Childebert, Theodebert, and Clotaire were the rulers of the Franks (*Bell. Goth.* 1. 13. 27), he elsewhere calls Theodebert ruler of the Germans (*op. cit.* 1. 13. 4), and leader of the Franks (2. 12. 38). He "was the first barbarian king who put his own name in full (not in a monogram) on gold coins" (Hodgkin 4. 612, note; cf. Procopius, *op. cit.* 3.33); the Anglo-Saxon gold coinage is of a later date (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed. 19. 898).

[3] Severinsen (*Danske Studier*, 1919, p. 96; cf. Klaeber, p. 252, note 3) would say 486; but cf. the preceding reference to Lavisse, above. An illustration may be given, of a much later date: Gian Galeazzo Visconti was born Oct. 15, 1351, and his eldest child, Valentina, in May, 1366, he being, accordingly, at that time 14 years and 7 months old (Cook, *The Last Months of Chaucer's Earliest Patron: Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences* 21. 49, note 55; 50, note 60). As to the display of military ability at an early age, compare the Black Prince's command of the van of the English army at Crécy, the refusal of his father to send him help when he was in straits, and the compliment paid him by the king when the battle was over. The Black Prince was then 16. To a similar effect is the account given by Ammianus Marcellinus (16. 12. 25) of the battle between the Emperor Julian and the Alamanni near Strassburg (A.D. 357): "The right wing was led by Serapio, a youth on whose cheeks the down was just beginning to sprout, but of courage surpassing his years." The Salian Franks attained their majority at the age of 12 (Pardessus, *Loi Salique*, pp. 451 ff.; Kurth, *Clovis*, 3d ed. 1. 237). Nearly all the princes of the Merovingian line died young, including Merovech himself (Kurth, *op. cit.* 1. 209).

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Theodebert's goodness and generosity are celebrated by Gregory of Tours (3. 23, 25, 34); prepossessing and persuasive (3. 7, 23, 24), he was sometimes tricky (3. 28, 31), and even false to his word (3. 22, 23, 26, compared with 3. 20, 27; Procopius, *Bell. Goth.* 1. 5. 8-10; 1. 13. 28; 2. 12. 38-9; cf. *Dict. Chr. Biog.* 4.900), as the Franks were all accused of being (*ibid.* 2. 25. 2; 4.24. 14; cf. Hodgkin 4. 348). The historian Agathias (1. 4) calls him a bold and restless soul, who loved danger more than was at all necessary, and relates that for a considerable period he cherished the idea of invading Thrace with a powerful army, making himself master there, and then pressing forward to Constantinople itself (cf. Lavisse, *Hist. de France* 2. 1. 126). Another side of his nature is illustrated by the fact that among those whom he most highly esteemed were two men of Latin race who were equally distinguished for learning and literature (Greg. Tur. 3. 33).

The *Dict. Chr. Biog.* (4. 900) calls Theodebert "the most capable and ambitious of the Merovingian line after Clovis," and says: "Theodebert was perhaps the best of the Merovingian kings. Though the barbarian was still present in him, . . . he was comparatively free from those outbreaks of savagery and lawlessness that characterized this race." He is thus judged by Lavisse (*Hist. de France* 2. 1. 120): "Théodebert fut certainement le plus remarquable des descendants de Clovis. Dans son royaume, toutes les volontés durent plier devant la sienne."

Theodebert lives on in Middle High German legend—he as Wolfdietrich, and his father, Theodoric, as Hugdietrich (cf. *Beow.* 2502, 2914). The latter shrinks from no crime, while Wolfdietrich, like the Merovingian Theodebert, is a pattern of virtue, and an object of special providence (Scherer, *Hist. Germ. Lit.* 1. 121; cf. *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed. 28.772-3; Kurth, *Clovis* 3d ed. 1. 299).

According to Procopius (*Bell. Goth.* 4. 20), Hermegisclus, king of the Varini, a tribe dwelling within the limits of the Danube, the Rhine, and the North Sea, married as his second wife a sister of Theodebert. Being about to die, he exhorted his son, Radiger, to marry his stepmother, notwithstanding the fact that he was already contracted to the sister of the king of the Angles, living in Britain. Radiger followed his father's counsel, whereupon his betrothed gathered a fleet and an army,

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and went in pursuit of him. A battle was fought near the mouth of the Rhine, and accordingly not far from the place where Theodebert had overcome Hygelac and his men. She insisted that Radiger should be taken alive, and brought before her. Instead of having him slain upon the spot, she contented herself with reproaches, in reply to which he alleged his father's will and the urgency of his advisers, and besought her even yet to marry him. She, nothing loth, agreed, and Theodebert's sister was promptly dismissed.[4] It is natural to suppose that Theodebert and his Franks resented this somewhat cavalier treatment of the princess, and sometime queen.[5]

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[4] Cf. Lappenberg, *Anglo Saxon Kings* 1. 144-5.

[5] Theodebert's own conduct, however, was not unexceptionable in this respect. While still betrothed to Wisigarde, daughter of the king of the Lombards, he was warring against Béziers when advances were made to him by Deuterie, who had a daughter by another husband. This woman captivated him at once, and he eventually married her. The Franks were scandalized at this, and urged him to espouse Wisigarde, to whom he had already been contracted for seven years. This he finally did, repudiating Deuterie, by whom he had had a son. On the death of Wisigarde not long after, he married another, paying no heed to Deuterie, who, it may be mentioned, had, during their union, contrived a violent death for her marriageable daughter, lest Theodebert's affections should be transferred to her (Greg. Tur. 3. 20-23, 26, 27).

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THE TREND OF ENGLISH SOUND-CHANGES

In an article entitled The Cause of Long Vowel Change in English, which was published in J. E. G. Ph. for April 1921, I tried to show that the changes in English long vowels are all the result of the tendency to limit the actual stress, or muscle contraction, to the first part of the sound and steadily to reduce the time-duration of this contraction; that is, to allow the latter part of the sound to glide off into a relatively relaxed articulation, in which the lower jaw returns almost to the closed position. This closing of the jaw automatically brings the tongue nearer to the palate and produces the acoustic effect of the next higher vowel; thus ō became ū, ē became ī etc. (For further details see the article referred to above.) Special attention was called to the importance of the relaxing of the jaw muscle and the resultant narrowing of the space between tongue and palate, a factor to which many scholars do not attach sufficient importance.

In this paper I shall try to show that the changes in short vowels are also the result of the same tendency which operated to determine the development of long vowels. First, then, let us look at the history of the short vowels. Since Anglo-Saxon times short vowels have shown a tendency to change as follows: *u* to *ɐ*; *o* to *ɔ* (*a* in America); *a* to *æ*; *æ* to *e*; *e* to *i*. Thus, *nut* (*nɐt*) <*nut*, *got* (*gɔt*, (in America *gat*) <*got*, *hat* (*hæt*)<*hat*; the changes *æ* to *e*, as in *cetch* for *catch*, *cerriage* for *carriage*, *keg* for *kag*, *reddish* for *raddish*, and *e* to *i*, as *rid* from O. E. *hreddan*, *abridge* from M. E. *abregge*, *git* for *get*, *agin* for *again*, *divil* for *devil* etc., (See Jespersen, Modern English Grammar 8.61FF) have remained either isolated or vulgar, and yet they are important from our present point of view, in that they illustrate the tendency to move in a certain direction. How are we to explain these vowel changes? If we examine the changes in connection with the vowel scale, we see that *u* and *o* have moved downward, *a* forward, and *æ* and *e* upward; and at first glance we might be tempted to say that these changes represent at least two opposite tendencies, that the lowering of the back vowels rests upon a decrease of

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tension, whereas the fronting and the raising of the others rest upon a corresponding increase of tension. But is it reasonable to believe that opposite tendencies manifest themselves in a language, especially in the development of the sounds of one and the same category?

Of recent years a good deal has been written about tendency in language, and scholars seem to be of the opinion that each language is characterized by one general tendency, by one main trend or drift in sound-change. This theory, however, falls to the ground if we admit that a language exhibits conflicting tendencies, except of course in the case of foreign race and language influence. That very admission places us back on the old ground of accident, caprice, fashion, and mysterious force in sound-changes. On the other hand, if, without forcing the facts, we can bring all the main phenomena under one principle, we shall have done much to strengthen the theory and we shall have increased our understanding of the nature of language. I believe that this can be done. Let us now make a beginning by trying to see, first, whether or not the changes of short vowels in English can all be brought under one principle, and second, whether or not this principle is the same as the one which was presented two years ago in explanation of the changes of long vowels.

If we examine the short vowel changes more closely, we see that they represent not only movement in three directions, downward, forward, and upward, but also movement in one general direction, namely forward, or toward the hard palate; that is, *u* and *o* have moved forward as well as downward, and *a* and *e* forward as well as upward. Thus we have taken the first step toward bringing these changes together under one principle. We must now note a fundamental difference between long and short vowels. Long vowels in English are of a diphthongal nature; they consist of a tense first part and a relaxed second part. This characteristic arose as a result of our tendency to limit the stress to the first part of the sound and to reduce the moment of tension. But short vowels are by their very nature too short to admit of such a composite character, and a tendency to reduce the moment of tension results really in the reduction of the degree of tension; that is, the speaker

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does not bring the tongue, lip, and jaw muscles quite so far out of their normal rest position as he thinks he does.

If now we examine a model or a diagram of the interior of the mouth when the organs of speech are in a fairly normal position of rest, we shall see that because of the natural contour of the roof of the mouth the distance between the front of the tongue and the hard palate is considerably less than that between the back of the tongue and the soft palate. If we add to this the fact that even in a very relaxed articulation of an oral vowel the soft palate is drawn up and back to cut off the nasal passage, we realize that the difference between the front and rear cavities becomes still greater. But these are just the conditions for front rather than for back vowel quality. From this fact we are justified in inferring that if the tongue is not brought by contraction very much out of its rest position, the resonance will automatically be more nearly front than rear.

A part of this fact has long been recognized, namely, that in a hasty and reduced articulation *u* and *o* become respectively *o* or *ɑ*, and *a*, since the tongue does not quite reach the high position aimed at, but the changes *a* to *æ*, *æ* to *e*, *e* to *i* have not to my knowledge been brought under the same principle. And yet I am convinced that they are also the result of exactly this same tendency toward reducing the moment and the degree of tension. If the sound *a*, which represents a slight back tongue elevation, is in the mind of the speaker and is aimed at but not quite attained, because of a reduction in the time and the degree of the tension, then the mouth cavity corresponds naturally more nearly to front *a* than to back *a;* that is, the failure to raise the back of the tongue or to widen very much the angle of the jaw leaves the tongue more nearly in its normal rest position, with front-narrowing of the resonance chamber slightly predominating over rear-narrowing. Thus the acoustic effect of a reduced back *a* is that of a front *a*. Although the speaker may imagine that he is still pronouncing *a*, yet the listener really hears a, or even *æ*, and what he hears he himself reproduces. Similarly *æ* tends to become *e*, and *e* to become *i*, since the angle of the jaw is not widened quite so much, thus leaving the tongue nearer to the hard palate than the speaker is really aware of.

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This reduced articulation of the short vowel in a stressed syllable is not to be confused with the weakened articulation in an unstressed syllable, in which we use the neutral shwa, ə. From Primitive Germanic times and perhaps even earlier we can note the tendency to abandon the associating of meaning with the quality of a vowel in an unaccented syllable. This tendency had advanced far by Anglo-Saxon times, and soon thereafter the vowel ə became the normal reaction for all unstressed syllables. But the reduced articulation in stressed syllables, which we are here considering, is a very different phenomenon. The sound which results from this type of articulation depends in each case upon the *ideal* sound aimed at, depends upon the sound which the speaker *thinks* he is making, and with which he associates meaning. Thus, if he aims at *u* but doesn't reach it, the result is *o*; if he aims at *o* and doesn't reach it, the result is *a*; similarly *a* becomes *a*, *a* becomes *æ*, *æ* becomes *e*, *e* becomes *i*.

Some of my hearers may be willing to accept this explanation for all of the changes except that of *a* to *æ*. They may say in the first place that *æ* represents just as definite an elevation of the front of the tongue as *a* does of the back of the tongue. This is of course true, provided the articulations are exact, clear cut, and of full time duration. But my contention is that we produce the same acoustic effect of front vowel quality also in a negative way, that is, by failing to make a full and strong contraction of the tongue and jaw muscles. Or again, they may say that *a* does not show an uninterrupted tendency to become *æ;* that *a* became *æ* in Anglo-Saxon, but reverted to *a* in Middle English, and then became *æ* again in Modern English. To be sure there has been much discussion regarding the quality of this sound in Middle English. Personally I feel that we should be slow to accept at face value the descriptions of sounds given by sixteenth century phoneticians, who were not schooled to great accuracy in such matters. But even if we admit that this sound in the standard speech of Middle English was not a pure *æ*, is there not good reason for believing that it was at least the front clear *a* of French, and that this change from *æ* to *a* is to be interpreted not as a reversal of the normal English tendency, but rather as an artificial innovation of the upper classes, who were subjected

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to French influence? At any rate it could hardly have been the back *a*, because, when lengthened in open syllables, it developed, as did the OE *ǣ*, into the front vowel *ē*, as in *make*, *name*, etc., whereas, the back *ā* of OE became regularly *ō*, as in *stone*, *bone*. I feel strongly convinced that in English short *a* shows a steady and normal tendency to become *æ*, and that in this respect it is in perfect keeping with the trend of the other vowel changes.

It seemed advisable to limit the discussion here to the question of short vowels. But a study of the other sound-changes of English convinces me that they have all resulted from this one tendency toward reduction of the moment of muscle contraction, which is in reality a tendency toward economy of effort. The theory of economy of effort as the determining factor in certain sound-changes, especially assimilations and elisions, has found rather wide acceptance. I am trying to give it a more general application. I believe that further study of other sound-changes, especially of the Primitive Germanic consonant-shifts, will show that they have resulted from this tendency toward reduction of contraction, that is, toward economy of effort, rather than from any sort of strengthening of articulation. (Cf. Jespersen, *Language*, p. 263.) I believe that the truth is to be sought in this direction for two chief reasons, first, because a tendency toward economy of effort is *a priori* more natural than any other one, and second, because such a tendency is, in the field of historical phonology, the exact counterpart of Jespersen's very generally accepted theory of the trend of changes in the field of historical morphology, that is, from multiplicity toward simplicity, from the polysynthetic to the highly analytic, even monosyllabic, type of language, a trend which is undoubtedly in the direction of economy of effort.

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REVIEWS AND NOTES

KAISER UND ABT. DIE GESCHICHTE EINES SCHWANKS von Walter Anderson. Helsinki, 1923. *FF COMMUNICATIONS* No. 24. VI+450 pp. 8vo.

This remarkable work which, like so many others published under the auspices of the Finnish school of folklorists, testifies to the industry and scholarship of its author, was written and partly printed in Russian during the European War. The events of 1918 made the complete publication impossible. In the German edition the author merely enumerates the variants, referring to the printed part of the Russian edition for the reprints of the texts used as a basis.

The book purports to trace the history of the tale best known through the English ballad of *King John and the Abbot of Canterbury* and Bürger's German adaptation of it. The story consists of two main parts, the frame and the questions, generally three in number. Anderson includes the latter, so far as they occur in other stories or as isolated riddles, when they are apt to shed more light on the main issue. The number of variants, both literary and popular, is 474; with those added in the appendix, 492. All the great folktale collections published in Europe within the last one hundred years, and all the folklore periodicals have been amply drawn upon. The ethnographic table on p. 77 nevertheless clearly shows how large portions of the earth have been neglected by the collectors of folkloristic material. While Europe is very well represented, the whole of Eastern and Northern Asia (some colonies of Russian settlers excepted), all of Central and South Africa, all of Central and South America and Australia are absent, and the author is careful to point out (p. 79) that no conclusions can be drawn as to the existence or non-existence of the story in those countries. The literary variants, i.e., those which drew on popular or unknown literary sources, extend over a space of time from the ninth to the twentieth century. The acting persons are generally three in number. Only in 15% of the total number of variants is the person asked identical with the person giving the correct answers. In the large majority of variants (81.4%) the questioner is a monarch, often a historical personage. On pp. 86-87, an interesting list of such names is given, beginning with Pharaoh Sheshonk and ending up with a bishop of Marseilles of the last century. Most of these names are due to the story-teller's caprice; only six recur in different versions, viz., John Lackland, Mathias Corvinus, Charles V. (in Flemish

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Belgium), Peter the Great, Frederick the Great, and Joseph II. The person questioned is a member of the clergy (Roman Catholic, Orthodox, or Protestant) in 67.3%. The abbot plays a large part in versions prior to the seventeenth century; he was replaced by a priest or a minister after the abolition of monasticism in Northern and Central Europe. In the oldest versions no clergyman occurs, but one or several courtiers, from which fact the author concludes that in the prototype the person questioned was likewise a courtier. A miller answers the questions in 16.2% of the variants, and there is evidence that this group of versions had its starting point in mediæval France. This is a very interesting result, as the time roughly coincides with that of the literary versions of the fabliau *Le Meunier d'Arleux*, the hero of which is likewise a miller and which seems to have received its present form in France. The hero is a shepherd in the large majority of the Teutonic variants and a sexton in Protestant Sweden. At any rate, he is a man of the people, and (the author could have added) in this the story of Emperor and Abbot is a parallel to so many others, to that of King James and the faculty of the University of Aberdeen, where a butcher outwits the learned foreigner who speaks the language of signs, and to that of Ragnar Lodbrok and his queen or to the Oriental themes where a child solves a difficult case at law.

The kinds of questions asked (not considering those which occur in two or less versions) are sixteen in number. To mention a few, the occurrence of question *H* (How many stars are there in the sky?) in the oldest known version, that of the Egyptian Ibn-Abdulhakam (ninth century) and its perseverence in the Arabic and East European versions make its Oriental origin fairly certain (p. 171). Question *N* (How much am I worth?) is one of the most frequent of all (52.3%). Question *O* (What is God doing?) is considered the key enabling us to discover the origin of the whole story (pp. 209 ff.). For the answer "He humbles the great and raises the lowly" occurs in the narrative of Ibn-Abdulhakam and in two modern Oriental versions. Isolated, the question is found as a sort of theological riddle in the works of the Jew Beresith Rabba (ca. sixth century), and even in Diogenes Laertius (third century A.D.). Anderson draws the probably correct conclusion that the riddle is of Jewish origin, going back, ultimately, to 1 *Sam.* II. 4-8. It entered Greek literature through Alexandrine or Christian media. In the oldest version the hero, after quoting these words, cuts off the king's head and ascends the throne himself. In later versions the question *O* was replaced by another (*P*): "How far is it from happiness to misery?" The answer likewise leads to the recognition of the hero. From the sixteenth century on question *Q* (What do I think?) takes the place of *P*. It

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occurs in a very large number of variants (63.9%). The author is of opinion that *Q* existed as an independent riddle before being incorporated into the story. This is rather doubtful, however, inasmuch as he himself can adduce only one example for such a separate existence, and this example is not quite the same as the question under discussion. Furthermore, the author admits that the answer *Q 1* (You think that I am A, but I am B, altogether 91% of all answers), fits only to the story and could not have been an independent riddle (p. 225). It is more likely that *Q* is the invention of some Western story-teller; for since the answer contains a pun based on the double meaning of *to think* = 1. *cogitare*, 2. *putare*, *Q* can have originated only in a language in which the verb *to think* has both meanings. This is the case in most European languages but not in Classical Latin or Greek (*cogitare—putare*, *φρονεῖν—νομίζειν*). Moreover, whenever we find a circumlocution instead of the simple verb we may be fairly certain that the question was translated from another language which lent itself to the pun in question. This is clearly a case in which studies in comparative semantics would be of infinite value.

Very interesting is the result obtained for the theme of the inscription "I live without care," which provokes the monarch and which does not occur in the story before the eighteenth century. The author could have mentioned the striking agreement of this fact with the custom of attaching such epicurean names to châteaux, beginning with Philip IV's *Buen Retiro* in the seventeenth century and ending up with Frederick II's *Sans Souci* and Voltaire's *Les Délices*. Anderson points out that the monarch's motivation is greed in the oldest variants and probably also in the prototype. I concur with this conclusion, as such a motivation is found in other Oriental riddle stories, the most famous of which is probably the parable of the three rings. The appointment of the substitute to the position of his master (24.7%) is a comparatively modern and West European trait, probably not older than the fourteenth century (p. 256).

In the prototype the questions asked were very probably *G* (Where is the centre of the earth?), *H* (How many stars are there in the sky?), and *O* (What is God doing?) *G* occurs in Jewish Literature before the sixth century A.D. The number of the stars was very probably compared with the grains of sand on the beach, both of which go back to Old Testamental phraseology. Of *O* the Old Testamental source is clear. The conclusion is that the story is of Jewish origin. It arose in the Near East, perhaps in Egypt, certainly not later than the beginning of the ninth century, probably before the Islamic conquest (ca. beginning of the seventh century). It suffered the first transformation when it was taken over by the Christian

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Copts and question *N* was introduced with an answer based on *Math.* XXVI .15. It entered Western Europe no later than the first half of the thirteenth century, probably brought there by French crusaders. In the fourteenth century the courtiers were replaced by an abbot; new questions were introduced successively to take the place of the old ones; but the latter maintained themselves in the Near East until modern times.

Of the most far-reaching consequence is the author's discovery of the fact that each narrator heard the story not only once and from one person, but repeatedly and from quite a number of story-tellers in different versions (p. 399). This means the substitution of the undulation theory (*Wellentheorie*) for the genealogical tree theory (*Stammbaumtheorie*) in the investigation of folktales.

Considered as a whole, the work can be justly called a masterpiece of good method and sound judgment. Though many of the results obtained will doubtless be modified as the folklore of the Near East will receive more careful attention in years to come, the value of the work will not be diminished thereby, as the method followed will profitably be used in many an investigation of a similar nature.

ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE

Flat River, Mo.

SOGNEMÅLENE. Av Amund B. Larsen. 1ste hefte. Utgit på offentlig bekostning ved Videnskapsselskapet i Kristiania. Kristiania. 1922. Pp. 289.

Sogn forms part of that ethnic geographical unit of central western Norway usually referred to in dialectal literature as the Inner Bergen District. The district comprises also Voss and Hardanger immediately to the south of Sogn. The three, together, represent perhaps, taken all in all, the most conservative dialect region in Norway to-day; but with their conservatism they also possess some exceedingly interesting new-developments. And I cannot help feeling that there are going on at the present time (in the present generation) other new-developments in certain parts of the territory. Voss and Hardanger are relatively small areas, especially the former; but Sogn is vastly more extensive, with very varied external connections. And partly on that account also it is one of the very most interesting regions for the student of Norwegian dialects.

Roughly speaking, Sogn represents the settlements on both sides of the Sogn Fjord (Sognefjorden), and its arms, north, south, and east, extending from the islands and skerries on the west coast, somewhat north of Bergen, in as far as the Fjord reaches into the heart of the country, which means to the mountains that here divides Western from Eastern Norway. In

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the west, along the coast Sogn is very narrow, some places only ca. twenty miles wide. But in the east it is much wider, reaching ca. one hundred miles. In its shape Sogn, then, forms a kind of triangle that points to the sea, and the extent east to west is ca. 140 miles. Its area is 10,513 square miles. It is, therefore, a region of considerable size, larger e.g., than Upland, Sweden, or Yorkshire, England,[1] but with a much smaller population, for Sogn has only a population of 36,648, by the census of 1910. On the south it is bordered by Voss and Hardanger, as indicated above, and in the environs of Bergen also by Nordhordland. On the northwest coast its neighbor is Søndfjord. On the north the Jostedal Glacier separates Sogn from Nordfjord, while in the northeast it borders on Gudbrandsdalen, in the east on Valders and in the southeast on Hallingdal.

There have before been published two brief general descriptions of the dialects as a whole, and one special investigation. If I am not mistaken the earliest work on the dialects was my own "Grammar of the dialect of Sogn," printed in the *American Dialect Notes*, 1905, pp. 25-54, which merely aimed to give a brief account of the inflexions, Sogn being considered as one dialect. A very short account of the pronunciation, with a few texts, was given by Ross under "Hordske Maal," pp. 139-142 in his very valuable work on "Norske Bygdemaal," Christiania Scientific Society, 1909. In 1915 was published my own *Phonology of the Dialect of Aurland*, pp. 92,[2] which aimed to present with some detail, and with considerable bodies of illustrative words for each sound, the pronunciation of one dialect in Sogn, namely Aurland, the southernmost one in central Sogn. The present study differs from mine in that it aims to give the main features of the spoken dialects of Sogn as a whole, the fourteen districts, considered as fourteen dialects; and this again is illustrated with extensive word-lists for each sound for each of these fourteen sub-dialects (Part II of the present work).[3] There is to follow as Part III, other material illustrative of the Inflexions. Readers of these pages of the *Journal* are no doubt familiar with the author's many important contributions upon Norwegian dialects. I shall here mention only his investigations into the east Norwegian dialects of Solør, and Selbu, and of the city dialect of Christiania; and

[1] Or about the size of New Jersey, which has 8,200 square miles.

[2] *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, I, 1-2, pp. 92.

[3] It is convenient, as is usually done, to speak of the fourteen administrative districts as that many dialects in the Sogn group. But Larsen shows that Lærdal (including Borgund) and Årdal are really one dialect. It appears to me that there are ten regions sufficiently differentiated in Sogn to be dealt with as a dialect unit, namely: 1, Gulen, 2, Sulen, Hyllestad, and Lavik (to Kirkebø); 3, Kirkebø; 4, Vik; 5, Balestrand and Leikanger; 6, Aurland; 7, Sogndal; 8, Hafslo and Luster; 9, Lærdal and Årdal; 10, Jostedalen.

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that, in collaboration with Gerhard Stolz, he published in 1912 an account of the dialect of Bergen.[4]

Part I contains first an introductory chapter on 'Sprogenes Forandringer' (Linguistic Change). Here in §2, entitled: 'Omhyggelighet i tale kan bevirke sprogforandring,' the author emphasizes the influence of children on changes in pronunciation. Regarding the extent to which changes are due to children Larsen is a follower of Jespersen's intermediate ground: that not all changes are due to children, but the influence of children must emphatically be recognized.[5] Larsen instances some pronunciations in west and east Norwegian that may have originated in overemphasis, or exaggerations in pronunciation, whereas other things are due to weakening in the articulation. He finds in this overemphasis of the long *l*, *m*, and *n* the origin of the west Norwegian *dl*<*ll*, as *kadla*, *bm*<*mm*, as *lubma*, *dn*<*nn*, *n*, as *staidn*, and such other things as *karl*>*kadl*, *regn* preserved as *regn* (*regn*, *reggn*, *reggən*), *hasl*>*hatl*, etc. I quote: "I den sprogperiode hvor disse vore to store dialektgrupper er glidd så langt fra hinanden i dette, har forsåvidt den vestnorske efterligning efter foregående generationer været præget av en vidtdreven—derfor delvis ukorrekt—omhyggelighet; i østnorsk har i dette tilfælde likegladhet hat overhånd, den vigtigste faktor har været hensynet til at få gjengit det nedarvede på den bekvemmeste måte for artikulationsorganerne."[6] As regards the 'internal dissimilations' cited above, by which ON *kalla* has become *kadla*, and other like things, I am much inclined to think the author right, that these have originated with children, and from them, maintained by them in their growing years, have later become fixed in the language; these forms leave upon me this impression. However, it does not seem to me that the more or less opposite development in eastern Norway has the same origin, according to which *ll* and *mm* maintained themselves, *rl* became *-l*, and *gn*>ŋ*n*, and like things, these have probably originated with grown-ups.[7] Under the same general head the author also, p. 10, speaks of the progressive rounding and fronting that has since ON times differentiated Norwegian (and Swedish) *ā*, but especially *ō*, *ū*, and *ȳ*, from their European equivalents. Larsen's view of the cause of the changes is plausible. The relative chronology of the changes would be: 1, *ā* > *ǭ*[8], (*å*)[8], 2, ō > *ō*; 3, ū > *ū*; 4, ȳ > *ȳ*; of the first, *ā* > *ǭ*, we have the

[4] In 1898 he published *Oversigt over de norske Bygdemål*, a very clear and helpful survey of Norwegian dialects in general. Pp. 98. Larsen himself is a native of Eastern Norway.

[5] See *Language*. By Otto Jespersen. New York, 1922. Pp. 161-189. See also Jespersen's *Nutidssprog hos Børn og Kvinder*.

[6] Page 7.

[7] Possibly the author does not intend it so, however.

[8] *å*, here and below, is used for both long and short *å*.

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absolute chronology of ca. 1200-1250. The subsequent changes, *ō* yo *ō*. etc., then must have been in the order named, and are in the nature of conscious efforts more sharply to differentiate an existing sound from one newly developed, by an over-emphasis of the difference in the quality of the two. Thus when *ā* had become approximately *ǭ*, it was qualitatively near the ō; then the roundness of the latter was exaggerated and it became the narrower Norwegian *ō*, which it has since remained; (I assume this would go back to the period 1250–1350); but the new *o* stood near the old u; so now the greater narrowness of the latter was emphasized until it assumed the quality of the Norwegian *u*, etc. The correctness of the relative chronology is in part proved by the quality of the vowel in such words as *bord*, and *ord* today, which shows early vowel-lengthening (before the rounding of *ǒ* to *ō*). Other matters in this section I shall have to pass over; on the question of the *ý* and *ǿ* in Aurland, p. 16, see below.

The author then deals in section 2, pp. 25-39, with "Sogne-dialektenes sproggeografiske stilling." This is followed by a section, 3, on "Lydsystem og lydnotering i Sognemålene," pp. 39-64. The user of the book who would study the tables of transcribed words, pp. 74-289, must do so in connection with the discussion in these two sections. The user of the tables, finding one pronunciation recorded for a particular dialect, say Vik, assumes that for that word (and possibly for the ending in a whole group of which the word is a representative) that is the only pronunciation noted in the dialect, unless the contrary is stated, and a variant form is given. But it is sometimes clear that that is not the case. I shall speak of this point again below.

Dr. Larsen then considers the groupings of the dialects of Sogn on the basis of what he finds to be the outstanding characteristics. The author is certainly right in regarding as impracticable the twofold division into Outer and Inner Sogn. The differentiating feature is the inflexional one of the trissyllabic definite forms of the type *hestadne* for the western or outer region, and dissyllabic forms, as *hestadn*, for the eastern or inner group of dialects. But the line is a vague and fluctuating one, and in many portions of central Sogn, the endings *-adne*, and *-adn*, exist side by side, together with the ending *-dna* in certain words (*rætna, bækna, brædna*). All three may be heard in Aurland. See my *Phonology of the dialect of Aurland*, pp. 70, and 72, and Larsen *Sognemålene*, p. 28.

More important features make a division into three the only practical one, namely into Outer, Central, and Inner Sogn, which accords with the popular divisions and some of the official divisions. Under Outer Sogn Larsen includes Gulen, Sulen, Hyllestad, and also all of Lavik, that is not only Lavik proper but also the District (and parish) of Kirkebø, which

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now is a part of Lavik Prestegjeld (Benefice).[9] Central Sogn is made up of: Vik, Balestrand, leikanger, Aurland, and Sogndal. Inner Sogn then consists of Hafslo, Luster, Jostedalen, Årdal and Lærdal. The Outer group of dialects is characterized by the ending *-e* in words of the type *kaste*, by preservation of old *-ll-*, *-nn-*, as *stall*, *bjønn*, by ON *-an* becoming *-a*, as *vika*, def., *s*^{e}*ia*, 'later,' and the like, to select only the three that seem to me especially important. Central Sogn, in addition to having the ending *-a* in words of the type *kasta*, *-dl*, *-bn*, in words of the type *stall*, and *bjønn* (hence *stadl*, *bjødn*), and ON *-an*>*ao* (usually in the form *aů*), is especially characterized by palatalization of *g* and *k* before the palatal vowel of the suffixed article (especially in Aurland), old lengthening of vowel before *-ng*, *-nk*, as *taunkə*, and old *i* and *y* appear extensively as *ı* and *ẏ* respectively (not as *i* and *ø*, as in Sogn elsewhere, and as in Norwegian dialects also in general); thus *vı*<ON *vidr*, m., and *fẏrə*<ON *fyri*(*r*), etc. And further old *e* in certain instances becomes *ı*, as *ılle*<ON *eptir*. See also *Dialect of Aurland*, p. 22.[10]

The inner dialects are characterized by an absence of such special central Sogn features, and for the most part of the absence of *dl*<*ll*, *bn*<*fn*, and *dn*<*rn;* further by certain special developments, especially *ū* to *ø*, and that ON *ø*, or ON *ǫ* in the combination *jo*, appears as *å* (or *ǭ*) and not as *ø*. Dr. Larsen finds that the outer group affiliates much more closely with the dialects of Søndfjord, than they do with Nordhordland, but that they are distinctly Sognic in character. He finds that the dividing line between Outer and Central Sogn, dialectically speaking, would run right through Kirkebø, but that on the whole Kirkebø is west Sognic, in spite of the fact that it was formerly administratively a part of Vik. Of the east Sogn group, Hafslo stands close to Central Sogn in its character; then follows Luster. The departures are greatest in Jostedalen and especially in Tønjum and Hauge parishes of Lærdal. I shall now pass on to some points under phonology, confining myself to the transcriptions of words for the pronunciation of Aurland.

The vowel *ẏ*. See *Dialect of Aurland*, pp. 14, 35, and 36, and *Sognemålene*, pp. 16 and 51. In my discussion of the sound *ẏ* and that of *ø* I indicated that in Aurland, *ẏ* and *ø* are prevailingly kept distinctly apart; they have not coincided. Hence I printed regularly *bẏr*, *dẏr*, *fẏl*, *hẏl*, etc. where it is long, and 118 words in which *ẏ* is short, as *blẏmma*, *hẏdla*, *ẏkt*, etc. Similarly under phonology, p. 72. On the other hand I found

[9] Kirkebø is, however, now a separate administrative district (*Herred*).

[10] I shall here take occasion to correct, on p. 65 of my *Dialect of Aurland*, the source of the name *Guro*. It should be *Gudrún*, of course, not *Gudrudr*. Kindly called to my attention by A. B. Larsen.

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ø to be, in the majority of the words and among most speakers, distinctly an *ø*-sound; and I gave fifty-three words in this form, p. 36: *blø*, *bølə*, *bøta*, etc. I then added, that *nølå* and *vølå* are also pronounced: *nẏla*, *vẏla*.[11] Among the words I listed on p. 35, which are pronounced with *ẏ*, were also included several words where the *ẏ* does not derive from ON *y*. Thus in *fẏlå*, 'to feel,' *klẏvər*, 'clover,' besides *nẏlå* 'to hesitate,' 'to wait'; these we naturally associate directly with Dan. *føle*, *kløver*, and *nøle*, but that these three words are the immediate sources is by no means certain. If the direct source of *nøla*, *nẏla*, is Sw. *nøle* (as *NyEtOrdbog*), then its source would have been a vowel that was presumably slightly narrower than the *ø* of Dan. *nøle*. But in Bergen and Sogn the form of the word may be influenced in part by the LG. *nölen*, or Du. *nüelen*. *Klẏvər* is presumably to be referred to Dan. *kløver*, which itself is a loan from MLG. *klever; fẏlå* is Dan. *føle*, which in turn comes from MLG. *volen* according to *EtOrdbog*, (Cf., however, also Du. *voelen*, OHG. *fuolen*, NHG. *fühlen*). Among the words I listed on p. 35 (see above) was also *vẏlå*, with the variant pronunciation *vølå*.[12] The source is ON *vela*, which by labialization is *vøla* everywhere in Norw. dialects to-day. There are further the nouns *fjẏs*, 'stable,' and *snẏ*, 'snow,' where the source in the former *fjós*<*fe-hus* (dialectal variants to-day are *fjōs*, *fjøs*, and *føs* (cf. Sw. d: *fäus*, *fys*, *fjos*), and in the case of the latter *snjó*, with dialectal forms to-day as: *snjø*, *snø*, *snẏ*, etc. Finally there is the word *knytə*,[13] where clearly we have an *ø*-source for the *ẏ* (*knøten*, *NyEtOrdb*).

In ca. ten instances out of the total 118 words the *ẏ* is apparently more or less definitedly referable to the vowel *ø* (*pẏnsa*, Dan. *pønse*<MLG. *pensen; byrsa*, *byssa*, Dan. *bøsse*, but possibly direct from MLG. *busse; blẏmma*, 'to bloom,' from MLG. *blomen* (by way of MLG. **blömen*). If I were now dealing with these words somewhat more in detail than in *Dialect of Aurland*, §19, I would add that *knẏtə*, is in my own pronunciation *knötə*, and I should have given that as at least equally common with *knẏtə*. Also with *nẏla*, and *vẏla*, the vowel *ø* is commoner; but *klẏver* is, it would seem, rarely pronounced other than *klẏver* (rarely *kløvər*). To conclude: my investigations showed that *ẏ* and *ø* are kept distinctly apart in the great majority of words concerned. The pronunciation *fjẏl* by the side of *fjøl*, 'plank,' would seem quite wrong; the latter word is always *fjøl*. The two sounds do not seem either to have coincided into an intermediate sound anywhere in

[11] The character *ẏ* is, here and below, used for either long or short *ẏ*.

[12] Larsen gives only the transcription *vølå* and *vèlå*, which I assume that he regards as the pronunciation everywhere in Aurland. He records *vẏlå* only for Balestrand.

[13] And *krẏtər*<Lat. *creatura*.

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Aurland. But in about twenty words, the source of the ẏ is not ON *y;* in some of these the source is clearly (Dan.) ø, and it is here among these twenty[14] that in several cases the pronunciation with ẏ and ø are found side by side, now the one now the other being predominant. I think that upon this point Larsen's observations have lead him to about the same conclusions, as his tables of transcribed words would indicate, though the range of words with ø is somewhat larger than I should give it. But the description of the sound on p. 16 is, therefore, somewhat misleading, when he says: 'Men i nabodialekten i Aurland, i de to sogne Vangen and Flåm, der er tvertimot oldn. ø, bortset fra visse stillinger, faldt sammen med dialektens åpne form av *Y*, som er temmelig normal, så at *møta* og *spyta* gir aldeles fuldkomne rim, med en *Ö*-eller *Y*-varietet som i nabobygderne regnes for en *Y*.' It is true that in Vangen and Flåm ON ø has in many words coincided with the open *y* of the region (i.e., ẏ). But it does not seem to me that the extent of this coincidence is as extensive as Larsen sees it, and especially as far as Flåm is concerned.[15] For Aurland as a whole it seems misleading to represent ON *fylla* by *fødla* (as for Sogndal), as p. 224. On the other hand I would represent old ø prevailingly by an ø-vowel,-just as Larsen has done, p. 232-236. To me the matter stands as follows (under §77: "normal behandling av *y* foran konsonant); the resulting vowel is in the prevailing pronunciation ẏ, whether final, before single cons. finally, before short cons. followed by a vowel, as well as it is before long cons.; and it is ẏ also before consonant groups. Only before long consonant does Larsen find prevailingly ẏ. It would appear that in Vangen the ø-sound is somewhat prominent (influence from Inner Sogn?). But Larsen has evidently found the sound ø more prominent than I found it twelve years ago. Are some of the cited words with ø, as *dør*, instead of *dẏr*, 'door,' *spørə*, 'asks,' instead of *spẏrə*, *førö*, 'before,' instead of *fẏrə*, etc., perhaps those of younger speakers (representing then influence of the school)? And similarly for the position before consonant group; the author gives *bẏksa*, as the only pronunciation, and *sẏlja* and *dẏlja* by the side of *sølja* and *dølja*. I would also give as the prevailing pronunciation *fẏlja*, *pẏlsa*, *ẏmta*, *krẏpling*, *lẏfta*, *smẏrja*, *spẏrja*, *hẏdna*, *fẏstə*, 'first,' *tẏstə*, *flẏtta*, *mẏssa*, and some other words. I will here also mention the equivalent of ON *mestr*, adj., which is given as *mẏstə*, p. 132, less often *mæstə*, and *møstə*, and *mę̨stə;* I have never heard the pronunciation *mẏstə*. Similarly with *imydlo*<ON *imillum;* for this the author gives *imodlo*, p. 150, but *imydlo*, p. 212 (which I take to be a misprint for *imẏdlo*).

[14] Of a total of 140 words given, including those with long ẏ also.

[15] See also author, p. 51.

The equivalent of ON *ó*. This is the so-called diphthong of the third series in my *Dialect of Aurland*, §28. Larsen finds that in all parts of Sogn the difference between the beginning and the end of the diphthong may be very small, and that it may often progressively pass over into a simple vowel; this I have also often observed. The author finds that the resulting simple vowel appears both as ō and *ō* (so both long and short). But as far as Central Sogn is concerned he considers the diphthongal quality is more pronounced, the difference between the beginning and the end is greater, and he would notate *oů*, ōů, p. 45, whereas I regarded it as rather *ōᵘ*. Larsen notes the broader quality especially in Leikanger. I must hold, however, that in Aurland the diphthong is commonly narrow, so that I should represent it *ōᵘ* not *oů*.[16] Upon turning to the tables I find that the author records side by side in several of the subdialects both types of the diphthong together with the simple vowel, with Aurland occupying a somewhat intermediate ground. For Aurland the author finds the pron. *skōᵘg* < *skogr*, and even *lōů*, ON *hló*, vb. pret., but most often such forms as *plōᵘg*, or monophthongal vowel. I shall here merely add that for Aurland I would have given by the side of many of the monophthongal pronunciations as, *brōk*, *klōkə*, *krōk*, *sōt*, *fostər*, also the diphthongal forms. The form *dǫmm* seems to me a recent intrusion; more genuine Aurlandic would be *domm*. To me there is no difference in the vowel of *foᵘrt*, *joᵘrta* and *fjoᵘrtan*[17] (author *fourt*, but *jorta*, p. 168, and *fjortan*, p. 185). I would write *bůrt*, as Larsen does, but *port*[18] (recent? from Dan. *port*). In fact in most cases one should bear in mind that the diphthongal form also exists. I note that Larsen notates *fjoᵘrtan* p. 104, though only *fjortan*, p. 184 (hence incomplete listing here).

The diphthong ON *ei*, *æi*. The Sognic form of this is *ȧı*. It is however, *äi* regularly in Outer Sogn, and almost entirely so in Lærdal in Inner Sogn, p. 265; and further extensively so in Årdal, so *bräı*, *täıg*, *bläıkə*, etc. Exceptions are: *ȧık*, *dȧıg*, *hȧılə*, *hȧım raım*, and a few others. Even in Lærdal there are the exceptions: *lȧı*, adj., *vȧıȧ*, *ȧıgȧ*, *ȧıgən*. *fȧıtt*, *svȧıtt*, *rȧı*, and *hȧıtt*. But only four of the sixty-three words given show *ȧı* for Aurland, namely dȧig, *ȧıncbęr*, *rȧı*, *brȧıa*.[19] If the pronunciation *ȧı* is so relatively extensive in Aurland now, to what extent is this pronunciation of younger speakers (influence of Riksmaal?). In the surrounding regions, Sogndal, Leikanger, and in Vik, the diphthong is throughout recorded as aı; for Hard-

[16] While admitting that the initial sound is often open enough to be represented by o.

[17] Or with opener beginning *foůrt*, etc.

[18] As Larsen, too, does.

[19] ON *segja* is, however, given as *sȧıȧ*.

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anger and Voss, immediately south of Aurland, Ross gives it as aı. In my own pronunciation and in my notations from 1910 the diphthong is an *aı*; but I am very far from wishing to dispute Larsen's view of the diphthong (but possibly chiefly that of Vangen?).[20]

The *e*-vowel. The author recognizes in Sogn a variation of the unstressed *e* as a variation from *ę* to *ö;* that in places it is a pure *ę*, as Borgund, elsewhere, *ö*, as Lærdal. And this apparently irrespective of the nature of the preceding vowel, elsewhere again it is *ə*. Leaving in abeyance the scope and the conditions of the various forms for the *e* of unaccented syllables, Larsen normalizes everywhere to *ə;* except that for Lærdal, Borgund, Årdal, Jostedal, and Vik, he has often indicated the direction of the quality of the *ə* whether toward *ę* or *ö*. In Outer Sogn the weak *e* is nearly everywhere *ę* or *æ*, p. 49. As far as Aurland is concerned the weak *e* is then usually normalized by the author to *ə*. Exceptions are the following writings: *blaůe* (which is probably intended to be *blåůę;* on the other hand the vowel is *ə* after *au* in *råůə*, adj., and *låůə*, as also *låůkə*, *håůlə*, and *råůę*,[21] as we should expect, but also *maůsę*,[21] but *idlə*, 138,[22] and *ję̄və*, 110. As regards the ending *-edl* (and *-edn*), it is ordinarily written *-ędl*. Thus *bɸtędn*,[22a] 108, where I would write *bɸtədn*, but *tvīrędl*, 120,[23] *himmędl*, 142, 158, and *jakędl*, as I also would. There are a number of inconsistencies,[24] such as *hęvedl*, 118,[25] but *hęvødl*, 222, and *snīgędl*, 150, but snī-*gədl*, 142. Further: *kveitedl*, 136, is in my pronunciation *kvētędl*. I too pronounce *fåttigə*, as Larsen has it,[26] but I do not say *şjikkəlę*, as 158; I say *şjikkęlə;* and I and my informants too in Aurland do not say *vīkətål*, but *vēkętal*,[27] similarly *høvəlę*, with the labialized *ə* in the middle, but *ę* finally, as Larsen p. 156; this appears as *høvələ*, on p. 158. There is distinctly in the Aurland dialect a kind of vowel harmony as between the *e* of unstressed syllables and the vowel of the preceding syllable; but there are also other factors operating, which I shall not take the space to go into here. In connection with the word-lists under *e*, *ı*, *ǫ*, etc., in *The Dialect of Aurland*, I have to some extent tried to represent it. Possibly I may be able elsewhere to consider this rather difficult problem a little more fully than I did in the Aurland study.

[20] The two place-names *Vάim* < *Vidheimr*, and *Skάim*, < *Skidheimr*, are to be noted.

[21] In the diphthongs there are also variants: åů and aů; the latter in *aůr* < ON *ár*, 'year.'

[22] I would here write *idlę*.

[22a] The character ɸ here and below is used for long ɸ.

[23] Also *tvērędl*. Further *bɸkədn* < ON *bøkrnar*.

[24] Due presumably to variants in the pronunciation of informants.

[25] Intended to be *hęvędl*, no doubt.

[26] Together with now and then the pronunciation *fātigə*.

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One thing seems to be shown pretty definitely by parts of the tables of this study; that there is a good deal of fluctuation upon many points in Aurland pronunciation to-day. Often forms are met with that are not in conformity with other words of the same group, (new formations, influences upon the young often from without, etc.). What is important above all, it seems to me, is to determine, in the greatest detail, what is traditional and old in the region, and what is modern, often perhaps quite recent.

I have in the above pages spoken of a few matters, in which, as it affects the Aurland dialect, my own transcriptions of Aurland speech do not agree entirely with Dr. Larsen's. I wish to add that they are only a few from among a mass of details in which I find that our views are the same or very nearly so. It has been with genuine delight that I have read this so attractively gotten up and clearly presented contribution to the elucidation of the dialects of Sogn; and I hope the continuation may follow in the near future.

George T. Flom

THE PRINCIPLES OF ENGLISH VERSIFICATION, by Paull Franklin Baum. Cambridge: Harvard University P ess. 1922.

Dr. Baum sheds no new light on controverted points of English prosody, and does not profess to do so. Rather, he has undertaken to assemble and harmonize the significant results of the investigations of Verrier, Bright, Patterson, Snell, and others in a form intelligible to the general reader. The book is a heartening reminder of the progress made in recent years, chiefly thru research in the laboratories of experimental psychology and phonetics, toward a scientific understanding and a rational explanation of the phenomena of verse. The elements of speech-sound are duly analyzed into time, stress, pitch, and timbre; the function of syncopation and the elasticity of the rhythm-unit are expounded on the basis of Patterson's work; the relation of stress to quantity is explained by means of Miss Snell's investigations; room is made for Dr. Bright's contentions regarding the function of pitch; above all, the *subjective* nature of the rhythm-experience, so conclusively established by Patterson, is recognized as fundamental. Clearly, we have advanced since the time (not so very long ago) when every student of English Verse, hugging his own doxy with a more than theologic jealousy, had nothing but anathemas to bestow upon his fellow students' ἑταῖραι. Dr. Baum is temperate, conciliatory, modest, and open-minded, and where effects of verse have so far resisted the efforts of scientific analysis he frankly says so. "The compound of direct intellectual activity

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and of automatic responses from a reservoir of intuitions long since filled by practice and experience no poet has ever been able to analyze:—much less a psychologist who is not a poet." Versification "differs from the other sciences in that its phenomena are not 'regular' and reducible to law, but varying and subject to the dictates, even to the whims, of genius. . . . But the phenomena remain, nevertheless, and the analysis of them," so far as such analysis is possible, "becomes for us a science." Its most urgent need, at present, is an accepted and uniform nomenclature, and this we may hope will be provided by the committee of the Modern Language Association recently appointed for that purpose.

The path of the eclectic, however, is beset with pitfalls; and Dr. Baum, despite his caution and his anti-dogmatism, has not always escaped them. The worst of these pitfalls is the definition of rhythm—or rather, the term (and the notion) "prose rhythm." Dr. Baum sets out well. "Whatever changes or alternates according to a recognizable system is said to be rhythmic, to possess rhythm." "Rhythm means measured flow or succession . . . . in order that any succession may be measured, there must be something recognizable which distinguishes one unit from the next"; and this something is, in language, stress, or sometimes pitch, or a combination of the two (pp. 7-9). By these the time of speech is, in verse, marked or measured into patterns. The recurrence of these patterns constitutes the experience we know as rhythm. The patterns are subjective, and are extremely elastic; they may be complicated by syncopation, and they may be stretched and shrunk within very wide limits (varying with the individual capacity for the rhythm experience) without losing their (subjective) identity. When their identity is lost, when we can no longer find the "measure," the "recognizable system," *rhythm* ceases—that is, if the term "rhythm" is to have any definite meaning. If we can hold fast to this clue, as Patterson does, we are safe.

But Dr. Baum presently lets it slip. Misled, perhaps, by Patterson's discussion of a famous sentence from Pater,[1] perhaps by the widespread use of the term "prose rhythm," he is found a page or two later contrasting "the natural prose rhythm" with "the metrical pattern of the verse"; and in Chapter II the thread is fairly lost. He there distinguishes "three main sorts of rhythmic prose," and the first of these is "*characteristic prose;* or that in which no regularity (coincidence) is easily appreciable." Coincidence with what? Of the stresses, we must suppose, with the beats of some pattern of rhythm.

[1] Which (it is perhaps unnecessary to point out) is considered "rhythmical" by Patterson only when, and for those persons by whom, it is subjectively accommodated to a definite time-pattern, a "measured flow."

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Only when this pattern, this "recognizable measure," is present do we have rhythm. If the "regularity" is not "appreciable," that is, apprehended, there is no rhythm; and the rhythm of prose (where prose has rhythm) is not different in its nature from that of verse. The movement of prose frequently contains parts of rhythmic series which we recognize and enjoy, as we enjoy the free ode form of Henley, or Heine's *Nordsee*.

Some of the trouble arises from a confusion of the idea of rhythm with that of metre (for example, "metre, that is, regularized rhythm," p. 42). Metre, properly, is a certain *number* of rhythm-units held together in our consciousness as a pattern. Thus we speak rightly enough of iambic pentameter if by that we mean a pattern of five dissyllabic rhythm waves conceived as beginning in the trough of one wave and terminating with the crest of the fifth wave following; and the rhythm (but not the metre) may well enough be called iambic.[2] The rhythm is the character of the measured flow; the metre is merely the number of units of this flow recognized as constituting a pattern of verse. "Metrical rhythm" (p. 151) is, therefore, a misnomer, and the distinction between "sound rhythms" and "metrical rhythms" is as meaningless as the statement (p. 152) that "free-verse requires as much rhythm (i.e. regularity) as is possible without its becoming perceptible."

This confusion is the more to be regretted because the book has in other respects so much of clarity and sweet reasonableness. Chapters III and IV, on Metre and on Metrical Forms, making more than half of the book, discuss with admirable understanding and with a wealth of pertinent illustration the more important forms of English verse, and the chief types of variation. Chapter V, on Melody, Harmony, and Modulation (rime, assonance, onomatopeia, &c.), is less satisfactory, partly perhaps because of the inherent difficulties of this aspect of the subject and partly, one feels, thru haste. Verrier's illuminating discussion of phonic metaphor might well have been drawn upon. Yet the student who takes up these matters here for the first time will find much that is stimulating and suggestive.

I append some miscellaneous notes:

P. 7 l. 14—insert "is measured."

[2] The flow of rhythm is of course normally continuous within the line, as Verrier recognizes in his scansions by printing the stressed vowels in heavy-faced type instead of dividing the line into feet. For the same reason the distinction between rising and falling rhythm is generally without significance except as it concerns the beginning or the end of the line. But it does not follow that "jede Einteilung eines Verses in Füsse, Silben, und Einzellaute den Tatsachen absolut widerspricht," nor that "die bisherige Metrik nur ein künstlicher Aufbau ist welcher mit dem wirklichen, gesprochenen Vers nichts zu tun hat" (Scripture, *Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift* for 12 Aug., 1922). Prosody has just as much to do with actual, spoken verse as the barring of a musical score has to do with actual song.

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Pp. 76-80—As in most studies of English verse (Verrier is the outstanding exception), the occurrence in English of double rhythm, the dipody of Greek prosody, is here ignored. This is the more surprising in view of the success of Kipling, Meredith, and Noyes with this rhythm, and its use in nursery rimes (e.g. "Goosey goosey gander").

P. 94—What is here said of the history of the couplet is surprizing and is in part, I think, without warrant in fact. Dr. Baum says that Chaucer's couplet has the freedom and variety of a "fully matured medium," which is true, and that Spenser maintained this freedom, which is also true; and that then, "with Marlowe, Chapman, and other Elizabethans" "the measure seems to have begun all over again, partly on account of an attack of syllable-counting, with close formal recognition of the line unit and the couplet unit, and gradually worked its way back to its original flexibility"—which is wide of the truth. Spenser's couplets are as definitely syllable-counting as Marlowe's or Chapman's; Spenser, it is true, closes the sentence with the first line of the couplet more often than Marlowe or Chapman, but the latter put major thought-pauses within the line with the greatest freedom, and are fond of running the phrase or clause over the end of the couplet; e.g.:

> And Night, deep-drenched in misty Acheron,
> Heaved up her head, and half the world upon
> Breathed darkness forth (dark night is Cupid's day):
> And now begins Leander to display
> Love's holy fire, with words, with sighs, with tears.
> *Hero and Leander* I 189 93
>
> When suddenly a light of twenty hues
> Brake through the roof, and, like the rainbow, views
> Amazed Leander; in whose beams came down
> The goddess Ceremony, with a crown
> Of all the stars; and Heaven with her descended.
> Her flaming hair to her bright feet extended,
> By which hung all the bench of deities;
> And in a chain, compact of ears and eyes,
> She led Religion.
> *Ib.* III 109-17

The implication that the development of the couplet from 1580—thru Marlowe, Chapman, Jonson, Donne, Waller, Denham, Dryden, Pope, to the nineteenth century—was a gradual progression from "formal recognition of the line unit and the couplet unit" "back to its original flexibility" will puzzle any one who is familiar with English verse in the seventeenth century.

P. 148—Crabbe certainly had no influence upon the development of blank verse, since his only attempt in that form remained unpublished until 1905.

P. 174 l. 10 from bottom—for *gust* read *ğusht.*

P. 175—The riming of *north* with *forth* is not a resort to "older

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pronunciation"; instead, it is the distinction between the vowels in these words that is old-fashioned, being preserved "in the North [of England], in Scotland, Ireland, and great parts of America"; "but in the 19th c. the difference has been obliterated in the most normative Southern [English] pronunciation"—Jespersen, *Mod. Engl. Grammar* I 13.352.
P. 175—Gray does not rime *relies* with *requires*.

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JOHNSON, ELIZABETH FRIENCH, WECKHERLIN'S ECLOGUES OF THE SEASONS, (Johns Hopkins dissertation) Tübingen, 1922. pp. 67.

Weckherlin came early in life in contact with Renaissance literature and has certainly contributed his share to the introduction of the Renaissance style into Germany, but because of the almost complete neglect of his works, his influence on German literature has been insignificant. Since the end of the eighteenth century, his works have received sporadic attention, but they still offer a small but interesting field for scholarly research. Miss Johnson has chosen to deal with a small portion of Weckherlin's poems, his eclogues of the seasons, which have been somewhat neglected by critics and investigators, and holds that they "must undoubtedly be ranked highest among Weckherlin's poems." They possess, indeed, the vividness, originality, and genuineness which marks the productions of the true poet, and it may well be that "they make an appeal to the lover of nature as no previous pastoral eclogues since Theocritus can do." It is, however, not apparent why their perfection calls for registering an exception to von Waldberg's appraisal of the German pastoral in general as a form of poetry which, by the use of foreign models, attained perfection almost with its very introduction and began at once to decline. The outstanding features of Weckherlin's eclogues of the seasons are originality, well balanced and artful composition, constant use of contrast and parallelism, their idyllic tone, and the absence of the conventional setting, allegory, and mythological allusions. They are, undoubtedly, based on close observation of nature, and, measured by the attainments of the poet's own time, they give us a good portrayal of rural life in South Germany in the seventeenth century. From the modern point of view, the picture is lacking in concreteness; rural labors and pastimes, to be sure, are described with some fulness, especially in the eclogue "von der Herbstzeit"; but the setting, the landscape, is not really visualized, although there is a great deal of detail with reference to plant and animal life. That is, however, applying

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standards which were attained by slow degrees long after the days of Weckherlin. Judged by the achievements of his own period, his presentations must be given very high rank. Because of the close acquaintance with rural life, then still the possession of all, and the relative simplicity of conditions, his eclogues, undoubtedly conveyed a vivid picture to his contemporaries.

Miss Johnson's analysis of the four poems is thorough and adequate. It is no serious fault that the wealth of material at her disposal has induced her to dwell on the theme of the vintage at rather great length. Her appraisal of the eclogue "von dem Winter" as a final resume of the themes dealt with in the three preceeding ones in most effective and carefully balanced form is certainly correct. She also makes it appear very probable by her extensive presentation of material that Weckherlin was indebted to Belleau to some extent, while he kept entirely free from the influence of the English pastoral. Her comparison of Weckherlin's eclogues with Thomson's "Seasons" well brings out the fact that the former dealt with typical situations. There is ample evidence that Miss Johnson has made herself familiar with various "Sitten und Bräuche" among the peasants of South Germany at that day. In this connection, it may be pointed out that the custom of "den Winter austragen" extended much further than suggested by Jakob Grimm. Less than a generation ago it was still in vogue in many parts of Silesia. The celebration was held on the so-called "Sommersonntag"—*Laetare*, if my memory serves me right—and was known as "Den Sommer einsingen." Participation was, however, confined to the ranks of the children. Very likely, the custom is still lingering in the mountain regions of Silesia.

The dissertation of Miss Johnson is a very creditable piece of work, and her conclusions are reliable, though some may differ with her on minor points. In a few cases where she is in doubt, she suspends final judgment, which is a most commendable practice. In regard to the comparison of the green earth to the sea, her first suggestion that this may be "a touch borrowed from the English landscape" is surely the right one. To the great majority of the Swabian people, the sight of the sea is unknown to the present day. One erroneous statement has crept in. On page 34, we read: "This second song is interesting because in it as nowhere else in the eclogues, mythological allusions are introduced, to Bacchus, Apollo, Cupido and Amor." This is not quite true, for in the eclogue "von dem Winter" there occurs the line: "Apollo der Welt Arzt, selbs Kranck, hat auch verdruss." The spellings *Nithart* and *Neidhart* are inconsistent; they were probably occasioned by the difference in usage by the authors whom Miss Johnson studied.

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But these matters are, of course, trifles, which in no way detract from the value of her dissertation and do not in the least affect the results.

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WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS. By Delmar Gross Cooke. New York: E. P. Dutton. 1922.

Mr. Cooke's study of William Dean Howells will take its place as a standard work on its important subject. There is a serviceable bibliography, and the body of the work consists in a judicious presentation of the main facts concerning Howells as a man, a critic, and a creative artist. One is a little disappointed, in the first chapter, with the account of Howells "the man." The principal facts are given in regard to Howells's boyhood in Ohio; but what impresses one in this whole record is nothing in the quality or personal circumstances of the man, but rather the literary tastes and significance of the writer. Even in the chapter devoted to the personality of Howells, what one carries away is the realisation that in the eighties Howells, with his self-denying realism, was an issue among American writers of fiction; that as editor of the Atlantic, as salaried writer of serials for the Century, as conductor of "The Editor's Study" in Harper's, he occupied a position of almost unrivalled authority and influence for carrying on his long warfare with romanticism; that Howells's idols in English fiction were George Eliot and Jane Austen, whereas he looked with disapproval on such conscienceless or benighted authors as Thackeray; that he tended to identify "modern" and "realistic" and to make them both synonymous with good; and that, as a boy, he was a great admirer of Cervantes, Heine, Goldsmith, and Longfellow. The main point of the second chapter is the paradox that one who practised literary criticism so diligently as Howells should have thought so poorly of the art. He thought poorly of it because he thought that it was chiefly devoted to maintaining the vested rights of conservative and aristocratic taste. In the third and fourth chapters are set forth Howells's ideals for fiction. He was "democratic" in his passion for enlarging the range of subject-matter of fiction so as to include the undistinguished humanity of America and of nondescript society. He was opposed to the principle of selection which guided the romanticists and the advocates of art for art's sake. He wanted art to discover the beauty of the common. He did not wish the writer of fiction to depend for interest on tragic catastrophe or melodramatic event; human nature is fascinating enough in its simplicity. He was like James in his emphasis on psychology rather than incident, but more resembles George

Eliot in the "overarching moral purpose." He was a great advocate of objectivity or impersonality of treatment, and "the attitude of sympathetic detachment is the crucial feature of the Howells technique." But Truth is his watchword rather than Art, and he is convinced that a truthful presentation of human nature is morally edifying. One chapter is given to a perfunctory review of Howells's work in verse and an enthusiastic notice of his travel books. Two chapters are given to his novels and plays; and many of these are noticed in some detail, partly in the way of critical estimate and partly by way of indicating the various themes which particularly engaged his attention: the "international situation", the New England conscience, women, the condition of the lower classes, Utopia.

Mr. Cooke has a pleasant manner and an easy style. I am pedant enough to dislike the flavor of some of his words: enamorment, outstart (for outset), miscomprehension—barbarisms, as they seem to me, which are more offensive than the bromides, "the tooth of time" and the author's "crowning glory." And my conscience requires me to call attention to the misuse of the word infinitesimally for infinitely ("infinitesimally less labor," p. 148), and the failure to reproduce the English idiom in the phrase, "a topic with which the dogmatist may not be allowed *to play loose*." But the last may be a misprint; it is a big book, and we are all mortal.

More important perhaps is the critical competence of the author. The first thing to be said on this point is that he has many acute and discriminating things to say, and that he writes with the modesty and the perspective of a scholar. He is quite aware of Howells's inconsistency in admiring the bold realism of novelists who did not write for the *jeune fille* and yet urging his disciples to model themselves on the conventional reticence of inferior Victorians. And he makes a very interesting point when he suggests that Howells, "in confining himself to such erotic manifestations as he found in the society he treated," while he has "left lacunae so far as concerns a hypothetically complete portrayal of life," has "given us a great many things that are not to be found elsewhere than in his novels," such as "the subtleties of American courtship as contrasted with the European." He is rightly impressed with the good that has come of Howells's "temperamental fitness" to the themes he did treat. Mr. Cooke is not so devoted to his subject but what he can point out the strain of sentimentality in the humanitarian and "sociological" studies of Howells, and remind us that, however lavishly the style of Howells may have been eulogised by readers charmed with his ease and geniality, "he cannot be held up for (*sic*) the very highest standard of artistry,"— the standard of James and Mrs. Wharton, of Stevenson and

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Flaubert. "His style," says Mr. Cooke very judiciously, "if simply examined with reference to its sources of interest, will be found hardly to exist outside of its author's acute feeling for men and women."

And yet Mr. Cooke is capable, in the same chapter, of regretting that Howells was too much afraid of scene-painting, a genre in which, he has shown by quotation and comment, his author was quite without distinction. And he is capable of discussing "Their Wedding Journey," that faded magazine filler of 1872, as if it had some literary importance apart from the accident of its authorship; whereas his business as a critic was to tell us that this insipid account of a trip to Niagara and Quebec simply has no standing in the genre that includes the "Voyage to Lisbon," the "Sentimental Journey," and the "Travels with a Donkey." And as a critic of the fiction of Howells, one who should view him with the detachment with which we might view Byron, or Marivaux, or Benvenuto Cellini, Mr. Cooke has several disqualifications. He is too much the disciple of Howells, too much the creature of the conditions and the culture which determined the complexion of Howells himself. A critic who talks so much of the novelist's "message" immediately creates suspicion in the reader's mind; and everything that he has to say about his author's devotion to Truth rather than Beauty, and still more about the "overarching moral purpose" of his author, confirms one in the suspicion that the critic shares his author's mistaken notion that Realism and Moral Teaching are compatible ideals. Mr. Cooke makes a great deal of the detachment or objectivity of Howells in his attitude towards his characters. And one must grant that in general Howells does make a distinct effort to give a square deal to characters of quite various disposition and morality, that, for an ordinary citizen of Boston in the seventies or New York in the eighties, he was extraordinarly broad-minded. So much the genial man of letters profited by his own humaneness and his training in the humanities. But Mr. Cooke makes it perfectly clear, to any one who had not made it out from the novels themselves, that there were distinct limitations to the range of Howells's sympathies, and that he wrote always in the light of certain moral prepossesions that could hardly have failed to bias him against many of his characters. How can one write with "sympathetic detachment" when one approaches human nature with a prejudice against "those mean enough to aim at individual happiness." The phrase is Mr. Cooke's, to be sure, but it well enough expresses the spirit in which Howells views such a character as Bartley Hubbard in "A Modern Instance." (What of Marcia, by the way, what kind of happiness was she aiming at?) The very fact that he is writing of

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such "nice" people, people with such a passion for grading character by the New England standards of 1880, gives an impression that the whole affair is one of separating the chaff from the good wheat. Mr. Cooke does not seem sufficiently aware that George Eliot is no infallible touchstone of greatness, and if Beaton, say, in "A Hazard of New Fortunes," is done in the manner of Tito Melema, that this does not mean that he is done in the manner of Anna Karenina.

Again Mr. Cooke takes too much without question the repudiation by Howells of the principle of selection and his pitting of Truth against Art. Howells certainly conferred a blessing upon American fiction by extending the range of its interest, by exploring the possibilities of plain and homely types. But it is no longer a question of condemning him for such enterprise. The question now is as to the degree of artistic interest and distinction, the degree of esthetic significance, with which he invested his homely material. The art of fiction, surely, like any other art, is to be judged in the long run by its interest, its appeal, its charm. And the question which must eventually be put by critics in reference to the work of Howells is whether it has the charm, the appeal, of Dickens or Thackeray, of Dostoievsky or Maupassant or Stevenson. No one longer questions the wisdom of Howells in his choice of materials any more than that of George Moore in "Esther Waters" or Robert Frost in "North of Boston." The critical question that remains is one of art,—of emphasis and concentration, of imaginative interpretation and esthetic intensity. If Howells is judged to be a less significant figure than Henry James or George Moore, than Anatole France or Maxim Gorky; if there prove to be judicious critics who hesitate to place "Silas Lapham" in a class with "The Master of Ballantrae," in spite of all the words that rush to the tongue in favor of "Silas Lapham"—will it not be because of a certain tameness, a certain pedestrian quality, about the work of Howells? Howells and Mr. Cooke are too ready to condemn the satirical tone in fiction, or the personal intrusions of Thackeray or Fielding, as gross violations of the true, the realistic, method. They forget that these may be notable means of giving color and point, and that color and point are not matters to be neglected in an art that lives by its human appeal. The relative greatness of Howells is not, I think, a question of realism, or of this or that kind of realism, but a question of literary art. That is a question which Mr. Cooke has touched upon, at this and that point, and indirectly, but to which he has not addressed himself with due deliberation.

JOSEPH WARREN BEACH

University of Minnesota

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THE CATHOLIC SPIRIT IN MODERN ENGLISH LITERATURE. By George N. Shuster. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1922. $2.00.

Professor Shuster's *Catholic Spirit in Modern English Literature* is in a general sense chronological in outline. It opens with a temperate appraisal of the position in the Catholic revival held by Kenelm Digby. The first work of this obscure author, an encyclopedic digest of medieval customs and beliefs, was published as early as 1822. The other works that followed, for the most part in the same decade, were similar in character. All were equally pious and learned, rich in facts but hopelessly incoherent, and they would hardly be worth recalling if they had not been the medium for introducing Ruskin to the culture of the middle ages. Professor Shuster's second chapter is followed by a careful study of Newman, which is based upon Wilfred Ward's biography. Like Ward's, the account is most detailed concerning the years of Newman's life following his conversion. Like Ward's, it stresses with what is perhaps unnecessary conscientiousness Newman's uncomfortable position within the Roman Church. To a reader who has found R. H. Hutton's analysis of Newman's personality quite unimpeachable, Professor Shuster appears to emphasize unduly Newman's revolt from reason in favor of reliance upon intuition and to ignore that mastery of dialectic and that astonishing richness of perception of the complexity of life which makes Newman seem enigmatic at times and always fascinating. This section of the book more than any other is written with a philosophic breadth and dignity which is missing in its successors. For after an adequate and fair-minded but not detailed discussion of Newman's followers in the Catholic movement, both Roman and Anglican, Professor Shuster leaves the field of theology, and plunges into a maelstrom of Catholic writers, both great and small, poets, novelists, essayists, and historians.

It is quite fitting that these later chapters are planned not chronologically, but according to content, for the Tractarian movement opened new avenues of interest for poet, novelist, historian, and critic alike. But the scholarly reader will be disappointed to find that Professor Shuster does not justify his grouping by a study of influences. Once beyond Newman, Professor Shuster is content, within his loose system of grouping, to give isolated analyses of authors whose only relationship often rests on the fact that they work in the same division of literature and at some point touch the Catholic tradition whether Roman or Anglican. His method of writing changes and his style changes. The careful and systematic analysis of Newman's mind and personality, reminiscent, as it was, of Matthew Arnold's serene judiciousness, is supplanted by a style

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in which the gusto of a rapacious reader reflects itself in such occasional paradoxes as can only prove how dangerous it is to become a disciple of Chesterton. This new method is that of the successful college teacher who instructs and entertains by the reading of vital passages and the commenting upon them, but it is doubtful if such a method is suitable for the writing of literary criticism. For literary criticism upon a subject like the Catholic spirit in prose and poetry would seem to imply some orderly study of the development of this spirit as it manifested itself in the work of individual authors. It would be wrong to say that Professor Shuster omits entirely such a study. There are several passages in which after the manner of Sainte-Beuve, he attempts to summarize a literary movement within the limits of a single page (cf. pp. 161, 208-9, 280). But in these passages his later style plays him false, for the movement is lost sight of in a series of extravagant generalizations which give more evidence of vivacious than of coherent thinking. To this criticism of the later chapters of the book, there is only one notable exception, aside from an able survey of Catholicism in the novel. The seven pages which are allotted to Pater (pp. 169-176) contain the most stimulating and original criticism in the book. They present Pater from the novel standpoint of a man trained in pagan culture who spent his life in an independent quest for the beauty of Catholic culture and for that Catholic view of life which only his successors attained.

It would be a gross injustice, after the criticism which has just been made, to end this review without mention of the essay appended to the book, in which Professor Shuster discusses in a general way what he means by the Catholic spirit in letters. This spirit is based upon acceptance of the fundamental beliefs of the Catholic Church as stated by such medieval philosophers as S. Thomas Aquinas. Once this orthodoxy is accepted, says Professor Shuster, the impotence and the uncouthness of the modern age will disappear. Individualism will no longer oppress us through its mistakened belief that diversity of opinion and accomplishment is in itself the object of life, and through the ill-humored egotism that follows upon such a belief. Civilized men, once they have accepted this common basic philosophy of life, can joyfully cooperate to express it in diverse forms. For since the end will be held in common, diversity of form and method, distrusted as an end, may be cheerfully accepted as a means. Instead of the pessimism of a world consumed by the warfare of discordant ideas and uncertain in consequence whether there is such a thing as truth, there will be the optimism that inevitably follows a consciousness of group solidarity. Instead of the effeminacy of an impotent cynicism in a world of shadows, will arise a positive masculine delight in labor towards an objective; and this objective, far from being of

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selfish individual benefit alone, will be the embodiment of a social ideal of universal profit and enjoyment. In such a society art will have a nobler purpose than the representation of an individual opinion which may be petty and eccentric. It will become the chief symbol of the society itself. "Let us be firmly assured," says Professor Shuster (p. 345), "that we shall have no great art until that spirit of collective endeavor is restored, until beauty is made to rise spontaneously from a free society in which the fundamental principles of life are agreed upon." It is difficult to summarize a whole philsophy of life within the limits of a single essay. But the natural scepticism of the critical reader in the face of this limitation comes near being eradicated by the fact that the whole book is permeated by the spirit of the philosophy which Professor Shuster holds. For it is precisely the active sympathy with many sorts and conditions of men, the alert mind pious in accepting the essentials of dogma, but eager to understand and turn knowledge from any quarter to the benefit of faith and the joy of living, the mystic soul that through a multitude of symbols is ever conscious of a transcendent beauty and goodness that is God,—it is precisely these qualities which he himself possesses in some abundance, that Professor Shuster finds characteristic of the Catholic spirit in literature.

Edwin B. Burgum

University of Illinois

THE INFLUENCE OF MILTON ON ENGLISH POETRY. By Raymond Dexter Havens. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1922.

Contemporary American scholarship is too little given to the production of monumental volumes not to welcome with full appreciation a solid work of over seven hundred pages on a subject of such magnitude as the Influence of Milton on English Poetry. It is obvious to anyone that the investigation necessary to the scholarly treatment of this theme must demand the sacrifice of no inconsiderable portion of a good man's life, and Professor Havens informs us in his preface that he has been occupied for fifteen years in the preparation of his book. For such loyal devotion to a laborious and worthy task he deserves the gratitude of all who hold the cause of learning dear.

The study is divided into three parts. The first contains an account of the eighteenth century attitude toward Milton; the second and third take up the influence of *Paradise Lost* and the minor poems, dealing in chronological order with the host of individual authors who have marched under the Miltonic banner and with the types of poetry which have been determined

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in an important way by Milton's influence—the epic and burlesque, technical treatises in verse, philosophical and religious poetry, the octosyllabic lyric, the sonnet. The bulk of the discussion is devoted to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries but there are occasional excursions into the later periods. The Miltonism of Thomson, Young, Cowper, and Wordsworth is made the subject of special chapters. Elaborate appendices and bibliographies include chronological lists, not only of the Miltonic imitations but of eighteenth century loco-descriptive poems, rhymed treatises, and sonnets, whether directly Miltonic or not. In the appendix also are grouped the most important Miltonic passages in the works of major authors.

In treating this broad field Professor Havens has been but little indebted to earlier investigations. Some special contributions, notably Good's *Studies in the Milton Tradition*, Saurat's *Blake and Milton*, Sherburn's *The Early Popularity of Milton's Minor Poems*, and Thaler's *Milton in the Theater* have been undertaken during the period of Professor Havens's labors and have anticipated his work in publication, but by far the greater part of his material is entirely new. No adventurer before him has explored the frozen continent of eighteenth century epic literature or so much as set foot in the pleasanter pathways of the eighteenth century sonnet. The translations from the classics, the verse treatises, the philosophical and religious poems have been by earlier critics and historians glanced at and shudderingly passed by. Even to list these works is to chart regions hitherto unknown and Professor Havens has done much more than list them. His treatment of these topics adds a series of significant new chapters to English literary history. For them and for the bibliographies future workers in the eighteenth century will have reason to be grateful, while the more casual reader must thank the author for pointing out here and there a poet who has some touch of dignity or genius and for rescuing many an isolated passage from the oblivion which has overwhelmed it. One can hardly say that the discussion of the mob of gentlemen who write blank verse without ease makes stimulating reading, for the subject compels Professor Havens to deal with his material primarily in a single aspect and demonstration of the indebtedness to Milton of a long succession of lifeless works becomes wearisome. But whether wearisome or not the account does give the reader a cumulative understanding of a very remarkable phenomenon—the all but complete domination of a single mighty voice in several large divisions of the poetry of a whole epoch.

A different set of values is met with in the discussion of Milton's influence on the major poets of the period. The critical and historical questions involved are of the highest importance

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and no student of Thomson, Cowper, Wordsworth, and Keats and of the literary movements in which they are involved can safely ignore the analyses of their Miltonic relationships presented in this volume.

It is impossible to give here an adequate statement of the conclusions arrived at in Professor Havens's work, much less to subject these conclusions to a detailed examination. The usual assumptions of literary history that it is to *Paradise Lost* rather than to the other works that the eighteenth and early nineteenth century Miltonians owe most and that this influence practically begins with Thomson is abundantly confirmed. The tangible effects of *Paradise Regained*, *Samson Agonistes*, *Lycidas*, and the *Nativity Ode* in the main current of English Poetry are shown to have been almost negligible. The sonnets are a determining factor in the not inconsiderable eighteenth century tradition of poetry of this sort, a tradition which begins in 1738 and becomes well established in the decade 1740–1750. Comus, in the adaptations of Dalton, 1738, and Coleman, 1772, became popular on the stage but exerted little influence on the drama at large. *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* won attention only after the popularity of *Paradise Lost* had been established. Their influence is to be traced in occasional borrowings before 1740 and in the increasing vogue after that date of odes to abstractions and octosyllabic verse. The popularity of these poems is a measure of the changing taste of the time, and their enthusiastic imitation by men like Thomas Warton an important expression of the new lyrical and romantic impulses. The common impression that *Il Penseroso* is somehow responsible for the literature of melancholy is shown to be without foundation. Indirectly through Collins's *Ode to Evening* Milton's translation from Horace becomes the parent of the English unrhymed lyric—of which Professor Havens counts some eighty-three examples between 1700 and 1837.

These minor effects of the great Milton mania are curious and important, but the outstanding fact remains the pervasive and overwhelming influence of the style and versification of *Paradise Lost*. Save in the drama the writing of blank verse means for the eighteenth century the writing of Miltonic Blank verse, and the tradition is not only inaugurated by Milton but is continuously refreshed by contact with its source. It is an index of the lack of poetic originality in the eighteenth century that, except in the couplet, its authors develop no new stylistic idiom. They are either utterly prosaic or they glitter with Miltonic rhetoric. Speaking generally the Miltonism of the eighteenth century is, as Professor Havens recognizes, largely an external matter. No group of men was more remote from the spirit of the poet whom they adopted as their great original or less capable of being genuinely inspired by him. With

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Thomson and Cowper the case is somewhat different. They, of course, owe more to Milton than a mere poetic manner, but their sympathy was too imperfect to make possible a vital transfusion of his genius. Such a transfusion takes place in the case of Wordsworth and, in less degree, of Keats. The first of these poets has assimilated Milton on the ethical side, the second on the side of the sensuous imagination. Neither one has needed to adopt his manner. With the partial exception of Keats's *Hyperion* their rather infrequent verbal borrowings are the tributes of fellow geniuses; they are not indications of dependence.

These remarks bring us to the only considerable question which one feels like raising regarding Professor Havens's book as a whole—the question, namely, whether for a work entitled the *Influence of Milton on English Poetry*, it is not too much concerned with the history of the Miltonic manner and too little with the more vital poetic influence which does not reveal itself in inversions, or sonorous lists of proper names, or phrasal imitation. Without entirely ignoring this more vital influence Professor Havens avoids discussion of it and sometimes gives the impression of underestimating its importance. Thus in the case of Keats's *Hyperion* he gives a competent account of the Miltonism of its language and versification but dismisses as superficial its relation ship to *Paradise Lost* in idea and imaginative conception. In giving, moreover, for the Victorian and later periods only the outcroppings of obvious Miltonic imitation he fails to do justice to the profound indebtedness of an era in poetry which really enters more fully into the inheritance of the "third among the sons of light" than the eighteenth century. But even the eighteenth century, however little it may have been able to appropriate of Milton's spirit "felt him" as a later age felt Byron. Nor is the account of Milton's influence exhausted in describing the points of sympathy and the kinship between him and later poets as Professor Havens well describes them in the case of Wordsworth. His force is never more profoundly exerted than when it arouses opposition or is the object of distortion.

Blake and Shelley are test cases here, and, from the standpoint of the history of poetic ideas Professor Havens can hardly be said to deal adequately with either one. He betrays the limitation of his point of view in the remark that Shelley's only completed poem which shows appreciable indebtedness to *Paradise Lost* is *Alastor* and that the "total influence" of Milton on Shelley is "not profound." Equally unsatisfactory are the scant five pages devoted to Byron, whose relation to Milton is a complicated one which demands a more than incidental treatment. One can, of course, understand the motives which inclined the author to restrict himself to the more tangible aspects of his

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subject, but in view of the allurement of the larger critical problems, one cannot escape a sense of incompleteness in reading a work which so frequently passes them by. The fact is that the history of Milton's influence on English poetry can hardly be separated from the history of Milton interpretation, and this history, since Good's book is little more than a compilation of raw materials, is still unwritten.

The concluding note of this review should not, however, be one of blame. Within the limits which he has marked out for himself Professor Havens's work is a model of thoroughness and scholarly exactitude. The parallels which he cites as evidence of indebtedness are so clear as to command immediate assent. The documentation of the volume is admirable. It would be easy, doubtless, to make additions to the lists of Miltonic imitations but one may feel assured that such additions would be neither numerous nor important. The judgments and conclusions, finally, are, so far as they go, uniformly characterized by soundness, and good sense and it is unlikely that many of them will be reversed.

James Holly Hanford

The University of Michigan

WIELAND'S ATTITUDE TOWARD WOMAN AND HER CULTURAL AND SOCIAL RELATIONS. By Mathew G. Bach, New York, Columbia University Press, 1922. Pp. XVI, 100.

In the introduction to his dissertation Dr. Bach defends Wieland against unjust charges of moral laxity. He shows how a gradual change has taken place among literary historians and critics in the matter of a fairer valuation of Wieland's character. His contemporaries were bitterly hostile. Older literary historians like F. C. Schlosser regarded him as a corrupter of the German people. Beginning with J. W. Loebell a more fair and more just appreciation of Wieland's character set in; contemporary scholarship is almost without exception agreed upon its essential moral soundness. Chapter One sketches the status of woman between 1650–1750 in Germany. Dr. Bach shows the pitiful and degrading state to which she was reduced as a consequence of the Thirty Years' War. The social and moral dissolution brought in its train a very low conception of sex relations. The petty courts of the land were ruled by mistresses and courtesans. The family life of the nobility and the middle class was governed by mere conventionality; marriage was more an affair of convenience than of love. The education of women was entirely neglected. The German states for the most part confined themselves to providing schools for boys. Girls had to be instructed privately.

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Dr. Bach calls attention to the two great intellectual movements of the eighteenth century—Pietism and Rationalism—which did so much in breaking the bonds of woman. Of the former he says: "Pietism became the soil which produced those highly cultured women and 'beautiful souls' whose influence and inspiration were to dominate the literary world of the eighteenth century." Out of the rationalistic movement came the periodicals known as "Moralische Wochenschriften." In them the humanitarian tendencies of rationalism were applied to the unfortunate condition of womanhood.

Chapter Two, Three and Four may conveniently be considered as a unit. Here Dr. Bach traces the changes which took place in Wieland's attitude toward woman. He finds that the youthful Wieland glorified woman "as an ethereal being, an embodiment of virtue and spiritual beauty free from all earthly desires." Dr. Bach detects Klopstock's influence in this. In June 1759 Wieland met Julie Bondeli. His friendship and love for this remarkable woman had a most profound influence upon his philosophy of life and his attitude toward woman. He begins to see woman more nearly as she is. Under the spell of English and particularly of French literature Wieland completely disavows his earlier sentimental enthusiasm and idealization of woman and assumes an attitude of satirical superiority toward her. During the last period of his life, in Weimar, Wieland finally came to look upon woman without exaggerated notions either as to her perfection or as to her failings.

In Chapter Five the author sets forth Wieland's views on the feminist question. He pronounces him a compromising mediator rather than a drastic innovator. In Chapter Six Dr. Bach presents Wieland's views on the Education of woman. It is, in my opinion, a weakness of his dissertation that Dr. Bach nowhere shows to what extent Wieland borrowed from his contemporaries. He says "Wieland fell in line with those of his contemporaries who advocated an education for woman as a necessary means for her social and moral uplift" and then refers to Chapter One pp. 12-13 of his dissertation where in a very general way the tendencies and ideas of such writers as Gottsched, Rabener, Gellert are put forth. In 1715 there appeared in Leipzig a unique book entitled Nutzbares, galantes and curiöses Frauenzimmer-Lexicon (2 ed. 1739, 3 ed. 2 vol. 1773). The author divides women in three classes: Das haushältige und sorgfältige, das curiose und galante, und endlich das gelehrte Frauenzimmer. In the main, these are the three types of women discussed in German literature during the eighteenth century. In an age intensely interested in the education of woman, the learned woman naturally claims the greatest interest. Thus Gottsched's ideal woman is the learned woman. It pains him deeply that so many people have an

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antipathy against her. (Cf. Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen. Erster Teil. S. 248, Leipzig und Hamburg 1738). He approached the problem of the education of woman in a schoolmasterly fashion. By education he meant the acquisition of mere knowledge, filling the mind of the learner with a mass of unrelated facts. I concede that Wieland's conception of the educated woman was more attractive and more beautiful. His ideal was perhaps most perfectly realized in the cultured Greek lady.

Wieland has much in common with the shy Gellert. Both differed from Gottsched in this that their ideal woman was not the learned woman in the narrower sense of the word. Gellert prefers the woman who has improved her intellect and her taste by reading good books. (Cf. Gellert's letter to Caroline Lucius, April 4, 1761. Chr. F. Gellert's Sämmtliche Schriften. Leipzig 1839). After reading the comedy "Das Los in der Lotterie" one is inclined to believe that Gellert anticipated Wieland in many of the latter's ideas. Thus Carolinchen in this comedy expresses some very startling views on love and marriage, on the rights and the education of woman. Similar views were later expressed by such progressive women of Wieland as Danae, Aspasia, Lais and Glycerion.

Had Dr. Bach traced the influence of these authors and of other contemporaries in his dissertation, it would have greatly increased its value and been an exceedingly fruitful endeavor. But even so he has given us a careful, painstaking and withal a very readable study.

J. T. GEISSENDOERFER

University of Illinois

SHAKESPEARES QUELLEN: 2 BÄNDCHEN. QUELLEN ZU ROMEO UND JULIA. Ed. Rudolf Fischer. A. Marcus & E. Webers Verlag. Bonn: 1922. Pp. viii+251.

Although this series is doubtless intended primarily for use in the seminars of German universities, where Shakespeare source material in the original English is not always accessible, American scholars will welcome this second volume. The plan is to place in convenient form, without annotation or critical apparatus, all the known sources of a particular play translated into German, with the chief source in English for comparison. So the first volume, dealing with the sources of *King Lear*, gave the story as found in Holinshed, Spenser, and the anonymous play, together with several earlier versions, and the well-known passage from Sidney's *Arcadia*. Similarly the present volume contains German translations of five early versions of the Romeo-Juliet story, namely, those by Masuccio, Da Porto,

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Bandello, Boisteau, and Brooke. In the case of Arthur Brooke's poem the English and the German are printed in parallel lines on opposite pages. Now since we have no reason to believe that Shakespeare was acquainted with any of these versions except that of Brooke, their right to be called "Quellen" is doubtful. The interest of these several versions lies in the fact that they strikingly illustrate the growth of the legend before Shakespeare handled it. Such growth is made easy to trace in the present volume by the adoption of a consistent series of subheadings, such as "Ballfest," "Juliens Zweifel," and "Abschied," throughout the longer versions of the story. The lines are all carefully numbered, and misprints are rare.

The translation of Brooke, which occupies the larger part of the present work, has been done with painstaking zeal, but leaves something to be desired. For example, in line 74, the Elizabethan verb, "forced," meaning "cared," is rendered "erkannt"; later, in line 108, "forsing" is, by a pardonable variation of syntax, translated "schätzt," which more nearly conveys Brooke's meaning. But "sild," modern "seldom," and the causative phrase "for why," seem to be entirely missed when Fischer makes line 235,

> It booted not to strive, *for why*, she wanted strength,

read:

> Nichts nützt ihr alles Sträuben, *dazu* fehlt die Kraft;

and line 315:

> Lo, here, the lucky lot that *sild* true lovers finde,
> Das ist das schöne Los, das treue Liebe findet.

Moreover, Fischer's verses are far more forthright and less colorful than those of his original. Thus, Line 846:

> She fettes a sigh, and clappeth close her closed mouth to his;
> Tief seufzt sie auf and preszt an seinen Mund den ihren.

But who can turn such lines into any modern tongue?

In a brief introduction Professor Alois Brandl in behalf of the Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, which has sponsored the undertaking, calls for help in carrying forward the series. One promised number, which should have contained the sources of *The Taming of the Shrew*, was completed before the World War by Professor Alexander von Weilen, but after his sudden death no trace of the manuscript could be found.

Two passing suggestions of a critical nature thrown out by Brandl may be queried. Contrasting Shakespeare's freedom in handling the source matter of *King Lear* with his well nigh undeviating acceptance of all details given by Brooke, Brandl concludes that "die Beschaffenheit der Quellen regelte ihre Benutzung." But is this the true explanation? Is not the

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difference in treatment rather due to the difference in date between the two dramas, and consequently to the dramatist's maturity? Again Brandl makes a happy suggestion as to Shakespeare's use of Mercutio, the close friend of Romeo, to motivate the slaying of Tybalt. This friendship motive, we are further told, is to be found in the contemporary *Sonnets*. But why mention the *Sonnets* when one remembers Valentine and Proteus, Antonio and Bassanio, or even Marlowe's Edward the Second and Gaveston? Friendship of man for man in conflict with love of man for woman is a familiar theme on the contemporary stage.

Yet dissenting opinions on minor points should not obscure the real value of the volume and of the entire series that it represents. Further study of the sources of Shakespeare is not likely to increase largely our knowledge of the actual contents of Shakespeare's library. It is likely to lead us to a clearer conception of the man's mind and his method of work.

ROBERT ADGER LAW

University of Texas

THE TRUTH ABOUT BURNS. By D. McNaught. Maclehose, Jackson, & Co., Glasgow: 1921. Pp. x+246. 8°.

There is a certain belligerent, or at least controversial, note in the title of this latest work on Burns, that is not altogether reassuring. The poet has been the victim of so much special pleading on the part of his Scottish admirers, that one longs for more studies of the temper of Professor Hans Hecht's recent work, instead of more "defences" and apologies. The most cursory glance into the present volume confirms the fears aroused by the title: the book is an *ex parte* document, masquerading in the guise of an impartial biography. "We have endeavored," writes the author, "to present a condensed narrative of the principal events of the Poet's life, the amount of space devoted to each being proportionate, so far as our judgment goes, to its importance as an operating influence on his conduct at certain junctures in his career which have been misconstrued or misrepresented by one-sided evidence."[1] In the course of the book it becomes at once apparent that anything which tends to place Burns's personal conduct in an unfavorable light, or to abate in any way the superlative estimate which certain eulogists have placed on his work, is "one-sided evidence." Really, the book should have been entitled *The Old Tradition Restated*—or words to that effect.

The most outstanding example of Mr. McNaught's eagerness to establish as true what is merely a pleasant but discredited

[1] Preface, p. viii.

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tradition, is found in his treatment of "Highland Mary." The reader who will turn to Chapter II, "Mauchline and Mossgiel," will there find Mary Campbell playing an important part. Whenever she appears on the stage, the author loses all judicial sense of fact or value, and treats her as a genuine "enthusiast" should. He dismisses cavalierly the idea that Burns's Mary Campbell was the person of the same name and occupation concerning whom "certain incidents . . . are recorded in the book of the Kirk Session of Dundonald, Ayrshire,"[2] and after building up an argument that rests almost entirely upon unsupportable assertions, reaches the astonishing and almost lyric conclusions that "an unprejudiced review of the whole evidence establishes beyond doubt that Burns was as manly and sincere in his dealings with Mary Campbell as he had been with Jean Armour," and that "like Poe's 'lost Lenore,' Burns's Mary dwells for aye in the 'distant Aidenn,' radiant in seraphic beauty that will never fade."[3] The weak spots in the argument need not be pointed out here; the whole structure is too flimsy to be worth demolishing. *Solventur tabellae risu.*

But the book is more than one-sided and prejudiced: it is written in a tone that one does not associate with scholarly investigation. Unnecessary superlatives abound; easy generalizations, which will not stand examination, startle one in every chapter. "Driving the plough, sowing and reaping, afield and at home, morning, noon and night, he hammered out his art in his inner consciousness *till he attained perfection*";[4] "*never did workman labor so hard* . . . as Burns did during these eighteen months";[5] "*Holy Willie's Prayer*, the *most perfect satire ever written*";[6] "the relations between Burns and Mrs. Dunlop have no parallel *in the whole annals of literature*";[7] "Gavin Douglas, Lindsay, Dunbar, Blind Harry, Barbour, . . . all wrote in a language *scarce distinguishable from that of Chaucer*";[8] Burns had "a *natural aversion to alcohol*"[9]—[italics all mine]—such statements dispose one to treat the entire book as lightly as possible. When one finds that apparently the volume has been written in entire ignorance of Professor Hecht's recent critical biography of Burns, and that the author can plead for a "popular edition containing at least a judicious selection from Burns's prose work"[10] in ignorance of the fact that

[2] Pp. 95 f.
[3] Pp. 94 f.
[4] P. 63.
[5] P. 98.
[6] P. 99.
[7] P. 102.
[8] P. 204.
[9] P. 187.
[10] P. 209.

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the Globe edition has since 1868 offered just such a composite prose-verse representation, one hardly knows what to say.

And yet, despite such glaring faults, the book is not without value. Pages 160 to 168, for instance, tell us more than we knew before concerning Burns's financial situation, and the facts presented seem well substantiated. Some of the material in Appendix I is useful. Here and there throughout the book are scraps of interesting though somewhat gossipy information. But on the whole the volume is a disappointment, and is hardly to be taken seriously.

The fact is, of course, that the student of Burns should today turn his attention to matters other than biographical. The most interesting problems still unsolved are those relating to Burns's position in the general stream of eighteenth century thought, to his relations to certain predecessors, and to his reputation and influence abroad. A study of Burns in America, for instance, would be of considerable value. But there is no merit in further argumentation concerning the character and reputation of "Highland Mary."

FRANKLYN BLISS SNYDER

Northwestern University

A. W. SCHLEGELS UND FRIEDRICH SCHLEGELS Ausgewähte Werke. Dom-Verlag, Berlin.—*Clemens Brentanos Frühlingskranz.* Wolkenwanderer—Verlag, Leipzig.

In den letzten Jahren widmet man dem Zeitalter der Romantik wieder besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Die Werke der beiden Männer, die als die Führer der älteren romantischen Schule gelten, liegen jetzt in einer dankenswerten Auswahl vor. Von A. W. Schlegel werden uns geboten: einige seiner bekannteren Romanzen (so "Arion"), mehrere Sonette, die seine glänzende formale Begabung und seine metrische Gewandtheit offenbaren, und Gedichte, die von seinen persönlichen Empfindungen gegen seine Brüder Zeugnis ablegen. Neu abgedruckt ist das Schauspiel "Jon," das zum Bilde Wilhelms notwendig gehört. Von den grossen kritischen Arbeiten ist wenigstens der Abschnitt aus den "Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur" aufgenommen, der Shakespeare würdigt. Es folgen die "Briefe über Poesie, Silbenmass und Sprache" und der Aufsatz über Bürger. Zur "Lenore" vgl. man Erich Schmidt, Charakeristiken, I. Reihe (Berlin, 2. Aufl. 1902), S. 189-238. Auf Proben aus der Shakespeare-Uebersetzung, Schlegels bleibendstem Werk, musste aus Raumgründen verzichtet werden; ebenso sind die zahlreichen Angriffe auf Zeitgenossen, die seine satirische Ader beleuchtet hätten, unberücksichtigt geblieben.—Von *Friedrich Schlegel* sind zunächst die Gedichte wiederge-

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geben, die zur Kenntnis seiner Persönlichkeit beitragen; daneben in grösserer Anzahl seine patriotischen Lieder. Der Neudruck des Trauerspiels "Alarkos," das Goethe auf die Bühne brachte, lockt zu einem Vergleich mit "Jon" und gibt zugleich Gelegenheit, Goedekes hartes Urteil nachzuprüfen. Friedrich Schlegels griechische Studien beleuchtet der Beitrag "Ueber die Diotima." Nicht übergangen ist die (freilich einseitige) Abhandlung über Lessing. Kritische Fragmente aus Reichardts "Lyceum der schönen Künste" folgen. Keiner Rechtfertigung bedarf die Aufnahme der beiden Arbeiten, die für die Romantik von programmatischer Bedeutung wurden: "Charakteristik der Meisterischen Lehrjahre von Goethe" und "Versuch über den verschiedenen Stil in Goethes früheren und späteren Werken." Auch die "Lucinde" ist abgedruckt. Zu beiden Bänden hat *Eberhard Sauer* ein Nachwort beigesteuert, in dem er die Brüder Schlegel kurz beleuchtet und die Grundsätze seiner Auswahl darlegt. Er berücksichtigt die neueste Forschung, so Josef Nadlers Buch "Die Berliner Romantik 1804-1814." Hingewiesen sei noch auf Ricarda Huchs bekannte Charakteristik von A. W. und F. Schlegel in ihrem Werke über die "Blütezeit der Romantik."

Ein wundersamer Zauber ruht auf den Briefen, die Clemens Brentano mit seiner Schwester gewechselt hat. "verliere keinen meiner Briefe, halte sie heilig. Sie sollen mich einst an mein besseres Selbst erinnern, wenn mich Gespenster verfolgen, und wenn ich tot bin, so flechte sie mir in einen Kranz"—diesem Wunsch kam Bettina nach, als sie 1844 "*Clemens Brentanos Frühlingskranz*, aus Jugendbriefen ihm geflochten," der Öffentlichkeit übergab. Mit rührender Liebe hängt Clemens Brentano an seiner Schwester. Er sendet ihr die besten Bücher und mahnt sie immer wieder, die schönen Künste wie Musik und Zeichnen nicht zu vernachlässigen; auch auf die fremden Sprachen, vor allem das Englische, verweist er sie. Ihrer Persönlichkeit will er keine Gewalt antun, nur sie dazu anhalten, ihr Wesen harmonisch auszugestalten. So versucht er, sie zu lehren: "Dass nur der Mensch geliebt werden kann, der ein wahrer und reiner Spiegel des Ewigen und Göttlichen wird." Eines Künstlers Seele, wahrlich, schwingt in Clemens Brentanos zarten, bisweilen märchenhaft schönen Briefen. Die Seele allein, ruft er der Schwester zu, solle ihr die Worte geben. Auch aus Bettinas Zeilen leuchtet tiefster Dichtersinn hervor. Träumerischer Stimmung sind sie voll. Welcher Zauber ruht über dem Gespräch mit der Linde oder über den Erinnerungen aus der Kindheit! Aber auch Bettinas lose, lebensprühende Schalkhaftigkeit enthüllen die Briefe; sie zeigen die Schwärmerin, deren Seele "eine leidenschaftliche Tänzerin ist, sie springt nach einer inneren Tanzmusik, die nur ich höre, nicht die andern." Ein tiefes, schönes Bild zweier Seelen offenbart der

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Briefwechsel, den Mary Sabia's auch äusserlich geschmakvolle Ausgabe von allen langatmenden Stellen befreit.

HELMUT WOCKE

Liegnitzin Schlesien

NOTES

Mr. W. Peacock, the editor of a popular volume of prose specimens ranging from Mandeville to Ruskin, has now brought out through the publishers of the earlier book (Humphrey Milford: Oxford Press) a prose anthology in five volumes which is certain to prove useful to students in and out of course. The initial selection in the first volume is from Wycliffe, and, although Mr. Peacock makes no excerpts from writers still living, he has included in his fifth volume selections from authors as recent as Meredith and James. Nor are the American prose writers overlooked. In volume four the reader will find excerpts from Irving, Cooper, Prescott, Emerson, Hawthorne, Poe, and Holmes; and in volume five passages from Motley and Lowell. His anthology being "intended for 'general readers' as well as students, and for young as well as old," Mr. Peacock has shown a preference for narrative and descriptive prose. As a "distinctive feature" he has included specimens of the prose drama.

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THE NATURALISM OF DONNE IN RELATION TO SOME RENAISSANCE TRADITIONS

Few subjects of biography are more fascinating than John Donne. A man of the Renaissance, aristocratic, fastidious, distinguished not only for his great talents but for a unique and rare poetic nature, and ambitious for a secular career, Donne closed the doors to promotion by his secret marriage; and after years of privation and anxiety, he took orders and became in his last years one of England's greatest and most saintly divines. The apparent inconsistency in the career of the man who wrote the *Elegies* as well as the *Hymn to God the Father*, only entices one the more to penetrate, if possible, into the innermost secret of his development. However elusive it may be, one feels that there must be some principle of continuity in the intellectual and spiritual history of Donne, some deeper impulse or characteristic which manifested itself in diverse ways. The ten years before his marriage, a period of London life, Continental travel and sea adventure, years filled with "the queasy pain of being beloved and loving,"[1] as well as with "the worst voluptuousness, which is an hydroptic, immoderate desire of human learning and languages,"[2] these formative years must have some significance even in a study of the preacher and religious poet. The problem is a difficult and delicate one, and writers on Donne have usually assumed, in the manner of Walton, that they could best honor his memory by ignoring his youthful phase, or merely apologizing for it. Courthope and Grierson have indeed recognized the problem, but their discussions of it are contradictory and rather slight.

The most striking quality of Donne's earlier poems is their scepticism. Courthope has noted in this connection the "Pyrrhonism" of the Renaissance in general, and attempted to explain by reference to it the peculiar style of the metaphysical poets.[3] He devoted several pages also to showing that Donne

[1] Donne, *The Calm*, ll. 40-41.

[2] Donne's letter to Sir H. Goodyer, in Gosse's *Life and Letters of John Donne*, London (1899). I, 191.

[3] Courthope, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*. III, 147 S.

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was in his youth a "sceptic in religion" and a "revolutionist in love."[4] But Courthope saw no connection between the scepticism of Donne's youth and his later career; he seems to regard Donne's marriage as bringing about a complete change of heart and a break with his mental past. Grierson, however, thinks that "the truth is rather that, owing to the fullness of Donne's experience as a lover, the accident that made of the earlier libertine a devoted lover and husband, and from the play of his restless and subtle mind on the phenomenon of love conceived and realized in this less ideal fashion, there emerged in his poetry the suggestion of a new philosophy of love which, if less transcendental than that of Dante, rests on a juster, because a less dualistic and ascetic, conception of the nature of the love of man and woman."[5] Of Donne's early scepticism, likewise, Grierson finds a continued influence in his mature poetic effort, represented by the *Anniversaries*, and even in his manner of accepting Anglicanism after he had taken orders.[6]

Grierson's general conception of the life of Donne, of the permanent influence of his early life upon his mind, seems to me to be a just one and necessary to any complete account of the man. In another paper I shall discuss the significance of the sceptical strain in Donne's religious development and endeavor to show how his style is the reflection of his mind. To this larger purpose the present paper is in a sense introductory, confined as it is to a study of the youthful Donne as a "revolutionist in love," to a more thorough analysis than has yet been presented of his audacious and singularly modern philosophy of that subject, and a discussion of some similar developments of thought in the Renaissance with which Donne may have been acquainted.

I.

A whole class of Donne's *Songs and Sonnets* is devoted to a witty exposition of the belief that inconstancy is the only constant element in love. Paradox and hyperbole seem inexhaustible to this adroit, gay and heart-whole cynic, and nowhere in Donne's work do they seem more appropriate to the tone and subject of the verse. As we open the volume we come

[4] *Op. cit.* III, 150-156.

[5] *Donne's Poetical Works*, ed. Grierson, II, xxxv.

[6] *Ibid.* II, 187-8 and 235-6.

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almost at the beginning upon the celebration of this idea in a *Song*. Search the world for its wonders, runs the burden of this "song," and when you return you will swear that "nowhere lives a woman true, and fair." The reader feels that hyperbole has been exhausted and nothing more can be said; but Donne has only prepared for a more ingenious and audacious climax. If you *should* find one, he continues, let him know —"such a Pilgrimage were sweet." Yet, on reflecting, he would not go even to the next door to meet a woman reputed constant, for

> Though she were true, when you met her,
> And last, till you write your letter,
> Yet shee
> Will bee
> False, ere I come, to two, or three.

He expresses no bitterness towards women on this score—he boasts, rather, that he can equal them in fickleness. He addresses a new mistress:

> Now thou hast loved me one whole day,
> To morrow when thou leav'st, what wilt thou say?

She will, he says, on the morrow be making excuses for a change in her affections. He anticipates her, he recounts the excuses, but he will not protest.

> Vaine lunatique, against these scapes I could
> Dispute, and conquer, if I would,
> Which I abstaine to doe,
> For by to morrow, I may thinke so too.[7]

Such verses may of course be merely the product of a lighter mood; but in Donne this mood recurs again and again, and often with a good deal of reflective thought and a set doctrine. In *The Indifferent* his protests against a woman's desire for constancy in her lover are overheard by Venus, who indignantly investigates and chastises these "poor heretics"

> "Which thinke to stablish dangerous constancie."[8]

That this inconstant love is mere ranging physical appetite,

[7] Donne, ed. cit. I, 9

[8] Donne, ed. cit. I, 13

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he frankly recognizes in *Loves Usury*.[9] But Donne does not for that reason condemn it; quite the contrary, his appeal is ever to Nature for the justification of a frankly sensual conception of love. He draws a frequent parallel between love and the other appetites, or between the habits of mankind and beasts—of nature. Thus in *Confined Love* he asks,

> Are Sunne, Moone, or Starres by law forbidden,
> To Smile where they list, or lend away their light?
> Are birds divorc'd, or are they chidden
> If they leave their mate, or lie abroad a night?
> Beasts do no joyntures lose
> Though they new lovers choose,
> But we are made worse than those.[10]

In the third Elegy, called *Change*, he develops the same idea with less hyperbole and gayety. Donne is not here putting his cleverness to a test, but rather seriously examining the philosophy of Change and pronouncing it true.

> Waters stincke soone, if in one place they bide,
> And in the vast sea are more putrifi'd:
> But when they kisse one banke, and leaving this
> Never looke backe, but the next banke doe kisse,
> Then are they purest; Change is the nursery
> Of musicke, joy, life, and eternity.[11]

To Donne, says Courthope, "love, in its infinite variety and inconsistency, represented the principle of perpetual flux in Nature."[12]

But Courthope's statement of the theories of this revolutionist is incomplete. For this statement that inconstancy in love is natural and normal, is not alone an adequate statement of Donne's thought, nor is it sufficient to indicate Donne's relation to the currents of thought in the Renaissance. Donne's Naturalism can not be understood apart from his Scepticism, which makes it possible. His appeal to Nature as a guide and norm is a substitute, as he himself makes very clear, for the authority of society and its accepted code of morality, which he

[9] Idem. I, 13.
[10] Idem. I, 36. Cf. *Communitie*, p. 32; and *Farewell to Love*, pp. 70-1.
[11] Idem. I, 83.
[12] Courthope, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, III, 154.

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calls "Custom" and "Opinion." He suggests humorously what we should call a Nietzschean explanation of the social code:

> Some man unworthy to be possessor
> Of old or new love, himselfe being false or weake,
>   Thought his paine and shame would be lesser,
> If on womankind he might his anger wreake,
>   And thence a law did grow,
>   One might but one man know;
>   But are other creatures so?[13]

He repeats and amplifies this sceptical theory in *Elegie XVII, Variety:*

> How happy were our Syres in ancient times,
> Who held plurality of loves no crime!
> With them it was accounted charity
> To stirre up race of all indifferently;
> Kindreds were not exempted from the bands:
> Which with the Persian still in usage stands.
> Women were then no sooner asked then won,
> And what they did was honest and well done,
> And since this title honour hath been us'd,
> Our weake credulity hath been abus'd;
> The golden laws of nature are repeal'd,
> Which our first Fathers in such reverence held;
> Our liberty's revers'd, our Charter's gone,
> And we're made servants to opinion,
> A monster in no certain shape attir'd,
> And whose originall is much desir'd,
> Formlesse at first, but goeing on it fashions,
> And doth prescribe manners and laws to nations.
> Here love receiv'd immedicable harmes,
> And was dispoiled of his daring armes . . .
> Only some few strong in themselves and free
> Retain the seeds of antient liberty,
> Following that part of Love although deprest,
> And make a throne for him within their brest,
> In spight of modern censures him avowing
> Their Soveraigne, all service him allowing.[14]

The whole thought of this passage is based on the contrast and opposition between the "golden laws of Nature" and "opinion," which "prescribes manners and laws to nations." Donne has somewhere come in contact with a sceptical and

[13] Donne, ed. cit. I, 36.

[14] Idem. I, 114-5. Compare *The Progresse of the Soule*, stanzas xx and xxi.

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relativist philosophy and been profoundly impressed by it. He recurs to it at the conclusion of his satire *The Progresse of the Soule:*

> There's nothing simply good, nor ill alone,
> Of every quality comparison,
> The onely measure is, and judge, opinion.[15]

In these light and cynical poems of the young student and courtier, what is significant for our purposes is not so much their tone as their constantly recurring ideas—we may even say, doctrines. Whether Donne would ever at any time have been willing to write a learned defense of them is somewhat beside our purpose; for whether he held them seriously or not, they certainly fascinated him, and they give us a clue as to some unsuspected lines of study and thinking of the young man who, according to Walton, was reading Bellarmine in his preparation for a decision between Catholicism and Anglicanism. For these poems, grave and gay, are learned; their sceptical reflections are the fruit of study.

A re-statement of the principles involved will show more clearly the doctrinal nature of this revolutionary poetry. At least three such principles may be distinctly formulated: First, love is a purely physical relation, an appetite; second, its justification is Natural Law—not the universal Law of Nature, *Jus naturale*, which was then usually understood to be the basis of the moral code, but the "natural" condition of liberty, of change, the "natural" freedom from the restraints of society; third, the restraints of society have no justification; the social code, which pretends to absolute validity and rightness, is merely the result of custom, and its sacredness is merely "opinion."

John Donne was learned in the law, and he knew well that he was reversing the theory of the Law of Nature, *Jus naturale*, the fundamental and central doctrine of political thought and social ethics in Europe from the Stoics and Cicero through the Renaissance. And when Donne expressed his sceptical ideas in verse, his readers must have been aware of his audacity; no doubt they derived some degree of pleasure from observing the ingenuity of Donne, precisely because they knew

[15] Idem I, 316.

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his attack was directed against a great tradition. It must be part of our excuse for a long examination of this tradition, that after our study we shall better appreciate the play of John Donne's wit.

II

It is impossible, and fortunately unnecessary, to give here a history of the concept of Natural Law in the philosophy of politics, of morals, and of religion. The literature on the subject is extensive.[16] What is here attempted is merely a sketch of some of the main developments of it in ancient and medieval thought, so as to explain the importance and general application of the theory of the Law of Nature in the Renaissance. At the same time, I shall briefly discuss certain sceptical theories which appeared both in antiquity and the Middle Ages, philosophies of revolt and individualism, which, of little consequence perhaps in their own day, produced a more plentiful crop in the fertile seed-bed of the Renaissance.

Natural Law as the basis of ethics was first taught by the Stoics. They felt the inadequacy of the theory of the Epicureans, that pleasure, refined and temperate perhaps, but nevertheless pleasure, *voluptas*, is the final and supreme value in life. It is inadequate even to justify the moral conduct of Epicurus himself, who died happy in spite of all his bodily pain.[17] The Stoics could see in this doctrine of "pleasure" only calculating utilitarianism, selfish hedonism, and a dangerous and degrading blunting of the moral sense. They charged the Epicureans with reducing virtue to craftiness, and morality to skill in supplying oneself with bodily satisfactions. The Stoics, to their merit, kept themselves ever aware of the universal and imperative nature of the ethical sense, and, scorning the moral anarchy which they pointed out in Epicurean thought,

[16] Voigt, Moritz, *Die Lehre vom jus naturale, aequum et bonum und jus gentium der Römer*, 4 vols., Leipzig (1856); Janet, Paul, *Histoire de la Science Politique*, 4th ed., Paris (1913); Gierke, Otto, *Political Theories of the Middle Age*, trans. Maitland, Cambridge (1900); Figgis, J. N., *From Gerson to Grotius*, Cambridge (1907); Dunning, W. A., *History of Political Theories, Ancient and Medieval*, N. Y. (1902); Carlyle, R. W., and A. J., *History of Medieval Political Theory*, N. Y. (1903-16); Troeltsch, Ernst, *Das stoisch-christliche Naturrecht und das moderne profane Naturrecht*, *Historische Zeitschrift*, vol. 106 (1911), 237-267.

[17] Cicero, *De Finibus*, Book II, 30.

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tenaciously held that virtue is its own justification and the chief aim of every wise man.[18]

Virtue, then, the Stoics taught, is founded on such principles as constitute the eternal and immutable Law of Nature. All good men obey this Law, the wicked ignore it; but he who violates it, violates his own nature and suffers inevitably the most severe penalties, even though he escape unpunished by the state. This Law is clear to all,—written in our own nature. It needs no expositor or interpreter. No senate or people can abrogate it; nor does it vary from one country to another, but in Rome, in Athens, to-day and to-morrow and forever, this law remains, one and eternal and immutable.[19] Justice is but an expression of this Law of Nature. The authority of law is therefore not derived from the edict of the praetor or from the Twelve Tables, but is that highest reason, innate in our nature, which prescribes what we must do and warns us against the contrary.[20]

On the one side, therefore, the Stoics defended the validity of the moral judgment against the Epicureans; but they also had to contend on the other with the Sceptics. Cicero, whom we have been following in our exposition of these philosophical conflicts of antiquity, shared with the Stoics their antipathy for both schools. His comments on the Sceptics, although come down to us in rather fragmentary form, are nevertheless sufficient for our purpose. They make it clear enough that Cicero had little regard for the philosophy which denied that truth is attainable, and which above all, maintained that we can not be sure what virtue and justice is, but can at best resignedly take custom for our guide. There is no subject, he says, generally discussed by the learned, more important to understand thoroughly than that we are born for justice, and that law is established, not by "opinion," but by "nature."[21] To think that the difference between virtue and vice resides in

[18] Cicero's elaborate refutation of Epicurean ethics in *De Finibus*, Book II, is based on Stoic doctrine.

[19] Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* VI, 8; Cicero, *De Re Publica*, III, 22

[20] Cicero, *De Legibus*, Book I, 5-6.

[21] Cicero, *De Legibus*, I, 10. "Sed omnium, quae in hominum doctorum disputatione versantur, nihil est profecto praestabilius, quam plane intellegi, nos ad iustitiam esse natos, neque opinione, sed natura constitutum esse ius."

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opinion only, and not in nature, is idiotic.[22] It is imperative that the "good" should be something praiseworthy in itself. Goodness is not a matter of opinion, but of nature. For it would be absurd to say that happiness is merely the effect of opinion; ethical questions must be referred for solution to the deepest and firmest principles, the Law of Nature.[23] None of the sceptical philosophers is mentioned more often by Cicero than Carneades, who first brought the Greek sceptical philosophy to Rome with such brilliance and scandal in the year 158. Cicero's summary of his philosophy has been preserved by Lactantius, and gives in a paragraph the tone and doctrine of the Sceptics: Men have established laws among themselves, Carneades said, merely because of their utility, and therefore have varied them from time to time, as well as from country to country. But no universal principle underlies them—there is no Law of Nature. There is another "nature" than the Stoics referred to, which guides all men and other animals to their own advantage. But this "nature" does not teach men that justice is the end and aim of life; for there is no justice. If there were, a man might seek the welfare of others to his own detriment, which would be the extremest folly.[24]

The Sceptics, therefore, agreed with the Epicureans in denying the ethical sense, or moral judgment. But whereas the Epicureans established the dogmatism of pleasure as an end, the Sceptics taught that the final aim and value of life is unknowable, and that we can at best accept an unphilosophical utilitarianism or the custom of the country as our best guides in conduct. The social code, said the Sceptics, has no basis in

[22] *De Legibus*. I, 16. Haec autem in opinione existimare, non in natura posita, dementis est.

[23] *De Legibus*. I, 17. Quod bonum est, in se habeat quod laudetur necesse est. Ipsum enim bonum non est opinionibus, sed natura. Nam ni ita esset, beati quoque opinione essent: quo quid dici potest stultius? Quare quum et bonum et malum natura iudicetur, et ea sint principia naturae; certe honesta quoque et turpia simili ratione diiudicanda, et ad naturam referenda sunt.

[24] Carneades summa disputationis haec fuit: Iura sibi homines pro utilitate sanxisse, scilicet varia pro moribus, et apud eosdem pro temporibus saepe mutata; ius autem naturale esse nullum. Omnes et homines et alias animantes ad utilitates suas natura ducente ferri; proinde aut nullam esse iustitiam, aut si sit aliqua, summam esse stultitiam, quoniam sibi noceret, alienis commodis consulent. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* V, 16; Cicero, *De Re Publica*, III, 12.

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absolute right or justice, or in Nature conceived as universal reason, but is the varying creation of man, the sacredness of which is mere "opinion."

In the philosophical debate which is briefly summarized in these passages from Cicero, the theory of the Law of Nature was developed and its terminology fixed for centuries.[25] Certain analogies are already observable with the ideas with which Donne was occupied when he wrote his early verse. We have in ancient scepticism the same disrespect for the social code, the same reference to "opinion." But we note also in Donne a difference in the conception of Nature; he refers constantly to nature, not as a source of such universal and rational principles as should check or guide desires, but as the justification of individual desires, as the denial of all universal moral law. This degraded conception of "nature" is only faintly foreshadowed in the use of the term "nature" by Carneades in the passage cited above; it was not a development of ancient thought. We shall find something similar to it in the later Middle Ages, and several analogous developments in the Renaissance.

III

Dissent from the doctrine of the Law of Nature became however, a far more difficult and serious matter in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance than in the centuries between Plato and Cicero. The ancient Sceptics had contended only with professional rivals, though even so they had a dubious reputation, especially amid the unspeculative respectability of the Roman republic. But after Cicero the theory of the Law of Nature was elaborated by Seneca, the Roman Jurists of the Empire, the early Christian Fathers, and St. Augustine, until at last the encyclopedic mind of Thomas Aquinas combined the vague and often conflicting ideas of his many predecessors into one all-embracing system which dominated speculation on the subject in the following centuries. With all this discussion the idea grew in importance, until in the Renaissance it was regularly appealed to as the basic principle in law, in ethics, in natural theology,—in short, as the one philosophical defense of the worthiest and most ideal elements of civilization. The Law of Nature thus became a conservative and stabilizing

[25] For an account of the *jus naturale* before Cicero, see Voigt, op. cit. I, 76-212.

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doctrine in Renaissance thought, a bulwark against excessive individualism, whether in the form of tyranny on the one hand or of absolute anarchy on the other. "It is not an accident," says Figgis, "that men like Machiavelli, and Hobbes, whose aim is to remove all restraints from the action of rulers except those of expediency, should be agreed in denying all meaning to the idea of natural law."[26] Bodin, on the contrary, who was the greatest opponent in the Renaissance of the political thought of Machiavelli, based his whole philosophy on the orthodox tradition.[27] The relation of natural law to political ethics was therefore an important crux in the thought of the Renaissance, the meeting point of Machiavellianism and other forms of "libertine" thought with tradition and conservatism, reinforced by the general revival of Stoicism. As a consequence, two camps were formed, those who adhered to traditional thought and affirmed the existence of a Law of Nature, and those who were sceptical and leaned towards various forms of anarchic individualism.

With this brief statement of the situation in mind, we may examine a document of the English Renaissance, which summarizes the theory of the Law of Nature and defends it against sceptical attacks, a passage in an imaginary dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Sir Thomas Lupset, written about 1536 or 1538 by Thomas Starkey, but unpublished until the nineteenth century.[28] Starkey, who occupied a position at court as chaplain and as confidential agent of Henry VIII in his negotiations with Cardinal Pole, had acquired a thorough humanistic education, having studied, according to his own account, philosophy, Latin and Greek at Oxford, and "natural Knowledge," divinity and civil law for several years in Italy.[29] His discussion of the Law of Nature is therefore to be accepted as authoritative and representative, and both his ideas and terminology are worth close scrutiny.

[26] Figgis, op. cit., p. 8.

[27] Dunning, *From Luther to Montesquieu*, p. 85. Also Baudrillart, Henri, *J. Bodin et son Temps*, Paris (1853), pp. 222-ff. On the same difference between Machiavelli and Grotius, see Figgis, op. cit., p. 88.

[28] *England in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth*, ed. J. M. Cowper, E.E.T.S. London (1878).

[29] Letter to Cromwell, quoted in *Introduction*, p. x.

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Lupset is made the expositor of the ideas of the author, whereas the Cardinal is given the ungrateful role of *advocatus diaboli*, urging the objections that have to be met at each step. The dialogue opens with Lupset advising Pole to apply his learning and talents to the assistance of the commonwealth. Pole first takes refuge in the theory that the contemplative life is higher than the active; but Lupset confutes him by appealing to Aristotle, who blamed the philosophers for not making better the lives of others. Pole then draws an argument from the legend of the Golden Age, that man is not born to a social and political life, society and its duties being only the result of the corruption of mankind. Lupset replies that it is the duty of such men as Pole to counteract this corruption and help restore justice in the world. The real argument then begins, over the problem of finding a philosophical conception of a just civil life and political order.

The sceptical Pole fears that our political ideal is merely "as hyt were, a conspyracy in honesty and vertue, stablyschyd by commyn assent." For the Turk, the Jew, and the Saracen, as well as the Christian, maintains that his own manner of life is the most "agreabul to reson and nature as a thyng confyrmyd by Goddys owne dyuynyte. So that by thys mean hyt apperyth al stondyth in the jugement and opynyon of man, in so much that wych ys the veray true polytyke and cyuyle lyfe, no man surely by your dyffynytyon can affyrme wyth any certaynty."[30]

Lupset acknowledges that "thys ys no smal dowte to some men." And in his further remarks, one suspects an allusion to materialistic and sceptical tendencies which Starkey must have met with in Italy, perhaps to the recent works of Machiavelli. For, Lupset continues.

> bycause suche there be wych couertly take away al cyuylyte, and wold bryng al to confusyon and tyranny, saying ther ys no dyfference betwyn vyce and vertue but strong opynyon, and that al such thyngys hang of the folysch fansy and jugement of man; I schal fyrst schow you how vertue stondyth by nature and not only by the opynyon of man; and second how and by what mean thys folysch opynyon cam in to thos lyght braynys.[31]

In fulfilling his first promise, Lupset points to the excellence and dignity of man, his mastery over beasts, and his arts which

[30] Op. cit., p. 11.
[31] Op. cit. p. 11.

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reveal the divinity that is innate in him. But this celestial and divine nature of man is expressed also in the universal recognition of such virtues as temperance and courage, and in the rooted reverence for God which is "in al men by nature, wythout any other instructyon."

> Thes vertues, and other lyke, whereby man, of nature meke, gentyl, and ful of humanyte, ys inclynyd and sterryd to cyuyle ordur and louyng cumpany, wyth honeste behauyour both toward God and man, are by the power of nature in the hart of man rotyd and plantyd, and by no vayn opynyon or fansy conceyuyed.[32]

Many there are who live in disregard of this divine excellence of their nature, but they suffer constant disapproval from their conscience.

> For they have rotyd in theyr hartys a certain rule, euer repugnyng to theyr maner of lyfyng, wych they, by necligente incontynence, suffer to be corrupt; the wych rule, so certayn and so stabul, ys callyd of phylosopharys and wyse men, the unyuersal and true law of nature, wych to al natyonys ys commyn, no thyng hangyng of the opynyon and folysch fansy of man. In so much that yf man, by corrupt jugement, wold extyme vertue as vyce, no thyng regardyng hys owne dygnyte, yet vertues, by theyr owne nature, be no les vertues, nor mynyschyd of theyr excellency, by any such frantyke fansy; no more than yf al men togyder wold conspyre that there were no God, who by that folysch opynyon schold no thyng be mynyschcd of hys hye maiesty, or yf they wold say that he nother gouernyth nor rulyth thys world, yet theyr opynyon makyth no les hys hye prouydence.[33]

After establishing, to his own and the Cardinal's satisfaction, the eternal and immutable character of the Law of Nature, Lupset still has the variations in laws and customs and ethical feeling to explain. He therefore distinguishes, as political theory had done before him from the Romans down, between the divine and absolute Law of Nature and the human and changeable Civil Law. The natural impulses need the aid of man, the assistance and protection of government and institutions.

> Wherefor amonge al men and al natyonys, as I thynk, apon erth, ther be, and euer hathe byn, other certayn custumys and manerys by long use and tyme confyrmyd and approuyd; other lawys wryten and deuysyd by the polytyke wytte of man receyuyd and stablyschyd for the mayntenaunce and settyng forward of ther natural sedys and plantys of vertue; wych custume and law by man so ordeynyd and deuysyd ys callyd the cyuyle law, for bycause they be as meanys to bryng man to the perfectyon of the cyuyle lyfe; wythout

[32] Op. cit. p. 14.
[33] Op. cit. p. 14.

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the ordynance of thes lawys, the other sone wylbe corrupt, the wedys wyl sone ouergrow the gud corne. Thys law cyuyle is fer dyfferent from the other; for in euery cuntrey hyt ys dyuerse and varyabul, ye almost in euery cyte and towne. Thys law takyth effecte of the opynyon of man, hyt restyth holly in hys consent, and varyth accordyng to the place and tyme, in so much that in dyuerse tyme and place contrary lawys are both gud, and both conuenyent to the polytyke lyfe. Wher as the law of nature ys euer one, in al cuntreys fyrme and stabul, and neuer for the tyme varyth; hyt ys neuer chaungeabul; the consent of man doth no thyng therto; hyt hangyth no thyng of tyme nor place, but accordyng as ryght reson ys euer one, so ys thys law, and neuer varyth aftur the fansy of man.[34]

Lupset encounters the old difficulty of the political theorists before him when he begins to illustrate his general principles. For there was no unanimity of opinion as to the exact line of demarcation between the Law of Nature and the Civil Law. Lupset, in fact, is very tolerant and inclusive in selecting his illustrations of such laws as are "binding only on those who receive them."

As to absteyn from flesch apon the Fryday," he says, "wyth us hyt ys now reputyd a certayne vertue, wyth the Turkys no thyng so; prestys to lyue chast, wyth us hyt ys a certayn vertue and honesty, wyth the Grekys hyt ys no thyng so; to mary but one wyfe, wyth us hyt ys a certayn vertue also, wyth other natyonys, as Turkys, Morys, and Sarasyns, hyt ys no thyng so.[35]

In principle, however, Civil Law should always be based on the Law of Nature, to which it is merely the aid. For, he says,

thys law ys the ground and end of the other, to the wych hyt must euer be referryd, non other wyse then the conclusyonys of artys mathematical are euer referryd to theyr pryncypullys. For cyuyle ordynance ys but as a mean to bryng man to observe thys law of nature, in so much that, yf ther be any cyuyle law ordeynyd wych can not be resoluyd therto, hyt ys of no value; for al gud cyuyle lawys spryng and yssue out of the law of nature, as brokys and ryuerys out of fountaynys and wellys.[36]

In reading this brief Renaissance dialogue on political ethics, we note the essential coincidence in ideas and terminology with the discussions of the ancient Stoics, as represented by Cicero; except that the Stoics contended chiefly with the Epicureans, whereas Starkey directs his polemics exclusively

[34] Op. cit. pp. 15-16.

[35] Op. cit. p. 17.

[36] Op. cit. p. 16. Hooker discusses the distinction between the universality of the "Law of Nature and Reason" and the variety of custom and civil law in *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, Book I, viii, 10. He quotes Augustine's statement of the objections of the Sceptics.

at scepticism and moral anarchy. This change of emphasis is significant; it indicates the persistence of sceptical dissent. And we realize even from this brief account of the conflict of scepticism with the theory of the Law of Nature, from Cicero to the Renaissance, what definite connotations and implications the apparently commonplace terms, "Nature," "Opinion" and "Custom" must have had for John Donne and his readers, interested and versed in one of the acutest problems of thought of the time.[37] We shall understand even better the definiteness of this problem in Renaissance thought after examining further the opposition to the doctrine of the Law of Nature.

IV

Besides the sceptical opposition to the Law of Nature, the persistence of which through the centuries of European political thought we have already sufficiently discussed, there was another tradition, hitherto ignored by historians of literature and thought, which developed from a reversal of the theory of the Golden Age. The Golden Age early attracted the attention of the theorists of the Law of Nature. The dream of a perfect life at the beginning of the world, when mankind as well as all other creatures retained the divine impress of their origin, could not fail to attract those who sought in a divine Law of Nature the one stable and saving element in a corrupted human nature. Roman political theory appropriated this idea of a primitive state of nature, and in Patristic thought it was accentuated by the parallel idea of the Garden of Eden. The Law of Nature was then explained by early Christian writers as a survival from an age of innocence and perfection.[38] But, as has been said, there grew up a tradition which reversed this belief in primitive perfection, substituting for it an evolutionary theory of the gradual ascent of man from barbarism, from a state of nature which was not far removed from that of animals. And, as the notion of the Golden Age was congenial to the thought of the Stoics, so the opposite theory was developed by their adversaries, the Epicureans, and especially by Lucretius. Other poets had before him described the earliest state

[37] Donne could not, of course, have read Starkey's unpublished dialogue. But as a learned man, and especially as a student of Civil Law, he must have been familiar with the philosophy of Law which Starkey expounded.

[38] Carlyle, op. cit. I, 42-44, 117, 134, 144-146. II, 98-ff.

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of man as savagery,[39] but his distinction and his influence on thought, both in antiquity and the Renaissance, give to his account an unusual historical importance.

In the fifth book of his *De Rerum Natura* Lucretius describes the evolution of the world in terms of a materialistic atomism. In many ways his theory parallels such modern conceptions as that of a gradual change from the simple to the complex, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. In the course of this change, blind and stumbling chance produced many failures, and out of the many combinations wrought by the "dance of atoms" only a few fittest have survived. Lucretius applied this theory alike to the evolution of the world and the evolution of human society. And, instead of a Golden Age, he conceives of primitive man as a wild animal, free from restraints and governed only by his desires.

> Nor could they look to the common weal, nor had they knowledge to make mutual use of any customs or laws. Whatever booty chance had offered to each, he bore it off; for each was taught at his own will to live and thrive for himself alone. And Venus would unite lovers in the woods; for each woman was wooed either by mutual passion, or by the man's fierce force and reckless lust, or by a price, acorns and arbute-berries or choice pears.[40]

One of the earliest civilizing influences was the institution of the family and the home.

> Then after they got themselves huts and skins and fire, and woman yoked with man retired to a single (home and the laws of marriage) were learnt, and they saw children sprung from them, then first the race of man began to soften.[41]

[39] Benn, A. W. *The Greek Philosophers*, London (1882). II, 98 ff.

[40] Translation by Cyril Bailey, Oxford (1910). p. 218.

> nec commune bonum poterant spectare neque ullis
> moribus inter se scibant nec legibus uti.
> quod cuique obtulerat praedae fortuna, ferebat
> sponte sua sibi quisque valere et vivere doctus.
> et Venus in silvis iungebat corpora amantum;
> conciliabat enim vel mutua quamque cupido
> vel violenta viri vis atque impensa libido
> vel pretium, glandes atque arbita vel pira lecta.

De Rerum Natura, Book V, 958-965. ed. Munro, 3rd ed., Cambridge (1873). p. 233.

[41] Translation cited, p. 219.

> Inde casas postquam ac pellis ignemque pararunt,
> et mulier coniuncta viro concessit in unum
>
> * * * *
>
> cognita sunt, prolemque ex se videre creatam,
> tum genus humanum primum mollescere coepit.

Book V, 1011-1014. Ed. cit. p. 235.

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Evolution, however, does not necessarily imply amelioration or progress, unless measured by some scale of moral and spiritual values. Such values were foreign to the thought of Lucretius. The establishment of the family, for instance, did not signify to him the discovery of the sanctity or chivalry of conjugal love. The family he regarded as a purely utilitarian institution; and as for love, Lucretius advised against allowing any emotional disturbance or inconvenient personal devotion to accompany its physical satisfactions.[42] "Lucrèce," says Guyau, "de même que Rousseau, montre quelque faible pour les hommes des premièrs temps. Il admire leurs jouissances faciles,—vives quoique grossières. Il a des rancunes contre notre civilisation."[43] Lucretius did not strengthen the moral and spiritual perceptions of mankind. In conduct and political ethics, as elsewhere, his influence has been on the side of scepticism, materialism and pessimism.

Down to the Renaissance, however, the conception of primitive man which Seneca made a part of European political thought was even more important historically than that of Lucretius. Seneca lived in an eclectic age, and combined the two contrary ideas of the Golden Age and of primitive simplicity and imperfect development.[44] In the earliest age, he said, men were happy and uncorrupted. But as they were ignorant, their happiness was due merely to innocence and natural goodness, not to virtue, which is only achieved by effort and discipline. Neither could they be called wise. In their perfect innocence, they had no need of institutions; no government guarded private property, for they had all things in common. They followed without dissension the counsel of the best and wisest men. But, as human nature deteriorated and developed—such is the paradox of the theory—institutions had to be devised and laws enacted to coerce mankind back to order and regularity though it is never possible to secure by these means the harmony which existed without force in the Golden Age.[45]

We need not here trace the influence of Seneca's inconsistent discussion on Roman, Patristic, Medieval and Renaissance

[42] *De Rerum Natura*, Book IV, ll. 1058 1074.

[43] Guyau, M., *La Morale d'Épicure*, 5th ed., Paris (1910). p. 170.

[44] "Ce stoicien nourri des idées épicuriennes," Guyau says, calling attention to Seneca's indebtedness to Lucretius. Op. cit. p. 167.

[45] Seneca, *Epistolae*, XIV, 2. Carlyle, op. cit. I, 23-ff.

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political thought. It reappears everywhere, as Carlyle has shown in his *History of Medieval Political Thought.* "We have here," he says,

"a statement of that theory of the state of nature, which was to exercise a great influence upon the whole character of political thought for nearly eighteen centuries. It is true that the conception of the state of nature in Seneca is not the same as in some other writers; but the importance of the theory for our inquiry lies not so much in the particular forms in which men held it, as in the fact that in all forms it assumed a distinction between primitive and conventional institutions which largely influenced the ideal and sometimes even the practical tendency of men's thoughts."[46]

Ideas reappear in unexpected places and often in unusual guises. The confused conception of the Golden Age which in political thought is derived from Seneca, is, I believe, the explanation of some passages in the satirical continuation of the *Romance of the Rose* by Jean de Meung. This learned and witty bourgeois poet treated with cynical contempt the ideals of courtly love, as well as most of the other social and political institutions and modes of life of the Middle Ages; and the misery and injustice and hypocrisy of his time he attributed to the fall of man from the state of nature.[47] In his revolt he dreamed again the dream of the Golden Age, of its freedom from coercive government, of its facile life, its communism without work or responsibility, but especially of its free love and absence of family ties.[48] This "naturalist" did not think of Nature as the Stoics had done, as the revelation of Universal Reason, but as the deification of the physical and instinctive life,[49] in the way of which stand our conventional institutions and conventional morality. The Old Lady put the matter bluntly in the following speech to the Lover, a speech which serves as a chorus to her satirical narratives; she is speaking of wives:

[46] Carlyle, op. cit. I, 23-24.

[47] Although these ideas are expressed by characters in the story, they are generally imputed to the author, as by Gustave Lanson, *Un Naturaliste du XIIIe Siècle*, in *Revue Bleue*, July 14, 1894, pp. 35-41.

[48] *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Marteau, Pierre. Orléans (1878). II, 276-ff. ll. 8671-8772; pp. 354-ff., ll. 9927-10008.

[49] Knowlton, E. C., *The Goddess Nature in Early Periods*, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol. XIX (1920).

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"D'autre part, el sunt franches nées;
Loi les a condicionnées,
Qui les oste de lor franchises
Où Nature les avait mises:
Car Nature n'est pas si sote
Qu'ele féist nestre Marote
Tant solement por Robichon,
Se l'entendement i fichon,
Ne Robichon por Mariete,
Ne por Agnès, ne por Perrete:
Ains nous a fait, biau filz, n'en doutes,
Toutes por tous et tous por toutes,
Chascune por chascun commune,
Et chascun commun por chascune,
Si que quant eus sunt affiées,
Par loi prises et mariées,
Por oster dissolucions,
Et contens, et occisions,
Et por aidier les norretures
Dont il ont ensemble les cures,
Si s'efforcent en toutes guises
De retorner à lor franchises
Les dames et les damoiseles,
Quiex qu'el soient, ledes ou beles."[59]

What makes this appeal to Nature on behalf of free love particularly significant is that, in the passages referred to above, Jean de Meung associates the family with all the political institutions and arts of civilization as interfering with primitive and free life according to Nature in the Golden Age. Our human institutions have therefore merely the sanction of custom; and they violate Nature—not the Nature of the Stoics, but a degraded Nature, personifying the irrational elements of life. The Golden Age, which to the Stoics had been an ideal of order and reason, became with Jean de Meung the dream of ease and unlimited freedom and indulgence.

Where did Jean find this revolutionary thought? One might answer that he found it along with his other rebellious ideas in his own cynical nature. They are indeed expressed with a vigor and sincerity which give them an original sound. But Jean in each case refers to ancient and learned authorities—no doubt feeling that such ideas needed the patronage of authority:

[59] *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. cit. III, 270. ll. 14477-14500.

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> "Si cum la letre le tesmoigne,
> Par qui nous savons la besoigne,
> Furent amors loiaus et fines,
> Sans covoitise et sans rapines."[51]

and in another passage he says:

> "De là vint li commencemens
> As rois, as princes terriens,
> Selonc l'escript as anciens;
> Car par l'escript que nous avons,
> Les fais des anciens savons;
> Si les en devons mercier,
> Et loer et regracier."[52]

Langlois, in his study of the sources of *The Romance of the Rose*, was unable to identify these "ancient writers." Ovid, as he pointed out, does not allude to the origin of government in his description of the changes from the Golden Age to our own. Lucretius was not read in the Middle Ages, and therefore the parallelism with the fifth book of *De Rerum Natura* explains nothing.[53] Langlois therefore makes the rather vague suggestion that "sa théorie sur l'origine des pouvoirs publics était sans doute une opinion courante dans les écoles de son temps, et qu'on attribuait aux anciens," and quotes a passage from Isodore of Seville on the first election of princes and kings.[54] But the early election of rulers, the idea of the social contract, was only a part of the legal tradition which provides a much broader and completer parallel than Langlois thought, to the ideas of Jean, and, as we have seen, it was actually derived from antiquity. Following Seneca, Patristic writers on law had represented the *jus gentium* as conflicting with, and in some measure supplanting, the *jus naturale*. Thus the institution of private property was quite generally regarded in the Middle Ages as the product of the civil law; the earliest age, the state of nature, was supposed to have been communistic.[55] It is

[51] *Roman*, ed. cit. II, 278. ll. 8673-6.

[52] *Roman*, ed. cit. II, 358. ll. 9974-9980.

[53] Scholars disagree, however, on the question of the accessibility of Lucretius in the Middle Ages. See discussion and references in Sandys, J. E., *History of Classical Scholarship*, 2nd ed., Cambridge (1906). I, 631-3; and in Merrill's edition of Lucretius, New York (1907). *Introduction*, pp. 50-1.

[54] Langlois, Ernest, *Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose*, Paris (1891). pp. 125-7.

[55] Carlyle, op. cit., I, pp. 142-3, and II, chap. ii-v.

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highly significant for our purposes, therefore, that in one of the glosses of Irnerius, the Italian jurist of the twelfth century, marriage is cited as an illustration of how the civil law has modified the state of nature.[56] Paradoxical as it may seem, the licentious verses of Jean were in substance the old tradition of political thought derived from the Church Fathers and Seneca, but given a new turn and significance by the sceptical, cynical and somewhat gross temperament of the medieval satirist.

Jean's naturalistic theories were disseminated by the wide circulation of *The Romance of the Rose*, not only in the Middle Ages, but even into the Renaissance. French poets imitated his protest against the conventions of the political order of his day as well as his denunciation of the bonds of marriage.[57] Chaucer, in the true English manner, stopped short of the violent revolt of his "emancipated" Continental predecessor. "The English poet," says one student of him, "was philosopher and economist enough to recognize and to insist on the institution of marriage as the great steadier of society. He is not at one with the French poet when Jean makes serious attacks on marriage and paints in glowing colors a world of unrestraint and free love."[58] But there is perhaps a recollection of Jean in the impatient reflections of the lover on St. Valentine's day in Lydgate's *Flower of Courtesy:*

> "The sely wrenne, the titmose also,
> The litel redbrest, have free eleccioun
> To fiyen y-ferë and to gider go
> Where-as hem liste, abouten environ,
> As they of kynde have inclinacioun,
> And as Nature, emperesse and gyde,
> Of every thing, liste to provyde;
>
> But man aloon, alas! the harde stounde!
> Ful cruelly, by kyndes ordinaunce,
> Constrayned is, and by statut bounde,

[56] Ibid., II, 34, n. 2.

[57] Wood, Mary Morton, *The Spirit of Protest in Old French Literature*, New York (1917). See especially the poems on free love as the state of Nature, pp. 161-ff. Dr. Wood, who ignored the development of political theory outside of poetry, mistakenly refers the political ideas of Jean de Meung to Ovid's account of the Four Ages. See pp. 15, 42, 52.

[58] Fansler, Dan S., *Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose*, N. Y. (1914). p. 227.

[59] Skeat, W. W., *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*. Oxford (1897). pp. 267-8.

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And debarred from alle such plesaunce.
What meneth this? What is this purveyaunce
Of god above, agayn al right of kynde,
Withoute cause, so narowe man to bynde?"[59]

It is more difficult to trace any direct influence of Jean de Meung in the Renaissance. Such successors as Rabelais[60] and Montaigne owed more to classical writers and to the paganism which permeated the revival of learning. The spirit of the age fostered audacious action and thought, and the "libertine" worship of Nature was soon so widely spread as to become a commonplace. The pert and uncontrollable young Euphues in Lyly's novel thus replies to the admonitions of the sage old Neapolitan, that he is following the best philosophers, Cicero and Aristotle, and taking Nature as his only guide;[61] the inconsequential reasoning and inaccurate scholarship are in character, and may possibly represent the platitudinous generalizations which must have passed current as philosophy in wide circles. And in the chorus to the first Act of Aminta, Tasso laments the passing of the Age of Gold, not because the earth then provided sustenance without the labor of man, or because life was free from the misery of war or the burdens of traffic,

"Ma sol perchè quel vano
Nome senza soggetto,
Quell' idolo d'errori, idol d'inganno,
Quel che dal volgo insano
Onor poscia fu detto,
(Che di nostra natura 'l feo tiranno)
Non mischiava il suo affanno
Fra le liete dolcezze
Dell' amoroso gregge;
Nè fu sua dura legge
Nota a quell' alme in libertate avvezze:
Ma legge aurea e felice,
Che Natura scolpì 'S'ei piace, ei lice.'"[62]

Giordano Bruno, also refers to "quella legge naturale, per la quale è licito a ciascun maschio di aver tante mogli, quante ne

[60] Rabelais ridiculed the conceptions of Law of Nature and Law of Nations in Book I, chap. x.

[61] Lyly, *Works*, ed. Bond. I, 191-2.

[62] Tasso, *Opere*. Pisa (1821). II, 37. Cf. with Donne's passage on the "golden laws of nature," quoted above.

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può nutrire et impregnare."[63] The Libertines of the Renaissance appropriated Nature as their goddess and the Golden Age as their ideal, identifying with both conceptions exactly the freedom and individualism which the Stoics had sought to combat by their means. Like Euphues, they mis-read their Cicero and Aristotle; hence the apparently parodoxical remark of Du Vair,[64] that we must choose between the two irreconcilable philosophies of Nature and Stoicism. But this sceptical philosophy of Nature resulted in the Renaissance from the confluence of many currents of thought, medieval and classical, and in its more popular form was vague and unformulated, highly important though it be for an understanding of the temper of the age. Unless accompanied by other specific ideas and doctrines, it can hardly be traced from one writer to another.

As in his scepticism, so also in his naturalistic conception of the Golden Age, Donne's thought resembled the current "libertine" ideas of the Renaissance. He repeatedly refers to the free love of the Golden Age:

> "How happy were our Syres in ancient times,
> Who held plurality of loves no crime."

Like other poets of the libertine tradition of the Golden Age, Donne worshipped in Nature the Aphrodite Pandemos, and appealed to other Natural Laws for justification of the liberties forbidden by the orthodox principle of the Law of Nature.

All the elements, then of Donne's Pyrrhonism were current before him; we have discussed already the similarities and differences between his ideas and the sceptical attack on the legal tradition of the Law of Nature. What was lacking there, namely a rival philosophy of Nature opposed to the Stoic and legal tradition, we have found in this degraded form of the legend of the Golden Age. Donne combined this Naturalism with Scepticism. But here he had a predecessor in Montaigne.

[63] Bruno, Giodano, *Opere*, ed. Wagner. Leipzig (1830). II, 126. But Bruno begins the third dialogue of the *Spaccio* with a criticism of the Golden Age of Tasso and other Italian poets. See ed. cit., II, 199-ff. He says, for example, "Ne l'età dunque de l'oro per l'ozio gli uomini non erano più virtuosi, che sin ai presente le bestie son virtuose, e forse erano piu stupidi, che molte di queste." Bruno was a man of contradictions. Though certain passages display a "libertine" strain, many others show that he was imbued with a vigorous ethical feeling.

[64] Du Vair, *Les Oeuvres Politiques et Morales*, Geneva (1621), p. 899.

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V

How Montaigne arrived at his philosophy blended of scepticism and naturalism, has been admirably set forth by M. Villey, to whose work all discussions of Montaigne must henceforth be indebted.[65] Montaigne began as an adherent of Stoicism, which, with Platonism, had been interwoven with Christian thought and become a part of Renaissance idealism in both personal and political ethics. But Stoicism was not long to his taste. His nature was too supple for its restraints, and too easy and tolerant to submit long to its discipline or to feel long the attractiveness of its elevation. Montaigne had a generous sympathy with all human impulses; he abhorred life cut to a pattern. It is probable therefore that his development would have been what it was, though perhaps slower and less distinct, had he never gone through a definite intellectual crisis. But his apostacy from Stoicism was hastened when about 1575 he became enthusiastic over Greek scepticism, as expounded in the *Hypotyposes* of Sextus Empiricus. Early in 1576 he had a medal struck in honor of Sextus, with his own image on the reverse side. Ten of the inscriptions in his library he took from the *Hypotyposes;* from the same source he makes more than a score of borrowings for his most philosophical essay, the *Apology*. The Sceptics he called "le plus sage parti des philosophes."[66]

For a short period, Montaigne, under the influence of the philosophy of Sextus, regarded custom and tradition as his best guide. But such a philosophy is a worse tyranny than Stoicism, and contains in itself the acid of dissolution; Montaigne soon passed through it, to his third and mature philosophy of individualism based on "Nature." Nature then meant to him primarily his own nature, which he regarded as his own unique lawgiver. Therefore he studied himself more than any philosophy, his desires, his tastes, the needs of his own individuality, and his essays are the observations he made of his own physiology and psychology. Distrustful of all speculation in ethical idealism, thoroughly sceptical regarding conventions and traditions, he followed nature in everything,

[65] Villey, Pierre, *Les Sources et l'Évolution des Essais de Montaigne*. 2 vols. Paris (1908).

[66] Villey, op. cit. I, 218.

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and in case of doubt, "nature" meant to him his own nature. "I cheerefully and thankefully," he says in the last pages of his last essay, "and with a good heart, accept what nature hath created for me; and am there with well pleased, and am proud of it . . . temperance is a moderatrix, and not an adversary of sensualities. Nature is a gentle guide: Yet not more gentle, then prudent and just."[67] Nature is gentle! That is, the nature of Montaigne, a man devoid of aspirations and spiritual reaches, is gentle. "I study my selfe more than any other subject. It is my supernaturall Metaphisike, it is my naturall Philosophy . . . Oh how soft, how gentle, and how sound a pillow is ignorance and incuriosity to rest a well composed head upon. I had rather understand my selfe well in my selfe, then in Cicero."[68]

The greatest and most influential sceptic of the Renaissance, Montaigne gave classic expression to all the libertine thought of his age, intellectualized it, and elevated it to the level of a serious philosophy which educated men could not ignore. It would indeed be strange if Donne, who beyond most Englishmen of his time was eager for new ideas, such as the science of Galileo and Kepler, should not in his youth have read a work so congenial to his tastes and so well known as the *Essays*.[69] A reference to Montaigne in a letter dated by Gosse about 1603 or 1604 seems to imply that Donne had read him some time before.[70] But the youth of Donne is veiled in obscurity, and only a very few facts are known regarding his very extensive early reading.[71] We can at best make certain inferences. A University man, an avid student of the Humanities as well as Law, probably knew the treatises of Cicero *De Re Publica* and

[67] Trans. Florio, Tudor Translations. London (1893). III, 391.

[68] Florio, ed. cit. III, 338-9.

[69] Already in 1595 a translation of the *Essays* was licensed for publication, and Florio's was licensed in 1600. The real popularity of Montaigne is indicated by early imitations, by Bacon in 1597 and by Cornwallis in 1600. The latter knew Montaigne only through manuscript translations which evidently circulated widely before the publication of Florio's translation in 1603. Lee, Sidney, *The French Renaissance in England*, N. Y. (1910). pp. 165-ff. John Donne could of course read the original.

[70] ". . . Michel Montaigne says he hath seen (as I remember) 400 volumes of Italian letters." Gosse, *Life and Letters of John Donne*. I, 122.

[71] Grierson, op. cit. II, 1-6.

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De Legibus; as his interest lay more in controversial studies than in poetry and belles-lettres, it is unlikely that Donne read so thoroughly as to be acquainted with *The Romance of the Rose*, and he may not have read Lucretius; possibly he had read Tasso's *Aminta*, inasmuch as he knew Dante, Aretino and Ariosto. But none of these possible sources of Donne's "Libertinism" offer so complete a parallel to Donne's thought as Montaigne, nor did any of them lie more directly in his path. Such conjectures, however, are slender evidence, and Donne's discipleship to Montaigne must remain a probability only, each reader forming his own opinion. As to the similarity of their ideas, although it has never been pointed out, there can be no question.

In the first place, Montaigne's study of Sextus had completely emancipated him from rational idealism, from belief in any universal moral truth ascertainable by reason. His scepticism is definitely expounded in his early essay on *Custom*, where he says, for example, that

> "the lawes of conscience, which we say to proceed from nature, rise and proceed of custome: every man holding in special regard, and inward veneration the opinions approved, and customes received about him, cannot without remorse leave them, nor without applause applie himselfe unto them."[72]

In his *Apologie of Raymond Sebond*, he submits all methods and means of knowledge to a systematic criticism based on principles drawn from the *Hypotyposes;* his remarks on the theory of the Law of Nature are especially scathing:

> "What goodness is that," he asks, "which but yesterday I saw in credit and esteeme, and tomorrow, to have lost all reputation, and that the crossing of a River, is made a crime? What truth is that, which these Mountaines bound, and is a lie in the World beyond them? But they are pleasant, when to allow the Laws some certainetie, they say, that there be some firme, perpetuall and immoveable, which they call naturall, and by the condition of their proper essence, are imprinted in mankind: of which some make three in number, some foure, some more, some lesse: an evident token, that it is a marke as doubtfull as the rest."[73]

A few pages further on he presents the Sceptical explanation of the supposedly sacred laws of society, with a pertinent illustration:

[72] Florio, ed. cit. I, 112.
[73] Florio, ed. cit. II, 303.

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"Lawes take their authoritie from possession and custome: It is dangerous to reduce them to their beginning: In rowling on, they swell, and grow greater and greater, as doe our rivers: follow them upward, unto their source, and you shall find them but a bubble of water, scarce to be discerned, which in gliding on swelleth so proud, and gathers so much strength. Behold the ancient considerations, which have given the first motion to this famous torrent, so full of dignitie, of honour and reverence, you shall find them so light and weake, that these men which will weigh all, and complaine of reason, and who receive nothing upon trust and authoritie, it is no wonder if their judgements are often far-distant from common judgement. Men that take Natures first image for a patterne, it is no marvaile, if in most of their opinions, they misse the common-beaten path. As for example; few amongst them would have approved the forced conditions of our marriages and most of them would have had women in community, and without any private respect."[74]

But as a substitute for the Law of Nature, Montaigne, like Donne, developed another philosophy of Nature. "I have taken for my regard this ancient precept, very rawly and simply: That 'We cannot erre in following Nature': and that the soveraigne document is, for a man to conforme himselfe to her."[75] He was in accord with the libertine tradition, and with John Donne, too, in finding this simple and uncorrupted Nature in the Golden Age, or in what he regarded as a survival of that blissful period, the savage state. The laws of civilization are too numerous and artificial. "I believe it were better to have none at all, then so infinite a number as we have. Nature gives them ever more happy, then those we give our selves. Witnesse the image of the golden age that poets faine; and the state wherein we see divers nations to live, which have no other."[76] His famous essay on *Cannibals* is an apotheosis of primitive life, at the expense of civilization.

"Those nations seeme therefore so barbarous to me," he says, "because they have received very little fashion from humane wit, and are yet neere their originall naturalitie. The lawes of nature doe yet command them, which

[74] Florio, ed. cit. II, 307. With this passage compare especially the following lines from Donne's *Elegy XVII:*

> "Our liberty's revers'd, our Charter's gone,
> And we're made servants to opinion,
> A monster in no certain shape attir'd,
> And whose originall is much desir'd,
> Formlesse at first, but goeing on it fashions,
> And doth prescribe manners and laws to nations.
> Here love receiv'd immedicable harms . . ."

[75] Florio, ed. cit. III, 322.

[76] Florio, ed. cit. III, 329.

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are but little bastardized by ours, and that with such puritie, as I am sometimes grieved the knowledge of it came no sooner to light, at what time there were men, that better than we could have judged of it. I am sorie, Lycurgus and Plato had it not: for me seemeth that what in those nations we see by experience, doth not only exceed all the pictures wherewith licentious Poesie hath proudly imbellished the golden age, and all her quaint inventions to faine a happy condition of man, but also the conception and desire of Philosophy. They could not imagine a genuitie so pure and simple, as we see it by experience; nor ever beleeve our societie might be maintained with so little art and humane combination. It is a nation, would I answer Plato, that hath no kinde of traffike, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superioritie; no use of service, of riches or of povertie; no contracts, no successions, no partitions, no occupations but idle; no respect of kindred, but common, no apparell but naturall, no manuring of lands, no use of wine, corne, or mettel. The very words that import lying, falshood, treason, dissimulations, covetousness, envie, detraction, and pardon, were never heard of amongst them. How dissonant would hee finde his imaginarie commonwealth from this perfection!"[77]

Montaigne does not fail to give warm praise, too, to primitive matrimonial arrangements.

"Their men have many wives, and by how much more they are reputed valiant, so much the greater is their number. The manner and beautie of their marriages is wondrous strange and remarkable: For, the same jealousie our wives have to keepe us from the love and affection of other women, the same have theirs to procure it. Being more carefull for their husbands honour and content, than of any thing else: They endevour and apply all their industrie, to have as many rivals as possibly they can, forasmuch as it is a testimonie of their husbands vertue. Our women would count it a wonder, but it is not so: It is a vertue properly Matrimoniall."[78]

The Nature which guided Montaigne, we suspect, was excessively gentle. And there may be disadvantages in understanding oneself in oneself rather than in Cicero!

Thus Montaigne had, before Donne, brought together the two philosophies, Scepticism and Naturalism, which characterized the "Libertine" tradition. To this tradition or school, John Donne for a time belonged, and Montaigne seems to me most likely to have been his master. Perhaps he never was a perfect disciple. His "queasy pain of being beloved and loving" was a sign of a restlessness, a dissatisfaction, which would of

[77] Florio, op. cit. I, 222. Shakespeare borrows this Rousseauistic passage, but, significantly, only for the purposes of comedy; Gonzalo plays with the idea a moment and then flings it aside as "merry fooling." *Tempest*, II, i.
[78] Florio, op. cit. III, 329.

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itself have led him beyond the boundaries of the world of Montaigne; he had deep needs that Montaigne could never have understood; his intellectual and spiritual life began at the place where Montaigne's ended. But whatever his later development, it is clear that the ideas which fascinated the youthful Donne are identical with the thought of Montaigne's maturity.

VI

Montaigne became the "livre de chevet" of the "libertines" in France as well as in England. From him, and from his disciple Charron, they drew a light and superficial philosophy, sufficient to give the spice of a cynical sophistication to their pleasures and poetry. Like their great master, they questioned all moral idealism and would follow only "gentle" Nature. The foremost of them, Théophile, imitated perfectly both the temper and ideas of Montaigne:

> "J'approuve qu'un chacun suive en tout la nature;
> Son empire est plaisant et sa loi n'est pas dure . . .
> Je pense que chacun auroit assez d'esprit
> Suivant le libre train que nature prescrit . . .
> Ne t'oppose jamais aux droits de la nature."[79]

Garasse was therefore correct in his formulation of the ideas of the *beaux-esprits:*

> "Il n'y a point d'autre divinité ny puissance souveraine au monde que la NATURE, laquelle il faut contenter en toutes choses, sans rien refuser à nostre corps ou à nos sens de ce qu'ils desirent de nous en l'exercice de leurs puissances et facultez naturelles."[80]

Ideas usually lose some of their definiteness in crossing the channel into England, and libertine Naturalism is not so easily disengaged for purposes of historical treatment from the English poetry of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless it was there, and gave, as in France, the air of philosophical sagacity to the sophistication and scepticism which the gay and licentious courts of the Stuarts especially affected. The verse of Théophile was not unknown in England, where he

[79] Théophile, *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. Alleaume. Paris (1856). *Notice*, lxvi.

[80] Théophile, ed. cit. *Notice*, xl. A sufficient number of *pièces justificatives* can be found in the verse of the *esprits libres* published by Frédéric Lachèvre, in *Le Procès du Poète Théophile de Viau*, Paris (1909). II, 305-41[illegible].

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spent his two years of exile.[81] And Montaigne was of course as popular there as in France. The immense prestige of Donne up to the Restoration familiarized poets with his audacious verse, some of which they directly imitated.[82]

A few quotations will illustrate how scepticism in ethics combined with Naturalistic conceptions of love, was a quite definite tradition in certain circles of seventeenth century England. In Daniel's *Ulysses and the Siren* (1605), the Siren replies to the argument of Ulysses, that "pleasure leaves a touch at last to show that it was ill":

> "That doth opinion only cause
> That's out of custom bred,
> Which makes us many other laws
> Than ever Nature did."

Milton's Comus shows no great skill in sceptical dialectics, but he shares the Naturalistic hedonism of some of Milton's contemporaries. "Impostor," cries the Lady in reply to him,

> "do not charge most innocent Nature
> As if she would her children should be riotous
> With her abundance."

In Carew's masque *Coelum Britannicum*, produced in the same year as Milton's (1634), the current naturalistic ideas are put more bluntly. Pleasure, threatened with being driven out of the world, pleads on her own behalf:

> "I am the goal,
> The journey's end, to which the sweating world
> And wearied Nature travels. For this, the best
> And wisest sect of all philosophers
> Made me the seat of supreme happiness;
> And though some, more austere, upon my ruins
> Did, to the prejudice of Nature, raise
> Some petty low-built virtues, 'twas because
> They wanted wings to reach my soaring pitch."[83]

[81] Cotton imitated him. See Sembower, C. J., *Life and Poetry of Charles Cotton*, N. Y. (1911). pp. 88-94.

[82] For instance, Francis Beaumont's *The Indifferent* and *Love's Freedome*; *Goe catch a star*, in *Wits Recreations* (1640); and Carew's *Rapture*.

[83] Carew, *Poems. Muses' Library*. p. 219. Carew also wrote two poems (pp. 160, 163) against the naturalistic code of morals. Whether sincere or not, the poems serve as proof of the currency of such ideas.

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An equally outspoken defense of naturalism is found in Thomas Randolph's *Upon Love fondly refus'd for Conscience sake.*[84] In the drama, John Ford is distinguished for his sympathy with libertine ethics, which he combined with a sentimental and attenuated Platonism.[85] And in Dryden's *Sigismonda and Guiscardo* the heroine defends her conduct by distinguishing between man-made laws and the primitive laws of nature. In brief, in England as in France, the sequence of Naturalism from the Renaissance into the Eighteenth Century is unbroken.[86]

In the light of this libertine tradition which existed before and after Donne, we can appreciate something of what went on in the mind of the young student of law who, as Courthope said, was a sceptic in religion and a revolutionist in love. The originality of his singularly modern ideas is only apparent; they were in fact the current thought of a definite Renaissance school of Scepticism and Naturalism. We have traced briefly the origins and development of this school, and suggested how large a part it played in making the tone and temper of the Renaissance and seventeenth century. With this school the learned Donne in some way came in contact, very likely in Montaigne as well as elsewhere. With these "libertine" ideas he played, at times

[84] Randolph, *Poems*. Ed. J. J. Parry, New Haven (1917). P. 185.

[85] Sherman, S. P., *Ford's 'Tis Pity and the Broken Heart*, Boston (1915). *Introduction*. Cf. Lee, Vernon, *The Italy of the Elizabethan Dramatists*, in *Euphorion*, London (1899). Professor Sherman points out the analogy between Ford's *'Tis Pity* and *Canace è Macareo*, a tragedy of incest by Sperone Speroni, and thinks the Italian play may have been Ford's source. His summary of Speroni's defence of his play is worth quoting here, as showing in conjunction all the traditions discussed in this paper:

"Speroni reminds his hearers of two arguments urged by Dejopeja, wife of Eolo. The children did not deserve death, she maintained, first, because they had merely done *per forza* what the gods do *per volontà* in heaven; second, because they had done that in the Iron Age which was permitted in the innocent Age of Gold. This position is supported by a multitude of references to the poets. Then glancing at the customs of the ancient Persians and Egyptians, Speroni comes to a point of distinct coincidence with Ford, namely, that the union of brother and sister is forbidden, not by nature but by the laws, and not even by all laws." *Introduction*, li-lii.

[86] See Perrens, F. T., *Les Libertins en France au XVIIème Siècle*, Paris (1899). *Conclusion*, especially on Voltaire and Diderot, p. 493. Compare Berkeley's characterization of the libertines in *Alciphron*, *Works*, ed. Fraser. Vol. II, p. 105.

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gayly and lightly, at times more seriously and cynically. From them he was converted, biographers seem to agree, chiefly by his marriage; but his own nature must have been too deep, too susceptible to idealism, to have long remained a worshipper of the earthly Aphrodite. Yet his youthful scepticism profoundly influenced him. The saint was a different saint for having passed through his youthful period of hard living and hard thinking. He must have acquired some of Pascal's sense of "les grandeurs et misères de l'homme." And as Pascal appropriated the scepticism and cynicism of the French libertine movement and turned them to the uses of a profound and noble religious feeling, one asks if this saintly divine, too, had learned in his early years of doubt and groping some of his passionate awareness of his miserableness and his need of divine support. If our historical study has made Donne more clearly a man of his own time, a typical Rennaissance sceptic, yet the study of his whole life should possess an intrinsic value, also, in giving us an insight into some of the workings of human nature, and a measure of the adequacy of the naturalistic philosophy which is widely current even in our own day.

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A PROBABLE SOURCE OF GRILLPARZER'S SAPPHO

Grillparzer very obligingly names for us, in his autobiography,[1] the two stories which served him as the source of his *Ahnfrau*, and relates how the stories fused themselves into one to suit his dramatic needs. In the case of *Sappho* he has not given us this information. He does, however, very emphatically deny that Madame de Staël's *Corinne* served him in the creation of his drama.[2] Notwithstanding this very emphatic denial of any influence upon him by *Corinne* some critics are inclined to discount, more or less completely, the poet's statement, and to regard the novel of Madame de Staël as the source of his drama *Sappho*.[3]

In the third of a series of articles entitled *Franz Grillparzer. Kritik und Untersuchung* by Richard Maria Werner[4] the claim is put forth that not Madame de Staël's *Corinne*, but her drama *Sapho*, is to be regarded as the source of Grillparzer's drama. Later still Julius Schwering presents arguments to prove that the source of Grillparzer's drama is to be found in a drama of the same name by the practically unknown Franz von Kleist.[5]

The conviction that the essential source of Grillparzer's drama is to be found in Madame de Staël's *Corinne* and certain

[1] *Sämmtliche Werke in zehn Bänden, zweite Ausgabe.* Stuttgart, 1874. X, 72.

[2] *Aus dem persönlichen Verkehr mit Franz Grillparzer* by Auguste von Littrow-Bischoff. Vienna 1873. Page 79.

[3] So August Sauer: "Darin darf man sich auch durch Grillparzers entgegengesetzte Behauptung nicht irre machen lassen." In *Grillparzers Werke. Im Auftrage der Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien herausgegeben von August Sauer.* I. Introduction CI.

[4] *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung Nr. 156, 1884.* Werner says: "Ich kann mich dem Gedanken nicht verschliessen, dass Grillparzer wesentlich von Madame de Staël beeinflusst gewesen sei, und zwar nicht, wie Scherer meint (S. 233) von der 'Corinne,' sondern von . . . 'Sapho.' The reference to Scherer is to his *Geschichte des geistigen Lebens in Deutschland und Oesterreich*, "Auch die Corinna der Frau von Staël dürfte darauf von Einfluss gewesen sein."

[5] *Franz Grillparzers hellenische Trauerspiele* by Dr. Julius Schwering, Paderborn 1891, page 17ff.

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of Wieland's Hellenistic novels is put forth in much detail by August Sauer.[6]

In this article I wish to present as the most probable source of Grillparzer's drama an idyl or epic by Amalie von Imhoff, *Die Schwestern von Lesbos*, published in Schiller's *Musenalmanach* for 1800 and as an independent work in 1801.[7] After discussing the reasons for regarding the work by Frau Amalie von Helvig-Imhoff as the source of Grillparzer's *Sappho* I shall take up briefly the elements in *Corinne* and in Wieland's novels which seem to find an echo in *Sappho*. I shall ignore the arguments presented in favor of Madame de Staël's *Sapho* and Franz von Kleist's *Sappho*, contenting myself with the brief statement that the resemblance between these dramas and that of Grillparzer is of so general a nature as to offer no reason to believe that either of them could in any way have influenced Grillparzer in his work. It is not probable that Grillparzer knew of the existence of a *Sapho* by Madame de Staël[7a] when he wrote his drama. Sauer is of a similar opinion with regard to the drama by Franz von Kleist.

I have not been able to make myself acquainted with Franz von Kleist's drama at first hand. I base my opinion in part on Schwering's analysis of the play and the passages which he presents from the drama as indicative of the influence of Kleist's work upon Grillparzer, and in part upon the analysis and discussion by Sauer in his review of Schwering's work.[8]

Die Schwestern von Lesbos is not a treatment of the Sappho legend, though it is not impossible that the author had this legend in mind when she wrote one episode of her epic. In any case, there is a very definite reference to the Leucadian Rock. The scene is laid on the Island of Lesbos not far from Mytilene. We have the five principal characters which seem to be necessary to the treatment of the Sappho theme; the

[6] Pages LXXXVIII-CXII of edition referred to in note 3.

[7] It is republished in Vol. 135, 3 of the *Deutsche National Literatur*. That Schiller as well as Goethe considered this poem as being above the average of dilettante productions is shown by the fact that the latter went over it repeatedly, correcting and revising it. See *Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe*, March 19 to August 21, 1799.

[7a] Though written in 1811 the work did not appear till 1821.

[8] In the *Anzeiger fur deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, XIX, 308 f (October 1893).

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young man standing between two maidens, but carried away from his first love, which was the product of his imaginative idealization of an intellectually and spiritually superior elder maiden, by a sudden overwhelming passion for one younger, but less highly endowed. By birth this younger maiden is the sister of the elder one; by the law of the land she is her slave. As is the case in the *Sapho* of Madame de Staël and in Grillparzer's drama the union of the younger maiden with the youth is sanctioned by the elder and unsuccessful rival. The poem of Amalie von Helvig-Imhoff, however, is an idyl; the final outcome is complete reconciliation, and the disappointed maiden gives herself as a priestess to the goddess Hestia. This fundamental difference between the two works, an idyl on the one hand, a tragedy on the other, carries with it the fundamental necessity of a difference in characterization for the main personages; in the idyl the characters are calm, passive, *leidend;* in the drama we find at first something of this calmness, but it must of necessity give way to passion if we are to have a tragedy, hence the characters of Phaon and Sappho become active, aggressive, *handelnd*. The striking feature of the situation, however, is that fundamentally the characters of both idyl and drama are so much alike, notwithstanding the fact that the two types of literature are so essentially different.

The story contained in the epic runs as follows: Simaitha and Likoris are two sisters living on the Island of Lesbos not far from Mytilene. Simaitha, the elder sister, is betrothed to the youth Diokles, and the marriage is to take place on the morrow. The first canto opens with the two sisters on their way to the spring where they and other maidens are wont to fill their water jars. From their conversation we learn that Simaitha is honored by her friends for her nobility of character, and loved by her younger sister for her generous spirit. She is preëminent among the maidens of the land.

Stress is laid on the peculiar relations of the two sisters. A type of matriarchy prevails in the land, and under the law the elder sister inherits all the possessions of her mother, sons and younger sisters receiving nothing. Younger daughters are to be regarded and treated by the more fortunate elder sister as slaves. Simaitha, however, has disregarded the law, and has been to Likoris, since their mother's death, sister, friend, and mother.

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The sisters arrive at the spring, and the curious maidens question Simaitha about her lover, whom they have not seen. Only through the praise of Likoris have they been able to picture him:

> Der Sterblichen keiner ist schöner,
> Edler von Sitten wie er, und werter der Lieb' als Diokles!
> I. 192-3

Rambling on, one of the talkative maidens says they would suppose that Likoris were the bride because of her praise of Diokles. Likoris breaks out into tears. Simaitha shows the sterner side of her nature and rebukes the offending maiden for her wanton words.

All the maidens but Simaitha and her confidante, Thestülis, return home. Thestülis warns her friend that Likoris cherishes a deep passion for Diokles, and blames Simaitha for this state of affairs, since the latter has spoiled her sister by her tender affection, instead of keeping her in slavery in accordance with the prevailing custom. Simaitha's breast is torn with conflicting emotions, and she wishes to be alone:

> Doch geh' jetzt Thestülis, einsam
> Lass und schweigend die Brust, die bangbewegte, mich stillen.
> Fremde Leiden bestürmen sie heut' und neue Gefahren
> Drohen der heiligen Ruh, es droht dem lieben Herzen
> Kalter, schmerzlicher Hass! I. 344-48.

Left alone Simaitha meditates upon what she has seen and heard, and gradually her accustomed calmness and peace of spirit return. Now she is joined at the well by Diokles, and we learn from their conversation that the youth cherishes Simaitha with reverence, as a divinely superior being, rather than with the passion of a lover. It is the latter emotion that the maiden would prefer,

> Denn die Göttin verehret der Mann, ihn fesselt das Weib nur.
> II. 96.

Diokles is pensive and melancholy, but is able to give no satisfactory explanation for his feelings to Simaitha other than that the thought of their approaching union fills him with vague feelings of fear and a sense of strangeness to her. He is, very evidently, not clear in his own mind as to what disturbs him. Simaitha gradually betrays the trouble within her own

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breast, but hides the cause. As they talk together harmony seems to be restored; they return together to Simaitha's home.

Filemos, the father of the maidens, is waiting for the evening meal. Likoris, according to the custom of the land, serves. The father rejoices at the thought of the coming marriage. Diokles reverts to his former melancholy, tells of his life at home, and of the grief which he and his aged mother will feel at their separation. In telling of his home life he mentions Mytilene and the high projecting cliff by the sea. This reference reminds Filemos of the death of a maiden whom he had seen hurl herself from the cliff[8a] into the sea because her lover had jilted her in favor of the elder sister whose wealth he coveted.

As her father's story comes to an end Likoris breaks into sympathetic and self-commiserating tears. Diokles' eyes are opened to her passion, and he feels with shame a wakening response to it in his own heart.

Simaitha, too, has seen, and withdraws deeply agitated to her chamber. When Likoris enters the chamber later to perform her usual evening services as maid the elder sister feigns sleep. Likoris is overcome with grief at the thought of the morrow and the happiness denied her, and breaks out in a lament which betrays to her sister beyond question the love that she bears for Diokles. Likoris goes; Simaitha passes a sleepless night in agony of spirit.

Diokles has not been able to find sleep, and with the dawn he betakes himself to the top of a high hill in an adjacent vineyard. He gives himself over to introspection and self-reproach because of his weakness. Now Likoris suddenly approaches; breathless from her rapid ascent of the hill she rests her head upon his shoulder. Both strive to hide their feelings. When Likoris has recovered her breath she requests Diokles to permit her to go to his mother to be as a daughter to her, since the mother is now to lose the tender care of her only child; unwittingly she reveals to him the full strength of her love for him. Diokles clasps her to his breast. Then, conscious of the wrong they do to Simaitha, they resolve to separate.

[8a] The author very evidently has the Leucadian cliff in mind.

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Diokles now goes at once to Simaitha and suggests to her, sophistically but unsuccessfully trying to hide his true motives, that he take Likoris to his mother, where she may find a new home. He will take it upon himself to provide her with a dowry and a husband. Simaitha accepts this way of escape from the impending calamity. Her own marriage shall be celebrated first.

The wedding procession approaches the temple, the burning torch of Hymen borne at its head by Likoris. As she enters the temple she faints and falls. The passion of Diokles bursts forth in full flame before all. Supporting the fainting maiden in his arm he strives to justify himself to Simaitha—he has been the unconscious victim of a passion beyond his control; only now has he realized its strength. Simaitha, divinely generous, pardons and unites the young couple. Then she throws her bridal wreath upon the altar fire, embraces the altar, and dedicates herself as priestess to the service of the goddess Hestia.

With the story thus briefly outlined before us we may now consider more detailed resemblances between the idyl and the drama.

Likoris is in almost every respect the exact prototype of Melitta, in age and character, and in her relations to the elder maiden and to the youth who loves her. The following brief descriptive phrases make clear her age and general appearance: das rosenwangige Mägdlein I, 19; das liebliche Antlitz I, 205; die in reizender Unschuld zwischen dem Kinde noch schwankt und der zartentblühenden Jungfrau II, 34-5; das hold aufblühende Mädchen V, 37; die Liebliche VI, 30; der Unschuld rührender Liebreiz; V, 34; die kaum entwachsen der Kindheit VI, 41. In the following phrases more stress is laid upon her character and retiring disposition: voll Unschuld I, 222; dein kindlich Herz I, 223; unerfahren und schüchtern I, 236; Likoris' unbewahrtes Gemüt, das jedem Eindruck sich hingibt IV, 137-8.

Grillparzer's Melitta is before all else Das liebe Mädchen mit dem stillen Sinn, 755. Compare further, for indications of her age and appearance: das heiter blühnde Kind, 790; Es ist ein liebes Kind, 739; Die jungfräuliche Stille, 608;

> Wie sie da stand, für eine ihrer Nymphen,
> Der Jungsten eine, hätte sie Diana— 999-1000

Du süsses Wesen!
Du hattest Recht, die Lehre galt auch dir! 344-5

For the inner nature of Melitta it is not so easy to cite descriptive lines, for the simple reason that Grillparzer has portrayed the soul of Melitta in accordance with the fundamental law of dramatic art that the spontaneous words and deeds of a character are the best exposition of the character. Melitta's lines in act II, scene 4, and act V, scenes 5 and 6, give us a clear impression of her sweet and naïve simplicity; lines 756-768, spoken by Sappho, are descriptive. Melitta weeps at the teasing words of her fellow slave Eucharis, lines 524-551, as does Likoris at the words of her companion Dämo, I, 174-207; each suffers at seeing her hidden feelings dragged to light. Grillparzer presents Melitta to us as even more passive than her prototype, Likoris; she is the only one of the three principal characters in whom this quality could be completely retained. It is clear, I think, that Grillparzer wished to present in Melitta the same naïve, girlish type, between childhood and budding womanhood, that we have found in Likoris. That he presented his character more perfectly is due to his greater poetic gifts.

There is much similarity between the relations of Likoris to Simaitha in the idyl, and the relations of Melitta to Sappho in the drama. Likoris is the slave of Simaitha, by the law of the land; Melitta is the slave of Sappho, by purchase. Notwithstanding the relationship of mistress and slave there are, in both cases, strong ties of affection binding the elder and the younger women. Simaitha has been to her half-orphaned slave-sister friend, sister, and mother:

Ja du erschienest als Mutter der Frühverwaisten, als Freundin!
Liebe lehrte mich nur und Güte den heitern Gehorsam I, 70-71

Compare further: I, 323-29; I, 342-44; VI, 17-20, 26-27. Sappho tells Phaon of her love for Melitta in similar terms of endearment:

Die Liebste mir von meinen Dienerinnen,
Von meinen *Kindern* möcht' ich sagen, denn
Ich habe stets als Kinder sie geliebt.

. . . .

Nicht vor der Zeit dem Aug der Lehrerin,
Der Mutter zarter Sorgfalt zu entziehen. 740-47

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> Von all den Mädchen,
> Die je ein spielend Glück mir zugeführt,
> War keine teurer mir als sie, Melitta, 752-54

Compare further Sappho's words in lines 361-63 and 1070-75. That she is not indulging in mere rhetoric to impress Phaon is borne out by Melitta's words to Sappho,

> Was besäss' ich denn,
> Das ich nicht Dir, nicht deiner Milde dankte? 1068-69;

and again, lines 1180-86, 1767-74, 1776-81, 1788-92. As Grillparzer has intensified the passivity of nature in Melitta as compared with that of Likoris, so he has intensified the love of the slave girl for the elder woman. Both authors, however, attribute to each of the contrasted women a love which is able finally to express itself in complete self-renunciation.

A consideration of the resemblances in the relations of Melitta and Phaon as compared with those of Likoris and Diokles can best be taken up after some consideration of the similarities between Phaon and Diokles. Here we are confronted at once with a resemblance and a contrast. To Grillparzer the Sappho theme had at once presented itself as a tragedy. Recalling his conversation with Dr. Joel he tells us in his autobiography:[9] "Ich versetzte augenblicklich, das gäbe allenfalls auch ein Trauerspiel." Now the passivity of character that marks the three main personages of *Die Schwestern von Lesbos* was not suited to dramatic purposes. This passivity was maintained and enhanced in the case of Melitta, to be sure. In the case of Phaon and Sappho it is maintained in the opening scenes, to give way later to very violent and aggressive passion.[10] Without this change a tragedy would have been impossible.

The mood of Diokles when he first comes before us is fairly well indicated in the following lines:

> Aber als ihm, der sinnend, im wachen Traume, die Blicke
> Starr zur Erde gesenkt und, unbekümmert des Pfades,
> Unbewusst ihm gefolgt, die sanfte Stimme Simaithas
> Tönte, die hohe Gestalt entstieg den Schatten der Dämmrung,
> Hob er das lockige Haupt mit Staunen, und hemmte den Fusstritt,
> II, 71-5

[9] Page 85 of volume and edition referred to in note 1.

[10] We find again this sudden wakening from passivity to activity in Naukleros and Hero.

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Compare further, II, 117-23. 'In a waking dream' would certainly be true words to characterize the Phaon of *Sappho*, act I, scene 3:

> Weiss ich doch kaum was ich beginne, was ich sage. 132
>
> Kann ich mich selbst in all dem Glück nicht finden. 138
>
> Und kaum vermag ich's mich zu überzeugen,
> Dass alles fest steht und nur *ich* es bin,
> Der auf des Glückes Wogen taumelnd wird getragen. 141-3
>
> Das weisst du, Hohe, besser ja als ich,
> Der ich, kaum halb erwacht, noch sinnend forsche,
> Wie viel davon geschehn, wie viel ich nur geträumt. 246-8

Further characterization of Phaon's mood at this time is given in lines 315-18 and 1733-36.

The essential difference in the development of the two characters is that Diokles does not begin to come to himself till the episode in the poem, III, 134-193, and even then he remains essentially passive, ready to renounce. Phaon is shocked into wakefulness and aggressive activity by the sight of the dagger with which Sappho threatens Melitta.

In less fundamental matters also there is much resemblance between Diokles and Phaon: Diokles is blühend I, 16; der herrliche Mann, ein Halbgott I, 187;

> Der Sterblichen keiner ist schöner,
> Edler von Sitten wie er, und werter der Lieb' als Diokles! I, 192-3

These descriptive words of praise are all put into the mouth of Likoris; compare also V, 28ff. So Melitta tells us, as she sees Phaon approaching with Sappho,

> Hoch eine andre, glänzende Gestalt,
> Wie man der Leier und des Bogen Gott
> Zu bilden pflegt! 32-34

Sappho is equally unstinting in praise of her handsome lover: 70-75; 257-64; 371-2.

Returning to more essential resemblances we find Diokles throughout, and Phaon in the opening scenes, filled with reverential awe for the woman he believes he loves. They may both be said to suffer under the consciousness of their inferiority and unworthiness. Diokles:

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Doch als, näher ich dir, erstaunt die besonnene Klarheit
Sah des seltenen Geists, und deines tiefen Gemütes
Heilige Still' und Huld, wie schien ich selber so klein mir!
II, 159-61

Die höhere Schönheit
Ehrt' er fühlend in ihr, die Krone herrlicher Jungfrau'n;
V, 32-33

Höher hob sich stets und unerreichbar Simaitha
Seinen Blicken empor, V, 41-42

Herrlich stehest du, Hohe! als ruhig waltende Gottheit
Zwischen Sterblichen hier, die blinde Leidenschaft hinreisst!
VI, 190-91

Compare further the words of Diokles, II, 231-36. In the thought and words of Phaon Sappho is the Erhabene Frau! 130; Hohe, 246; der Frauen Krone, 217; der Frauen Zier, die Krone des Geschlechtes, 505. He expresses his sense of unworthiness as does his prototype:

Ich kann beschämt nur staunen und verstummen. 84

Wie kann ich so viel Güte je bezahlen?
Stets wachsend fast erdrückt mich meine Schuld! 299-300

This note of reverence for Sappho returns towards the end of the drama:

Du bist mir wieder was du einst mir warst,
Eh ich dich noch gesehn, in ferner Heimat,
Dasselbe Götterbild, das ich nur irgend
So lange für ein Menschenantlitz hielt,
Zeig' dich als Göttin! Segne Sappho, segne! 1717-21

Ich liebte dich, so wie man Götter wohl
Wie man das Gute liebet und das Schöne. 1724-25

The place in which the youth and the elder maiden first meet is different in the two poems. Diokles and Simaitha meet in the temple; Phaon and Sappho at the Olympic games. Yet the manner in which the two poets present this first meeting, and the emotional reactions pictured in each case, are very similar: an unexpected meeting in which the agitation of the youth betrays suddenly upspringing emotion, which is taken by both himself and the maiden for a spontaneous love, the maiden giving and accepting without question. Diokles:

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Zweimal füllte sich kaum die wechselnde Scheibe des Mondes,
Seit ich zuerst in dem Tempel dich sah, die schönste der Jungfrau'n,
Liebe durchglühte die Brust mir, du kamst dem schüchternen Jüngling
Sanft entgegen, und so entlockte schmeichelnde Hoffnung
Das Bekenntnis mir gleich der neuen süssen Gefühle. II, 152-56

Phaon:

ich durch das Volk mich stürze
Und von dem Blick der Siegerin getroffen
Der blöde Jüngling scham-entgeistert steht; 243-45

Sappho's response to these words of Phaon might well have been the answer given by Simaitha to the above words of Diokles:

Wohl weiss ich's, wie du stumm und schüchtern standst.
Das ganze Leben schien im Auge nur zu wohnen,
Das sparsam aufgehoben von dem Grund
Den nicht verlöschten Funken laut genug bezeugte.
Ich hiess dich folgen und du folgtest mir
In ungewisses Staunen tief versenkt. 249-54

As the two immature and idealizing youths are alike in their submission to the charm exercised upon them by the more mature and more highly endowed woman, so they are alike in their response to the charms of the less gifted maiden who is more nearly their equal. And both our authors take pains to justify to us this infidelity. Amalie von Imhoff does this in the poem itself by words of extenuation put into the mouth of the persons themselves, and speaking in her own right as author. Grillparzer, writing a drama, not an epic, has permitted Phaon to speak his own apology to only a limited extent. In his letter of defence for the drama written, but not sent, to Adolf Müllner,[11] however, the poet tells us why, for aesthetic reasons, Phaon's conduct must be justified: "Ja, selbst aus dramatischen Gründen mussten Phaon und Melitta rein gehalten werden; das konnte nur geschehen, wenn sie über ihre Empfindungen gegen Sappho und gegen sich so lange ohne Klarkeit blieben, bis ihre Empfindungen eine Stärke erreicht hatten, die bei nicht aussergewöhnlichen Menschen ein Vergessen höherer Rücksichten verzeihlich macht, . . .

[11] *Grillparzers Briefe und Tagebücher.* Gesammelt von Carl Glossy und August Sauer. Stuttgart und Berlin, 1903. The letter to Müllner is number 19. The letter to Böttiger is number 18.

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The justificatory lines of and for Diokles and Likoris are many:

> Ach! die Arme, sie hatte das sinnverwirrende Gift schon
> Aus dem ersten Blick des Jünglings gesogen, der ähnlich
> War den Göttern an Wuchs und edler blühender Bildung.
> Doch ihm selber verstrickte mit falschen Netzen den Busen
> Eros und Himeros, schlau ihn den ersten Wegen entlockend.
> Denn Simaitha besass sein Herz! Die höhere Schönheit
> Ehrt' er fühlend in ihr, der Krone herrlicher Jungfrau'n;
> Doch zu nah erschien ihm der Unschuld rührender Liebreiz,
> Welcher die Schwester schmückte; der Liebe früheste Regung
> Sah gerührt er durch sich im zarten Busen gewecket,
> Und so wandte sein Herz zum holdaufblühenden Mädchen
> Leis' sich hin; denn schwer ist's widerstehen der Neigung
> Die, nicht Erwiderung fordernd, uns unbegrenzet sich hingibt.
> Dankbar wähnte Diokles sich so und schon war er untreu.
> Höher hob sich stets und unerreichbar Simaitha
> Seinen Blicken empor, es schmiegte der jungen Likoris
> Liebelächelndes Bild sich enger dem Busen des Jünglings
> Und vertraulicher an, zu spät erwacht das Bewusstsein,
> Da der Leidenschaft Sturm schon allgewaltig ihn fortreisst.
> V, 27-45

The last two lines of the citation are almost identical in thought with the idea expressed by Grillparzer in his letter to Müllner quoted above.

Similar words of justification come from Diokles himself:

> Ja, ich wähnte bis jetzt die schnell aufkeimende Neigung
> Mutig bald zu besiegen und glaubte, deiner nicht unwert,
> Hier dir zur Seite zu geh'n, die festen Bande zu knüpfen.
> Doch ich fühl' es, mir wand ein feindlich waltendes Schicksal
> Längst um die Seele das Band, das neue, schon, und vergebens
> Strebt' ich entgegen der Macht, die unnatürlich, zur Qual, mir
> Liebe im Herzen belebt, wo nie sie genähret die Hoffnung.
> Alles weisst du nun, du Treffliche, die ich beleidigt,
> Wie ich selbst mich betrog. VI, 201-209

Phaon excuses himself in answer to Sappho's "Betrüger" with the words,

> Nein fürwahr, ich bin es nicht!
> Wenn ich dir Liebe schwur, es war nicht Täuschung,
> Ich liebte dich, so wie man Götter wohl
> Wie man das Gute liebet und das Schöne. 1722-25

And further:

> Ich taumelte in dumpfer Trunkenheit,
> Mit mir und mit der Welt in finstern Streite;
> Vergebens rief ich die Gefühle auf.

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Die ich in Schlummer glaubt' und die nicht waren,
Du standst vor mir ein unbegreiflich Bild
Zu dem's mich hin, von dem's mich mächtig fort,
Mit unsichtbaren Banden mächtig zog; . . .
. . . .
Da sah ich *sie*, und hoch gen Himmel sprangen
Die tiefen Quellen alle meines Innern,
Die stockend vorher weigerten den Strahl. 1733-45

This apostasy of the youths is anticipated early by both authors, the two youths in a very similar mood trying to bring clearness into their uncertain and troubled spirits. Diokles:

Ja, ich bekenn' es dir frei: mit still gehegter Besorgnis
Seh' ich nahe den Tag der langerhofften Verbindung,
Fühle mich ängstlich nun dir fremder; II, 149-51

So Phaon in the monologue of act II, scene 1:

Und jetzt da sie nun mein ist, mir gehört,
Da meiner Wünsche winterliche Raupen
Als goldne Schmetterlinge mich umspielen,
Jetzt frag' ich noch und steh' und sinn' und zaudre!
492-95

The greater part of the resemblances between Simaitha and Sappho have been brought out in considering the relations existing between the younger and the elder women, and between the youths and the elder women. One or two essentials remain. Simaitha and Sappho are alike in that each of them desires not the adoration but the human love of the youth she has chosen. Simaitha expresses this desire most clearly in the words,

Nicht was ich eben dir schien, ein Wesen höherer Abkunft,
Nein, der sterblichen Frau'n geliebteste möcht' ich dir heissen.
Denn die Göttin verehrt der Mann, ihn fesselt das Weib nur.
II, 94-96

Sappho:

Nur Eins verlieren könnt' ich wahrlich nicht,
Dich Phaon, deine Freundschaft, deine Liebe!
Drum mein Geliebter, prüfe dich!
Du kennst noch nicht die Unermesslichkeit
Die auf und nieder wogt in dieser Brust.
O lass mich's nie, Geliebter nie erfahren,
Dass ich den vollen Busen legte an den deinen
Und fänd' ihn leer!

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Phaon.
Erhabne Frau!
Sappho.
Nicht so!
Sagt dir dein Herz denn keinen süssern Namen? 123-31

The two elder women have again in common, dignity, poise, and calmness of spirit. This phase of the character of Simaitha is rather overdone. The following list of descriptive words and phrases is far from complete: ernst . . . sanft . . . die Stütze des Hauses I, 13; mit ernstem Worte I, 45; leuchtendes Auge I, 46; Liebe, Güte I, 71; mit liebreich freundlichem Lächeln I, 172; mit heitrer Ruhe II, 37; mit ruhig ernster Betrachtung II, 55; besonnene Klarheit II, 159; seltner Geist II, 160; deines tiefen Gemütes heilige Still' und Huld I, 160-61; höherer Weisheit ernstes Gepräge I, 173-74. Simaitha herself tells us how she has come by this poise:

Eine Welt von Erfahrung und Leiden trag' ich im Busen!
Zürnt denn aber so streng ein unversöhnliches Schicksal,
Dass die höhere Ruh und Fassung, welche das Unglück
Bot mit tröstender Hand, als mit der andern es alles
Mir entriss, II, 177-81

A youth whom she had loved and to whom she had been betrothed had been lost to her by death.

Simaitha, to be sure, is not represented as entirely free from the normal human emotions of anger, suspicion, jealousy, and even hate (IV, 96-131; VI, 124-27), but the author of the idyl represents her heroine as always victorious over these passions. The tragedian Grillparzer, however, needed just these more violent passions for his theme, and he makes use of them to motivate more strongly Phaon's revulsion of feeling and infidelity.

None the less, Grillparzer needed likewise the woman of calm and poise. We rather lose sight of this phase of Sappho's character in the storm of passion that sweeps over her. In his letter to Müllner, however, Grillparzer several times lays stress upon the nobler qualities of Sappho's nature: "Ein Charakter . . . über die . . . eine *erworbene* Ruhe, die schöne Frucht höherer Geistesbildung, das Zepter führt, . . . schien mir für meine Absicht ganz geeignet." And again, "daher diese gesättigte Ruhe, mit der sie auftritt."

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In the first act Grillparzer presents Sappho to us in this light; there is, to be sure, an elegiac note of mournfulness, and Sappho's song, which constitutes the sixth scene of the first act, betokens a spirit haunted by vague forebodings of loss. In the whole first act, however, there is only one note of malignant passion, and that is quickly gone,

> Fürwahr, dich hassen könnt' ich! Geh! 329

In the second act even this one note is absent; Sappho, deeply wounded, suffering sorely, shows every mark of self-control, and asks only to be left alone in order to find the calm and quiet that she needs, lines 781-86. In the third act, however, Sappho's fear and jealousy are fully, and justifiably, aroused. Throughout the fourth act passion prevails. There is but one softening note,

> Und streng—Nicht strenge mög' er sie mir halten.
> Sie ist ja doch gestraft genug! 1327-28

In the fifth act Sappho again becomes calm. To be sure, it is not the calmness of the opening scenes; rather, the apathetic calm of disillusionment, of despair. Gradually, however, the spirit again becomes supreme, and with this return dignity and dispassionate resolution.[11a] So Sappho appears in the last two scenes of the drama. For Phaon she again becomes

> Dasselbe Götterbild, das ich nur irgend
> So lange für ein Menschenantlitz hielt, 1719-20

Melitta kneels before her in humility and repentance as before a goddess. The younger lovers are forgiven and united with her blessing. Sappho speaks of herself as a priestess of the gods, and sacred to them.

In brief, throughout the greater part of the drama Sappho is presented to us as a woman of infinitely superior intellectual and moral nature. In this respect she is a counterpart of Simaitha, while in the closing scene the resemblances are most striking; the same high dignity, the same grandeur of soul, the same exalted submission to the gods.

[11a] That Sappho thus return to herself is necessary if she is to have the sympathy of the spectator. Grillparzer was forced to steer between the Charybdis of aesthetic need and the Scylla of sufficient motivation for the death of Sappho. In this dilemma it was the motivation of Sappho's death that suffered.

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It is interesting to note that just these scenes where the resemblance between Sappho and Simaitha is most striking, that is, the scenes in which Sappho shows the greatest calm and poise, are those that Grillparzer mentions in his letter of defence to Müllner[11] as the ones which he wrote with the most conscious self-control, and which he had most clearly in mind from the very beginning of his work: "Ich habe die beiden ersten Akte und die erstere Hälfte des dritten, obwohl bei voller Wärme des Gemüts, mit einer Besonnenheit, mit einer Berechnung der kleinsten Triebfedern geschrieben, die mir Freude machen würde, selbst wenn ihre Frucht missglückt wäre, bloss durch das Bewusstsein, dass ich ihrer fähig bin. Es stand übrigens schon vom Anfange her zu befürchten, dass diese durch ein wirkliches Heraustreten aus mir selbst bewirkte Stimmung bei der krankhaften Reizbarkeit meines Wesens von keiner gar langen Dauer sein würde, und diese Besorgnis ward, durch äussere Umstände beschleunigt, gegen das Ende des dritten Aktes wirklich. Ich wurde nämlich krank und musste mit der Arbeit aussetzen. Als ich wieder daran ging, war meine Stimmung und mit ihr mein ganzer Ideengang geändert. Gerade auf den Punkt, wo ich stehen geblieben, fiel der von vornherein beabsichtigte Wendepunkt in Sapphos Handlungsweise. Ich konnte nicht dazu gelangen, den Faden genau da wieder aufzunehmen, wo ich ihn fallen gelassen, und der vierte Akt kam dadurch in einen ziemlichen Kontrast mit dem früheren. Die Schlussscene des dritten Akts und der grösste Teil des fünften war mir schon beim Anfange zu deutlich, als dass meine veränderte Gemütslage darauf einen wesentlichen Einfluss hätte nehmen *können.*

"Das ist in kurzem die Geschichte des minder lebhaften Tons der ersten Akte, der mir in der Freude meines Herzens (wenigstens in Beziehung auf mich, auf die Entwicklung meiner Anlage) beinahe wie ein errungener Sieg vorkam . . . Dass die ersten beiden Akte nicht genug Beweglichkeit, ja der erste selbst nur wenig eigentlich dramatisches Leben habe . . . musste ich mir selbst gestehen . . .

" . . . Selbst in *dramatischer* Beziehung lässt sich, wie mir dünkt, einiges zu Gunsten der Art sagen, auf welche die ersten Akte behandelt sind. Wenn der Idee, deren Versinnlichung ich mir vorgenommen hatte, gehörig herausgehoben werden,

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wenn das Ende Sapphos all den Eindruck machen sollte, den ich mir vorgesetzt hatte, so musste ihr erstes Auftreten in der Fülle aller inneren und äusseren Bedingungen geschehen, welche das Glück des Menschen sonst begründet. Daher . . . diese gesättigte Ruhe . . . War es nicht durchaus notwendig, sie noch vor dem Sturm der Leidenschaften so zu zeigen, wie sie in ihrem gewöhnlichen Zustande war, damit der Zuschauer die Arme bemitleide, statt sie zu verabscheuen . . . Wie ermüdend lange braucht es, bis in Sappho die Eifersucht die Oberhand gewinnt!"

In this justification by Grillparzer of his Sappho as yet free from passion, and, by implication, of the Sappho of the last act, and in his explanation of the lack of dramatic life and movement in the first two acts the poet lays stress upon the very qualities that establish the resemblance between Simaitha and Sappho and also upon the element of epic retardation which is common to both the idyl and the drama. Moreover, he refers to the mood in which he was working as "diese durch ein wirkliches Heraustreten aus mir selbst bewirkte Stimmung," as if with his theme there had come to him something to lift him above himself, an artistic conception which made a strong appeal to him and tempted him to accomplish something superior to that which his usual mood would have brought forth. I do not for a moment believe that the figure of Simaitha as portrayed by Amalie von Helvig-Imhoff could have stirred him to this enthusiasm, but I do believe that his vision of what he himself could make of this character, plus passion, might very well have stimulated his poetic fancy to recreate this figure in dramatic and more artistic form.

Very interesting also is his apology contained in the above citation, "und diese Besorgnis ward, durch äussere Umstände beschleunigt, gegen das Ende des dritten Aktes wirklich. Ich wurde nämlich krank und musste mit der Arbeit aussetzen. Als ich wieder daran ging, war meine Stimmung und mit ihr mein ganger Ideengang geändert. Gerade auf den Punkt, wo ich stehen geblieben, fiel der von vornherein beabsichtigte Wendepunkt in Sapphos Handlungsweise. Ich konnte nicht dazu gelangen, den Faden genau da wieder aufzunehmen, wo ich ihn fallen gelassen, . ." . Sauer, who is able to follow the genesis of the drama from the dates in the first manuscript

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refuses to accept this statement of the poet. He says:[12] "Dem widersprechen die Tatsachen durchaus. Gegen Ende des dritten Akts ist überhaupt keine Unterbrechung festzustellen. Eine solche könnte nur am 14. Juni[13] stattgefunden haben. Damals stand er zwar nicht am Ende, aber doch in der zweiten Hälfte des dritten Aktes, im 5. Auftritt, bei Vers 1060. Aber ein Bruch in Sapphos Charakter lässt sich hier nicht aufweisen. Ich möchte überhaupt meinen, da das Pensum von V.921 bis 1060 für einen Tag etwas gross ist, dass Grillparzer am 14. Juli bei Beginn der Arbeit den Tag in der Handschrift zu vermerken nur vergessen hat; etwa mit Vers 1002 könnte ein neuer Ansatz angenommen werden.

"Die durch Krankheit veranlasste Unterbrechung, die Grillparzer in dem Briefe erwähnt, erfolgte erst gegen Ende des *vierten* Aktes, zu Anfang des 5 Auftrittes nach Vers 1378, mitten in Phaons Rede. Allerdings traf Grillparzer bei der Rückkehr zur Arbeit nicht sogleich den richtigen Ton wieder."

Leaving aside the question of dates, on which Grillparzer's memory seems to have played him false, we find that Sappho's conduct and whole tone does change in the third scene of the third act. This point harmonizes with statements in the letter.

[12] Page LXXXVI of introduction to Sappho in edition referred to in note 3. O. E. Lessing, in an article entitled "Sappho Probleme" in *Euphorion*, X, 592ff, comments (p. 601), "Hier in der zweiten Scene des dritten Aktes, glaube ich, klafft der Riss, der die zweite Hälfte des Dramas von der ersten trennt." Lessing sees *Sappho* in Grillparzer's original conception as a *Künstlerdrama*; now, according to Lessing's conception, it becomes a drama of passion and intrigue. Lessing seems to me to have swallowed the line with the hook. Grillparzer's criticism of his own work does not imply a change in his conception of the whole dramatic conflict, but merely that he was not satisfied with his portrayal of the *character* of Sappho at this crucial point. A careful reading of his entire letter to Müllner makes this clear. Sauer's comment makes clear his interpretation of the passage: "Aber ein Bruch in Sapphos Charakter lässt sich hier nicht aufweisen." A view similar to that advocated by myself is taken by Stefan Hock in his introduction to *Sappho*, Vol. III, p. 117 of *Grillparzers Werke*, Deutsches Verlagshaus, Bong & Co., Berlin-Leipzig-Wien-Stuttgart (no date): "Der Riss, den Grillparzer selbst konstatiert, kann also nur darin bestehen, dass der Übergang von lang bewahrter Ruhe zu leidenschaftlichem Zorn nicht genügend motiviert, das Hervorbrechen weiblicher Eifersucht, kleinlicher Rachsucht zu unvermittelt erscheint." Hock's viewpoint seems to be based upon a combined consideration of the drama and Grillparzer's letter to Müllner, as is mine.

[13] Juni; a misprint or slip of the pen for Juli.

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He includes the first half of the third act among those scenes in which a calmer tone prevails,[14] and associates with them the sixth scene of this act in which Sappho is calm, and the greater part of the fifth act.[15] The second scene of the third act is one of transition; it is heavy with the sultriness of the approaching storm, and in the fourth scene the storm bursts in full fury.

Is it not possible to interpret Grillparzer's statement in the following manner? Having in mind the spirit and experiences of Simaitha, who served as the prototype of Sappho, had the poet devoted his attention largely to the recreation of this figure, leaving in abeyance the development of the spiritual experiences of the Sappho of passion? When he came to the portrayal of these experiences did he find difficulty in maintaining the unity of Sappho's character, in introducing the new without doing violence to the old. For some reason, in any case, he seems to have been dissatisfied. In the first draft of his letter to Müllner he wrote, "Sappho ward dadurch im 4ten Akte vielleicht etwas *nordischer*, als sie wohl sonst geworden wäre."[16] In a letter of February 20, 1818, to Böttiger[11] he expressed himself in a similar tone, "aber dennoch scheint mir, besonders in den mittleren Aufzügen, nur zu häufig das nordische Gespenst vorzugucken." It would seem very certain that the Sappho who is spiritually akin to Simaitha is the one with whom Grillparzer himself is most satisfied and who represents the ideal which Grillparzer had in mind while writing his drama and also in retrospect.

There is another passage, in the first paragraph of the letter to Müllner, that is of interest because it shows why *Die Schwestern von Lesbos* was admirably adapted to the dramatic ends that Grillparzer had in mind for his next work: "Ich nahm mir vor, mein nächstes Produkt ein Gegenstück dieses tollen

[14] Letter to Müllner; cf. note 11.

[15] Letter to Müllner; cf. note 11.

[16] Quoted from Sauer's introduction to Sappho, edition of note 3, page LXXXV. What Grillparzer would have liked to accomplish, but felt that he had failed in, is probably expressed in the following sentence from this letter to Müllner: "Ein Meister hätte vielleicht verstanden, Sapphon selbst im Sturme der Leidenschaften die Farbe, die die Dichtkunst ihrem *Charakter* gab, sichtbar zu machen, . . . "

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Treibens werden zu lassen,[17] *und suchte daher, mit absichtlicher Vermeidung mancher, lange vorbereiteter Stoffe, nach einem solchen, der es mir möglich machte,* mich von den handelnden Personen zu trennen und *in der Behandlung eine Ruhe walten zu lassen,*[17a] die mir des Strebens um so würdiger schien, je fremder sie meiner Individualität ist, und je mehr ich daher zweifelte, sie je zu erreichen." The idyl of Frau Amalie von Helvig-Imhoff corresponded in a striking manner with Grillparzer's demands as here expressed.

There is another resemblance between the two works under discussion that attaches to the general idea they contain rather than to any character in particular. It is best approached from the viewpoint of one of Grillparzer's statements to Zimmermann:[18] "Die Leute wollen immer Ideen haben in meinen Stücken; nun, Ideen habe ich auch, freilich nur solche, wie sie die Fiaker auch haben. Sehen Sie, die Sappho, die ist so eine Fiakeridee, da heisst's: Gleich und gleich gesellt sich gern! Der Phaon ist ein halb poetisch gestimmter, aber doch nur ein junger Mensch; die Melitta ist ein albernes Mädel. Das begreift sich, die Sappho muss um ein gut Stück älter aussehen und doch nicht übel sein." Grillparzer refers to Phaon's words to Sappho:

> Und nur das *Gleiche* fügt sich leicht und wohl! 1742

Essentially the same thought is expressed twice in *Die Schwestern von Lesbos:* Diokles to Simaitha,

> und froh vertrauend nur neiget
> Sich zum Menschen der Mensch, um Freud' und Gebrechen zu teilen,
> Und die Schwäche nur knüpft die unauflöslichen Knoten. II, 102-4

And in defence of the love of Diokles and Likoris Simaitha says to her father,

> auch dies ist der Himmlischen Fügung.
> Freundlich bilden hienieden sie eins fürs andre, sie führen
> Die Verwandten sich zu, dass froh gesellet den Pfad wir,
> Den unebenen, wandeln des Lebens, in der Vereinigung
> Süssem Genuss, VI, 234-38

[17] Written with reference to *Die Ahnfrau.*
[17a] The italics are mine. G. M. H.
[18] *Jahrbuch der Grillparzer Gesellschaft,* IV, 345.

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It is no exaggeration to say that the logical grouping of the three main characters would be strikingly similar in the final scene of the idyl and in the drama the instant before Sappho takes the fatal leap. In the idyl:

> Und mit dem bräutlichen Schleier, der nur so kurz ihr die Stirne
> Rosig umwallet, bedeckte die Jungfrau schweigend der Schwester
> Haupt, die kniend noch lag, und, bleich, gelehnt an den Jüngling,
> Stumm, mit flehendem Blick, die zarten Arm' ihr emporhob,
> Dann mit festerer Hand die verglimmende Fackel erhebend,
> Sprach zu den Liebenden sanft gewendet, also Simaitha:
> Traurig bedeutend erlosch, in der Leidenschaft Hand, Hymenaios'
> Heitres Licht mir, euch beiden entzünd es schöner die Freundschaft.
> Jetzund teilte sie mächtig den Kreis, der sich drängend gesammelt,
> Und umschlang den Altar, in dessen lodernde Flammen
> Sie die Myrte versenkte, den Schmuck der Locken. Verkläret
> Strahlt, in der Ruhe milderndem Glanz, nun der Herrlichen Antlitz,
> Da mit aufstrebendem Blick sie rief: O! Estia, höre!
> Dir des reinen Feuers Bewahrerin, heilige Göttin,
> Weih' ich freudig dies Haupt, das zweimal freundlich der Liebe
> Blüten umflochten, und jetzt, des Schmuckes mit Willen beraubet,
> Ganz dein eigen wird! Schon steigt aus dem bräutlichen Kranze
> Höher empor die Flamme zu dir, so tilge mir huldreich
> Auch die Erinnrung des Leids und ich umwinde, voll Dankes,
> Mir die erheiterte Stirn mit der Priesterin heiliger Binde.
>
> VI. 242-61

In the drama:

> Die Flamme lodert und die Sonne steigt,
> Ich fühl's ich bin erhört! Habt Dank ihr Götter!
> Du Phaon! Du Melitta! Kommt heran!
> (Phaon auf die Stirne küssend.)
> Es küsset dich ein Freund aus fernen Welten
> (Melitta umarmend.)
> Die tote Mutter schickt dir diesen Kuss!
>
> Nun hin, dort an der Liebesgöttin Altar
> Erfülle sich der Liebe dunkles Los!
> (Eilt dem Altare zu.)
>
> Rhamnes.
> Was sinnet sie? Verklärt ist all ihr Wesen,
> Glanz der Unsterblichen umleuchtet sie!
>
> Sappho
> (auf eine Erhöhung des Ufers hintretend und die
> Hände über die Beiden ausstreckend).

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Den Menschen Liebe und den Göttern Ehrfurcht!
Geniesset was euch blüht, und denket mein!
So zahle ich die letzte Schuld des Lebens!
Ihr Götter, segnet sie und nehmt mich auf!

My own conviction about the relation of *Sappho* to *Die Schwestern von Lesbos* is this: Grillparzer had read the idyl recently enough to have the outstanding features of the poem fairly clearly in mind. While the literary value of the work was not great it had several merits. The most important of these lay in the fact that Amalie von Imhoff had a certain ability to render her figures plastic; for Grillparzer, with his rare visualising imagination, this meant much. I believe we find it reflected several times in the play. A further merit, for Grillparzer purely subjective, lay in the fact that the idyl furnished the poet with just such a theme as he desired: "the simplest theme possible," he says in his autobiography, and, as he says in his letter to Müllner, one that furnished an absolute contrast to the mad doings of the *Ahnfrau*, one which was not encumbered with a long anticipatory history, one in which a spirit of calm could prevail. This he had found in *Die Schwestern von Lesbos;* he realized that he had found it, but he had not yet seen his way to develop it dramatically. Then came the talk with Dr. Joel,[9] and something said in this conversation gave the fusing element that welded the story of Simaitha to the Sappho legend. Hence the poet's sudden fire of inspiration.

This hypothesis is scarcely fanciful compared with the description that Grillparzer gives us of the manner in which his *Ahnfrau* came into being as the synthesis of two stories he had been carrying in his mind for some time.[19]

The consideration of the resemblances between the idyl and the drama brought to an end it may be worth while to note briefly the general resemblances of Grillparzer's *Sappho* to *Die Schwestern von Lesbos*[20] on the one hand and to Madame de Stael's *Corinne* on the other.

[19] Page 75 of volume referred to in note 1: "Einmal des Morgens, im Bette liegend, begegnen sich beide Gedanken und ergänzen sich wechselseitig. Der Räuber fand sich durch das Verhängnis über der Urmutter eines Geschlechtes, dem auch er angehören musste, geadelt; die Gespenstergeschichte bekam einen Inhalt. Eh ich aufstand und mich ankleidete, war der Plan zur Ahnfrau fertig."

[20] Referred to, for brevity's sake, in the following as *Die Schwestern.*

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The scene of *Die Schwestern* and of *Sappho* is laid on the island of Lesbos; the scene of *Corinne* is laid in Italy, England, and Scotland.

The three central characters of *Die Schwestern* and of *Sappho* are brought into immediate and intimate association throughout each of the poems; in *Corinne* such an association is avoided, intentionally so, it would almost seem. Even when Corinne, Oswald, and Lucile are brought together, in one scene as it were, Oswald and Lucile are not conscious of the presence of Corinne; an exception is the final scene; though even here the association is not intimate.

In *Die Schwestern* and *Sappho* the union of the younger lovers is in the end brought about by the disappointed elder woman; in *Corinne* the union takes place without the presence or aid of the elder woman.

Likoris is the sister and slave of Simaitha; Melitta is the slave of Sappho, loved with sisterly, even motherly, affection;[21] Lucile is the sister only of Corinne; she does, however, owe part of her education to the latter.

The spontaneous love between Diokles and Likoris, the same sort of love between Phaon and Melitta, is the first and last reason why the elder woman is deserted. In *Corinne* the long drawn out motivation for the desertion of Corinne by the youth is the latter's reverence for the wishes of his deceased father and a naturally vacillating character.

In *Die Schwestern* we have the suggestion that harmony between the elder woman and her lover be reestablished by banishing the favored maiden from the scene; in *Sappho* this scheme is tried; in *Corinne* such a motif is lacking.

The resemblances of character and type between Likoris and Melitta, between Diokles and Phaon, between Simaitha and Sappho are more striking, in my opinion, than those between Lucile and Melitta, Oswald and Phaon, and Corinne and Sappho. Whether Diokles or Oswald be the prototype of Phaon, and Simaitha or Corinne be the prototype of Sappho we must recognize the fact that Grillparzer has established his tragic conflict by endowing the passive prototype of Phaon

[21] Melitta, quite naturally, could not be presented as a sister of Sappho in the drama: "Ja, selbst aus dramatischen Gründen mussten Phaon und Melitta rein gehalten werden"; letter to Müllner; cf. note 11.

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and Sappho with a violently aggressive passion. The passive Diokles and the passive Simaitha are much more strikingly akin to the passive Phaon and the passive Sappho than are the passive Oswald and the passive Corinne. In her happiness Corinne is a hopeless blue-stocking; in her despair and her passivity she is hopelessly lachrymose—*weinerlich*. It is not surprising that Grillparzer expressed himself in a very uncomplimentary manner towards the novel;[22] there is no soul-kinship between Corinne and any of Grillparzer's women.

There are two, and only two respects, as far as I can see, in which the resemblances between Corinne and Sappho are greater than those between Simaitha and Sappho. Corinne and Sappho are both poets; they both die at the end of the story. Inasmuch as these two elements of the story of Sappho are essential facts of the Sappho legend it is difficult to see how Grillparzer could have escaped including them in his drama.

With regard to *Corinne* I feel that we are justified in accepting at face value Grillparzer's statement to Frau Auguste von Littrow-Bischoff:[2] "So hat man gemeint, ich hätte mich bei der Sappho an Corinna, die Heldin des Romans der Mad. Staël gehalten, obschon keine Spur der Ähnlichkeit vorhanden ist." After a very careful reading of *Corinne* I cannot but agree with Grillparzer. The phrase from Grillparzer's letter to Müllner seems to speak decisively against *Corinne*: Ich . . . suchte daher mit absichtlicher Vermeidung . . . seit lange vorbereiterer Stoffe. *Corinne*, very definitely, was not qualified to meet this particular demand; *Die Schwestern*, equally definitely, was.

From the above general rejection of the influence of *Corinne* I should be inclined to make an exception in favor of the passages in *Sappho* describing the poet's triumph at Olympia and also the lines spoken by Phaon:[23]

[22] Edition of note 3; entry 169 of *Tagebücher* I. An entry of some 150 words; the latter half runs: "Ich habe dies Buch noch nicht ausgelesen, aber bis jetzt scheint mir der Plan einer der unglucklichsten die je entworfen worden sind. Wenn auch Abwechselung uberhaupt angenehm ist, so ist es keineswegs die zwischen warmen Gefühl und kaltem Verstand, wenn nicht Humoristik etwa diese Extremne verknüpft, sonst, und so ist es auch in der Corinna der Fall, wird leicht darüber der Verstand warm und das Gefühl kalt." I have interpolated the comma after the word *Fall*.

[23] Sauer conceives these lines as reminiscent of the hetaera-origin of certain elements of the Sappho character, loc. cit., page XCVIII.

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> Vielleicht beweint ihr meinen Tod, veilleicht
> Gab des Gerüchtes Mund euch schon die Kunde,
> Dass euer Sohn, den ihr zu lieben nicht,
> Den ihr zum Kampfe nach Olympia sandtet,
> In Sapphos Arm—
>
> . . . .
>
> Und selbst mein Vater, sieht er sie nur erst,
> Gern legt er ab das alte Vorurteil,
> Das frecher Zitherspielerinnen Anblick
> Mit frommer Scheu ihm in die Brust geprägt. 500-11

For these resemblances of *Sappho* to *Corinne* I believe the word reminiscence is more appropriate than influence. Phaon's lines serve as exposition of his troubled state of mind. They enter only secondarily into the tragic conflict, which is brought about by his sudden passion for Melitta and Sappho's jealousy. In *Corinne* it is the reverence for his father's wishes that determines Oswald; if the father had had a decided antipathy to red hair or black Oswald would have found it quite impossible to marry poet or peasant of the proscribed type.

There remains to be considered the possible value of *motifs* from Wieland as essential sources of the drama. Sauer sums up his views on this question very aptly in the words: "Für die Tragödie des liebenden Weibes hat der feine Frauenkenner Wieland unserem Künstler die Farben gemischt."[24] This statement seems to me to contain much truth. I should not be willing to go quite so far as Sauer in finding the source of certain details of *Sappho* in Wieland's works, since these details lie already at hand both in individual detail and grouped with other vital details in *Die Schwestern von Lesbos*. This applies to each of the three principal characters. Likoris, for example, seems to me to furnish the essential qualities of Melitta's nature more fully than does Wieland's Psyche;[25] Likoris as the slave of Simaitha seems to lie nearer at hand for the development of the relations of Melitta and Sappho than do the childhood relations of Danae to Aspasia.[26] And in *Die Schwestern* we have grouped together in compact form practically every phase of the Likoris-Melitta temperament, character and ultimate destiny. Again, Simaitha's words,

[24] Loc. cit., page CI.
[25] Sauer, loc. cit., page XC.
[26] Sauer, loc. cit., page XCI.

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> **Aber mein Herz bedarf des deinen, dass ihm die Jugend**
> **Ach, die goldne, zurück noch kehre! Liebe nur knüpfet**
> **Freundlich dann es aufs neu fest an die verödete Zukunft.**
> **II, 226-28**

seem to suggest Sappho's instinctive turning to Phaon more readily than do Wieland's words with regard to Lais: "die Alternde muss sich überzeugen, sie habe die Glückseligkeit auf dem unrechten Wege gesucht.[27] The Leucadian rock is more immediately suggestive of tragedy in *Die Schwestern* than it is in *Aristipp*. This list of details could be much extended, but to do so would possibly give the impression that I am more in disagreement with Sauer on the matter of Wieland's general influence upon Grillparzer than is the case. The comparatively large number of names borrowed from Wieland's writings is in itself very positive proof of Grillparzer's intimate acquaintance with this author.

Moreover, Wieland seems to me to have exercised an influence upon Grillparzer as the latter wove the raw material of the idyl into a tragedy. There is a certain coloring of the original substance, a certain quality in the atmosphere—as if a stream had flowed through land of a certain sort and brought from it a distinct color, as if a breeze had passed over blossoming trees and carried something of their odor with it—that seem to come from Wieland.

Along with this feeling of the influence of Wieland in Grillparzer's work there comes the equally strong feeling that Grillparzer is himself conscious of the fact and is making a very definite effort to throw it off. Undoubtedly, as Sauer believes, Sappho owes certain traits of her character to the hetaerae of Wieland's novels, and certain settings in the play are reminiscent of scenes in the life of Danae and Lais. Wieland, however, runs the entire gamut from the sensuous to the salacious; Grillparzer has very definitely spiritualized the character of his Sappho. Sauer calls attention to several passages in which Grillparzer definitely suppressed the physical and sensual element which characterized them in their earlier form.[28] One feels tempted to say that we have here an expres-

[27] Sauer, loc. cit., XCIII.
[28] loc. cit., XCVIII.

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sion of the poet's *schamhafte Natur* to which he so often makes reference in his more intimate writings.

My conclusion, then, in brief, is that the essential source of Grillparzer's *Sappho* is to be found in *Die Schwestern von Lesbos*. The dramatist establishes the nobler qualities of soul in Sappho, developed from Simaitha, through her art. He motivates the tragic conflict which devastates Sappho's life by attributing to her violent passions which prove more powerful, temporarily, than her more generous qualities of spirit. To the idealistic qualities of the rather colorless nature of Diokles is added likewise in Phaon the capacity for an elemental and aggressive passion. The legendary death of Sappho is motivated by the clash of passions between the poetess and her faithless lover. The influence of Wieland on the dramatist finds expression in the atmosphere which pervades the earlier scenes of the play; Grillparzer, conscious of this influence, seems to have striven to free himself from it.[29]

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[29] In trying to inform myself more fully about Amalie von Helvig-Imhoff I find the following comment in Adolf Stern's *Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte des 17ten und 18ten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1893, Friedrich Bindstetter, page 287, "Diolkes, der zwischen den beiden Schwestern etwa steht, wie in Grillparzers 'Sappho' der junge Phaon zwischen Sappho und Melitta."

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EIN UNGEDRUCKTER BRIEF GOETHES

Im Jahre 1916 wurde mir mitgeteilt, dass sich unter dem Nachlass der verstorbenen Witwe des früheren hannöverschen Notars und Rechtsanwalts Russell in meiner Heimatstadt Haselünne in Hannover ein Goethebrief befinde. Bei der nächsten Anwesenheit in meiner Heimat bot sich mir Gelegenheit, diesen Brief in Augenschein zu nehmen. Ich überzeugte mich, dass er zweifellos echt war. In deutscher Schrift abgefasst, stimmten Schriftzüge wie auch die Namensunterschrift genau mit den bekannten Goetheschen überein, so dass eine Fälschung ausgeschlossen war. Dafür sprach auch der Charakter der alteingesessenen und angesehenen Familie, deren frühere Mitglieder ernsthafte literarische Neigungen und Interessen bezeugt hatten und deren Familienbibliothek unter anderem wertvolle Erstausgaben von Schriftstellern, darunter die der französischen Encyklopädisten aufwies. Die Familientradition besagte, dass früher ein Russell in Jena studiert und dort den Goethebrief erworben habe. Das Ansehen der alten Patrizierfamilie öffnete ihm im nahen Weimar die Kreise, in denen Goethe verkehrte und die in Goethischer Tradition sein Andenken weiterpflegten. Ich setzte mich in den Besitz einer wort- und buchstabengetreuen Abschrift des Briefes und sandte diese an den damaligen Direktor des Weimarer Goethe- und Schiller-Archivs Herrn Geheimrat Prof. Dr. v. Oettingen ein, der mir den Empfang unter dem 22. Aug. 1916 von Reichenberg bei St. Goarshausen a. Rhein aus bestätigte und wegen eines eventuellen Ankaufes für das Goethe-Archiv anfragte. Es erhob sich die Frage, ob der Brief schon gedruckt sei. Das ist bis heute nicht der Fall. Weder die Monumentalausgabe der Werke Goethes, die im Auftrage der Grossherzogin Sophie von Sachsen veranstaltet ist, kurz die Weimarer Goetheausgabe genannt, und die alle nur erreichbaren und bekannten Schriften und Briefe Goethes publiziert, bringt in der umfangreichen Abteilung der Briefe den Brief aus dem Besitz der Familie Russell, noch ist dieser bis zum heutigen Tage irgendwo anders veröffentlicht worden. Da die Erbschaft der Witwe Russell 1916 noch nicht geregelt war, konnte ein Verkauf

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des Briefes an das Goethe-Archiv nicht in Frage kommen. Leider haben vor einiger Zeit die Erben des Briefes, der so lange pietätvoll in der Familie aufbewahrt wurde, ihn veräussert in fremde Hände. Damit ist auch die Schranke für eine Veröffentlichung gefallen.

Der Brief lautet in getreuer Schreibart, wie ihn mir nach meiner Einsichtnahme der Rektor der Haselünner Lateinschule Herr Baron am 19. Aug. 1916 in Abschrift übermittelte:

Frau Gräfin von Egglofstein, Gnaden.

Sie erhalten, verehrte Freundinn, ein Exemplar des extemporirten Gedichts, gönnen sie ihm einen freundlichen Blick. Wenn Sie erlauben so bringe ich den Knaben heut Abend selbst zum Prinzen, wohin ich um sieben Uhr fahre, ohne Ihnen vorher diesen nicht gefährlichen sondern eher beschwerlichen Begleiter zuzuschicken. In Hoffnung Sie heute noch wieder zu sehen, W. d. 29, Jan. 1802 Goethe.

Bemerkt sei, dass der ganze Brief eigenhändig von Goethe geschrieben ist, und die Adresse sich auf dem Briefe selbst befindet. Ein Umschlag ist nicht vorhanden. Er ist zu W.= Weimar abgefasst.

Zum näheren Verständnis des Briefes sind einige Erläuterungen notwendig. Wenden wir uns zunächst der Persönlichkeit der Briefempfängerin zu, deren Namensform nicht, wie Goethe schreibt, Egglofstein lautet, sondern Egloffstein. Zu Goethes Zeit waren verschiedene Mitglieder dieser aus Franken stammenden adeligen Familie in hohen Stellungen in Weimer tätig und ansässig. Sie standen mit Goethe in regem Verkehr. Da sie jedoch sämtlich der freiherrlichen Linie ihres Geschlechts angehörten, so macht die nähere Feststellung der gräflichen Adressatin keine Schwierigkeiten. Es ist die Gräfin Henriette v. Egloffstein,[1] die sich, 16 Jahre alt, mit ihrem Verwandten gleichen Namens, aber aus der gräflichen Linie, dem preussischen Kammerherrn und österreichischen Wirklichen Geheimen Rat Grafen Gottlieb F. L. v.

[1] Als dieser Aufsatz bereits fertig gestellt war, erschien eine Biographie und Briefsammlung von Gräfin H. von Egloffstein und ihren Töchtern unter dem Titel: *Alt-Weimars Abend.* Briefe und Aufzeichnungen aus dem Nachlasse der Gräfinnen Egloffstein. Herausgegeben von Hermann Freiherrn von Egloffstein, München 1923, O. Beck. Für unseren ungedruckten Goethe-Brief sind jedoch keine Anhaltspunkte oder irgend eine Erwähnung in diesem Buche enthalten.

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Egloffstein auf Lamgarben und Arklitten vermählte. 1773 geboren, starb sie, 92 Jahre alt, 1864. Ihre Ehe war nicht glücklich. Die freie Lebensanschauung, Geistes- und Charakterrichtung ihres Gatten stand zu ihr in Widerspruch, und so schieden sie von einander. Sie siedelte mit ihren 3 Töchtern, selbst eine Schönheit, nach Weimar über und heiratete 1804 den Freiherrn Karl v. Beaulieu-Marconnay. Dieser enstammte einer alten, nach Hannover ausgewanderten französischen Hugenottenfamilie, die durch Generationen im königlich hannöverschen Forstdienste stand wie auch Henriettens zweiter Gemahl. Dieser stellte 1812 ein Jägerfreikorps gegen Napoleon auf und erwarb sich kriegerische Verdienste. Mit seiner Frau Henriette v. Egloffstein wohnte er dann als Oberforstmeister in dem früheren Kloster Marienrode bei Hildesheim zusammen mit den 3 Töchtern aus erster Ehe, die dort sämtlich bis zu ihrem Tode verblieben. Sein Bruder wohnte als Beamter des Grossherzogs in Oldenburg. Sollte die Familienüberlieferung der Russells über den Erwerb des Goethebriefes in Jena-Weimar sich nicht bewahrheiten, so ist anzunehmen, dass die Russells als hannöversche Beamte mit den v. Beaulieus-Egloffstein bei Hildesheim und sicher mit dem Schwager der Henriette in dem Haselünne nahen Oldenberg bekannt waren und der Brief auf diese Weise in ihren Besitz gekommen ist. Eine Autobiographie von Henriette v. Egloffsteins Leben und besonders ihren Beziehungen zum literarischen Weimar und zu Goethe finden wir im Anhang des 1874 von Karl Frhr. v. Beaulieu-Marconnay herausgegebenen Buches, betitelt Anna Amalia, Carl August und der Minister von Fritsch und gleichfalls von ihm im 6. Bande des Goethe-Jahrbuches. Ihre 3 Töchter standen ebenfalls in naher Beziehung zu Goethe.

Die Kenntnis von Henriettens Verhältnis zu Goethe gibt nähere Aufschlüsse über den Brief. Sie war vom Frankenlande her bekannt mit Goethes einst so heiss geliebter Jugendfreundin Lili Schönemann, der späteren Frau des Strassburger Bankherrn v. Türckheim. Durch sie erfuhr Goethe die Schicksale Lilis nach ihrer Trennung, so musste sie, die ihr Cousin Fritz v. Stein eine "frohe, treue, und doch nicht unreitzbare Natur" mit Gesang- und Maltalent nennt, als Bindeglied zwischen der unvergesslichen Lili und Goethe diesem wert und geschätzt werden. Sie selbst war gegen den Dichter Goethe gerecht,

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gegen den Menschen aber durch moralische und sittliche Strenge, die ihr auch den Aufenthalt am Anspacher Hof mit seinem leichtfertigen, frivolen Ton verleidet hatte, sehr voreingenommen. Sie selbst gesteht, dass sie in Goethe "nie den Menschen, sondern nur das allumfassende Genie bewundert und geliebt habe," und der ihr als unwiderstehlich liebenswürdig geschilderte Dichter erscheint ihr in der ersten Zeit ihrer Bekanntschaft nach ihren eigenen Worten "schroff, wortkarg, spiessbürgerlich steif und so kalten Gemüthes wie ein Eisschollen." Aber selbst regt sie sich, echt weiblich, über sein Verhältnis zu Christiane Vulpius, über "die ominöse Liaison mit dem Bertuch' schen Blumenmädchen" auf. Goethe machte ihr 1801 bei einem Besuche bei Fräulein von Göchhausen den Vorschlag, aus Opposition gegen die Geistesleere und Ungemütlichkeit des damaligen geselligen Verkehrs, "ganz ohne spekulative Zwecke," wie er sich in seinen "Annalen ausdrückt, ein geschlossenes, geselliges Kränzchen zu gründen eine "cour d'amour" nach Minnesängersitte. Ohne eigentliche Neigung nahm Henriette den Plan an. Goethe wählte die Mitglieder aus, abends sollte die Cour d'amour in Goethes Hause tagen. Als Präsident fungierte Goethe mit Frau v. Egloffstein als Partnerin, ferner waren vertreten Wolzogen mit Frau Schiller, Schiller mit Frau von Wolzogen, zwei Brüder der Frau v. Egloffstein, im ganzen 7 Damen und 7 Herren. Nov. 1801 trat dies "Mittwochskränzchen" zum ersten Mal zusammen. Pflege der Geselligkeit ohne den eigentlichen Charakter einer Cour d'amour war der Zweck. Dazu wurden gesellige Lieder von Goethe und Schiller beigesteuert und Gäste mitgebracht, auch der Weimarische Erbprinz suchte 1802 diesen Zirkel auf. Doch lange bestand die Cour d'amour nicht. Die Hofdame v. Göchhausen hatte versucht, den Goethe und Schiller verhassten und intriganten Kotzebue einzuführen, Frau v. Egloffstein glaubte, bei einer beabsichtigten Ehrung Schillers von Goethe überlistet und getäuscht zu sein, wobei Kotzebue wieder eine Rolle spielte, beide Damen traten suzammen mit einer anderen Hofdame am 5. März 1802 aus dem Kränzchen aus, und das bedeutete zum Leidwesen Goethes das Ende dieser geselligen Vereinigung: "Unsere kleine Versammlung trennte sich, und Gesänge jener Art gelangen mir nie wieder," sagt Goethe in den Annalen. Er selbst hatte für

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die Cour d'amour mehrere gesellige Lieder heiterer Art gedichtet, so das Stiftungslied ("Was gehst Du, schöne Nachbarin"), dessen erste Strophe sich auf die Gräfin v. Egloffstein bezog, ferner das Tischlied ("Mich ergreift, ich weiss nicht wie"), Zum Neuen Jahr, die Generalbeichte ("Lasset heut im edlen Kreis") und einige andere, die 1804 in dem von Goethe und Wieland herausgegebenen Taschenbuch für 1804 gedruckt erschienen. Mit grösster Wahrscheinlichkiet können wir nun das in dem bis jetzt ungedruckten Briefe erwähnte Gedicht dahin bestimmen, dass es sich um ein Gedicht handelt, das Goethe auf dem Mittwochskränzchen der Cour d'amour frei vorgetragen, "extemporiert" hat, an dem die Gräfin v. Egloffstein interessiertes Gefallen fand und das sie sich in einer Abschrift von ihm ausbat; auf jeden Fall hat er das Gedicht in ihrer Anwesenheit vorgetragen und stellt ihr mit diesem Brief als Begleitschreiben ein handschriftliches Exemplar zu. Um ein gedrucktes Gedicht kann es sich natürlich nicht handeln. Um welches Gedicht es sich ganz bestimmt handelt, dafür geben Goethes Schriften, auch seine Tagebücher keinen Anhalt, letztere erwähnen nichts in dieser Hinsicht. Ich vermute, dass es das für die Cour d'amour gedichtete Lied "Generalbeichte" ist, und zwar aus folgenden Gründen: Dieses Gedicht ist, wie feststeht, Anfang 1802 entstanden. Weiter bemerkt der Goetheforscher Eduard von der Hellen in seiner Ausgabe der Gedichte Goethes in der bekannten Cottaschen Jubiläumsausgabe (Goethes Sämtliche Werke. Bd. 1, S.330) zu dem Lied "Generalbeichte," dass die Verse 22-28 wahrscheinlich durch Schillers Brief an Goethe vom 22 Jan. 1802 veranlasst seien. Der 22 Jan. ist also der terminus post quem, und am 29. Jan. ist unser Brief geschrieben. Es ist also eine Woche dazwischen, in der das Mittwochskränzchen stattgefunden hat, auf dem Goethe das Gedicht vortrug. Auch der Inhalt spricht für die Annahme, dass es sich um die "Generalbeichte" handelt. Es ist zwar gemütliche Ironie gegen die übliche Geselligkeit und Wiederholung des Programms, mit dem Goethe seine Cour d'amour gründete; daneben zeigt das Gedicht doch viele Stellen, die der ernsten, strengen Lebensanschauung der Gräfin v. Egloffstein entsprechen, die, für sich genommen, verwandte Seiten in ihrem Inneren erklingen lassen mussten, wie besonders auch die Grundidee, versäumtes Menschenglück wiederzuge-

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winnen, "unablässlich streben, / Uns vom Halben zu entwöhnen / Und im Ganzen, Guten, Schönen / Resolut zu leben," die Gräfin v. Egloffstein sympathisch und ermunternd berühren musste, die ihr verlorenes Eheglück in der späteren zweiten glücklichen Ehe noch nicht wiedergefunden hatte.

Der 2. Teil des Briefes führt uns in die Weimarer Gesellshaftssphäre und bezieht sich auf Goethes Sohn August, der damals im 13. Lebensjahre stand. Er ist der Knabe des Briefes. Obwohl Goethe sich erst 1806 mit Christiane Vulpins trauen liess, war ihr Sohn doch in Hofkreisen und in der Gesellschaft gut gelitten und verkehrte auch mit den Egloffsteins, tanzte mit deren Töchtern und den Prinzessinnen. So will ihn denn auch die Gräfin Egloffstein am 29. Jan. 1802 mit zu dem Prinzen nehmen, doch Goethe führt ihn selbst hin. Er konnte das gesellschaftlich ohne Bedenken tun, da er 1800 die gesetzliche Legitimation für ihn erwirkt hatte. Der in dem Brief erwähnte Prinz ist der Sohn des Herzogs Karl August, der Erbprinz und spätere Grossherzog Karl Friedrich, der 1802 neunzehn Jahre alt war, und am 24 Feb. in Begleitung von W. v. Wolzogen und seiner Erzieher v. Pappenheim und v. Hinzenstern die damals in Fürstenhäusern übliche Bildungsreise nach Paris antrat. Aus einem besonderen Anlass nimmt Goethe am 29. Jan. seinen Sohn selbst zum Prinzen mit. Bei ihm war August bereits als Gast auf einem Ball gewesen, und auch auf der Redoute, die am 9. Febr. beim Prinzen zu Ehren seines Geburtstages stattfand, wirkte August als Spanier verkleidet mit, wie er stolz seinem Vater in einem Briefe vom 10. Febr. berichtet. Am 29. Jan. war ein ähnlicher Anlass für Goethe, den Prinzen aufzusuchen und August mitzunehmen. Die Tage vorher hatte Goethe in Jena geweilt, um im Auftrage des Herzogs die ungeordnete riesige Büchermasse des verstorbenen Hofrats Büttner zu ordnen und Platz zu schaffen für den einziehenden neuen Kommandanten Major v. Hendrich, am 28. Jan. war er, wie seine Tagebücher nachweissen, von Jena nach Weimar abgereist, aus einem besonderen Grunde: Am Abend des 29. Jan. sollte ein Maskenzug zu Ehren des Geburtstages der Herzogin von Weimar (30. Jan.) stattfinden, den Goethe leitete. Der Erbprinz hatte ihn im Briefe vom 26. Jan. gebeten, ein Gedicht zu dieser Maskerade zu verfassen, um dadurch das Fest feierlicher zu gestalten. Goethe antwor-

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tete ihm noch am selbigen Tag, Apoll werde ihn wohl, da er "unter bibliothekarischem Staub und Moder gar viel zu leiden habe, aus dem Stegreife begünstigen," und bedankt sich lebhaft für das prinzliche Vertrauen, "mich zum Sprecher der vier beliebten Dichtweisen, die zunächst auftreten sollen, zu ernennen." Er verfasst daraufhin das Gedicht für dessen Maskenzug (abgedruckt in der Cottaschen Jubiläumsausgabe, Bd. 9, S. 321 f.) und schickt es dem Prinzen zu, der sich dafür in dem Briefe vom 29. Jan. bedankt, das Gedicht werde "die vornehmste Zierde unseres Aufzugs sein." Hier muss die Auffassung berichtet werden, die der Herausgeber des 16. Bandes der Briefe Goethes der Weimarer Sophienausgabe, v. der Hellen, S. 409 zu dem Brief Goethes an den Prinzen vom 26. Jan. und zu den beiden Prinzenbriefen vom 26. und 29. Jan. als Erklärung wiedergibt. Er bezieht diese Briefe nämlich auf die Geburtstagsfeier des Prinzen am 9. Febr. Das ist nicht richtig, sie beziehen sich auf die Geburtstagsfeier der Herzogin am 29. Jan. Wie Goethes Tagebücher (Weimarer Ausg., Bd. 3, S. 49) zeigen, befand sich der Dichter bereits seit dem 8. Febr. wieder in Jena und ebenso am 9., er konnte also gar nicht der "Sprecher" der 4 Dichtweisen am 9. Febr. in Weimar sein. Ausserdem aber treten die 4 Dichtungsarten personifiziert nur in dem Maskenzug für die Geburtstagsfeier der Herzogin am 29. Jan. auf. Nur für diese Feier verfasste Goeth die Festverse. Goethe notiert in seinen Tagebüchern unter dem 29. Jan. 1802: "Vorbereitung zu dem Aufzug des Prinzen. Abends Redoute." Der Prinz wirkte selbst als einer der Hauptdarsteller in dem Maskenzug am 29. Jan. mit; wie der von uns mitgeteilte Brief an die Gräfin Egloffstein zeigt, geht Goethe noch am selben Abend 7 Uhr zum Prinzen und nimmt seinen Sohn selbst mit, da dieser ebenfalls als Amor in dem Maskenzug auftrat. Jedenfalls hatte er mit dem Prinzen noch einiges zu besprechen, was sich auf die Darstellung des von ihm verfassten Maskenzugsgedichtes bezog und was auch gleichzeitig für seinen Sohn als Darsteller in Betracht kam. Es ist ganz natürlich, dass Goethe mit dem Prinzen sich darüber mündlich kurz vor der Geburtstagsfeier beriet, da er bis jetzt die Angelegenheit von Jena aus nur brieflich behandelt hatte. Vielleicht fand auch noch eine kurze Probe der Maskenzugdarstellung beim Prinzen statt. Dagegen ist wohl nicht anzuneh-

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men dass die Geburtstagsfeier beim Prinzen abgehalten wurde statt bei der Herzogin.

Während im Weimarer Theater zur Geburtstagsfeier der Herzogin am 29. Jan. 1802 Schillers Turandot unter allgemeinem Beifall aufgeführt wurde, fand bei der Herzogin ihr zu Ehren der Maskenzug statt. Goethes Gedicht, in anmutigem, leichtem Ton gehalten, lässt der Herzogin durch den Aufzug der 4 Dichtarten huldigen. Zuerst tritt das Epos auf, dargestellt vom Erbprinzen, begleitet von der Ruhmverkünderin mit einem Ehrenkranz, dargestellt von der Prinzessin Karoline. Dann folgt die erotische Muse begleitet von Amor, dem "Gefährlichsten," wie ihn das Goethesche Begleitgedicht nennt. Diesen Amor spielte August Goethe, der als geflügelter Liebesbote herumgetragen wurde und der Herzogin das Gedicht seines Vaters überreichte. Den Schluss bildete die Idylle mit der Unschuld und zu allerletzt die Satire mit dem Genius des Spottes. Die Charakterisierung von Amor als dem "Gefährlichsten" leitet zu unserem Briefe an die Gräfin Egloffstein hin, in dem Goethe ihr seinen Sohn unter Anspielung auf seine Rolle als Amor den "Gefährlichsten" als nicht "gefährlichsten," wohl aber als beschwerlichen Begleiter mit launigem Humor bezeichnet. Und die Gräfin, in den Hofkreisen und bei Hofe verkehrend, ist ohne Zweifel Zuschauerin des Maskenzuges bei der Herzogin gewesen, sodass sich Goethes Hoffnung, sie "heute wieder zu sehen," erfüllte.

Zum Schlusse sei noch erwähnt, dass die Rolle August Goethes als geflügelter Amor grossen Anstoss in den Hofkreisen hervorrief, die Goethe nicht wohl wollten. Man verübelte es ihm, dass sein Kind der Liebe den Amor spielte und als solcher der Herzogin, dem Ideal des Anstandes, huldigte. Diese selbst dachte menschlicher und freier und nahm Amors Huldigung gern an unter Dankesworten für Goethe, und die Prinzessin Karoline suchte Goethe im Saal auf und setzte den Kranz, den sie als Ruhmverkünderin des Gedichtes trug, dem Dichter auf. Man gab der Gräfin Egloffstein, weiss Gott aus welchen Gründen, Schuld an dem Auftreten August Goethes als Amor.

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WORDSWORTH AND HARTLEY COLERIDGE

In the history of nineteenth century English literature, no two names are paired oftener than those of William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Standing as they do at the headwaters of the poetry of the century, these two authors have received a vast amount of attention, and their relations have been traced with the utmost care. But it was not only Samuel Taylor Coleridge whose poetic career was connected with Wordsworth; his son Hartley, a lesser man but neverthelss a true poet, is closely associated with the same great master. Indeed, Hartley Coleridge, though a minor author, is a most appealing and attractive figure, and his position with regard to Wordsworth, only touched upon heretofore, cannot but deserve our attention.

As might be expected from his fondness for children, Wordsworth took an interest in the eldest son of his brother poet. In fact, he addressed to the little boy at the age of six some exquisite lines[1] celebrating the heavenly sweetness of the child yet filled with a haunting fear of the dangers that beset so unworldly a creature. Later during young Hartley's school-days, the boy "had the opportunity of constant intercourse with Mr. Wordsworth and his family," as his brother Derwent Coleridge tells us.[2] He was allowed to browse in Wordsworth's library in Allan Bank and later in Rydal Mount and thus acquired a decided taste for literary studies and considerable knowledge as well. Moreover, Hartley Coleridge's later years were passed in the village of Grasmere or, nearby, in the cosy Nab Cottage on the banks of Rydal Water and hence in the vicinity of Wordsworth. It was most suitable and well nigh providential, as Derwent Coleridge observes (page CXXIII), that Hartley should "spend his latter days, as it

[1] The verses named *To H. C.*

[2] Page LV in the memoir prefixed to *Poems* by Hartley Coleridge, edited by his brother, Derwent Coleridge, 2 vols., first edition, London, 1851. Volume I contains the poems published before at Leeds in 1833; vol. II is composed almost entirely of posthumous poems. My references to Hartley Coleridge's poems are all to this first collected edition, London, 1851. A second edition, with different pagination, appeared in the same year at London.

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were, under the shadow and at the foot of that great poet, his father's friend,—so pronounced in words of immortal fame,—with whom his own infancy and boyhood had been so closely and affectionately linked." This proximity of the two poets, we are told, was paralleled by a similar closeness in friendship. When Hartley died in 1849, the aged Wordsworth was much affected by the news (CLXXXV and CLXXXVI). Soon afterward he went to the Grasmere churchyard and pointed out to the sexton a position for the grave not far from the spot which he and his wife had selected for their own resting place. "Keep the ground for us," added the aged poet; "we are old people, and it cannot be for long."

From the friendship that existed between the two bards, one would be inclined to believe that the younger would have a favorable view of the elder's work. A glance at Hartley's writings places this beyond doubt. From these, it is evident that the two contemporary poets whom he most respects or, one may even say, whom he actually venerates are his father and Wordsworth. To Samuel Taylor Coleridge he addresses two sonnets. In the dedicatory sonnet at the beginning of the first volume he acknowledges how much he owes to this "Father, and Bard revered," recalls his father's wish about him in *Frost at Midnight*, and dedicates the volume to him. In a sonnet at the beginning of the second volume, he speaks of the elder Coleridge, now dead, and confesses that in power of thought he feels himself far inferior. Two other sonnets refer to the same poet more indirectly, one of them telling how he looked upon the nightingale as a cheerful bird,[3] the other romancing about the name *Christabel* (II, 144-5). These four references to his father show that Hartley considers him undoubtedly a great poet, but in him he venerates the sire quite as much as the bard.

On the other hand, though he praises Wordsworth's character, he celebrates chiefly the greatness of his poetry. Moreover, in *Essays and Marginalia*,[4] though only occasional reference is made to S. T. Coleridge, numerous passages indicate Hartley's belief in Wordsworth's genius. Let three suffice.

[3] II, 88. The same idea of the elder Coleridge is mentioned in a note on a poem in I, 57.

[4] Edited by his brother Derwent Coleridge, 2 vols., London, 1851.

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"Popularity," we read, "is the gift of the people. Fame is conferred by the permanent universal reason. Reputation is the opinion of the judging, not always the judicious few.—Of living writers, I should say Scott was the most popular, Southey the best reputed, Wordsworth the most famous" (II, 164). Thus before 1832, Hartley Coleridge considers Wordsworth the greatest living author in England. Again, if we consult other passages, we find how he ranks the elder man in comparison with the greatest English poets of all ages. "The correspondence between Wordsworth and Milton," Hartley writes, "must be sought in their genius; not in the scale of their genius, *equal though I deem it to be*, nor yet in the kind of their genius—but in their lofty veneration for their genius as an emanation [from] rather than a gift of the Eternal Light."[5] Still another passage shows how great Hartley considers his father's friend: "England has produced greater men, if not more great men, than any other country—Greece itself not excepted; but *our very greatest men have not identified themselves with the national mind or character. England is typified, not by Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth;* nor yet by Bacon or Taylor, but by Defoe, Hogarth, Fielding and Dickens."[6] In other words, Hartley considers Wordsworth the best author of his age and among the few greatest in all English literature. He knows Wordsworth's poems well too, as is proved by numerous quotations in *Essays and Marginalia*,[7] indeed much more numerous than those from his father's work.

The seven poems in which Wordsworth is mentioned bear witness to a similar veneration on Hartley's part and likewise indicate what in his eyes the older man stood for. Of the seven, one is a copy of verses written in a Lucretius given to Wordsworth (II, 154); another mentions him indirectly as a "mighty bard" (II, 99); a third, a sonnet on *Rydal* (II, 20), is devoted mostly to Wordsworth; and the other four,[8] three of which are sonnets, are addressed directly to him. Higher praise is scarcely possible than that voiced in these last five

[5] II, 20. The italics are mine.
[6] I, 328. The italics are mine.
[7] I, 32, 37, 106, 118, 127, 143, 144, 209, 258, 306, 317; II, 206.
[8] I, 19; II 18, 19, 160.

poems. Wordsworth is a "mighty Seer"; people in the future will venerate the spot

> "where prose and rhyme
> Too strong for aught but Heaven itself to tame,
> Gush'd from a mighty Poet";

and like Homer he will be able to make epochs far apart in time, love each other better because of their common love for him. In these brief panegyrics, too one can find what Wordsworth stood for in Hartley Coleridge's opinion. First, the elder man's calm serenity is recognized in the lines,

> "Yet all calm,
> Calm as the antique trunks whose hollow age
> The woodman spares, sweet thoughts on every page
> Breathe for the soul admonitory balm." (II, 20)

Again, Wordsworth's joyfulness and the spirit of love so often revealed in his verse are evident in

> "For thou hast proved that purest joy is duty,
> And love a fondling, that the trunk entwines
> Of sternest fortitude." (II, 18)

Finally Hartley notes the penetrating depth which the great man's poetry attains in its treatment of both the human soul and external nature:

> "'Tis thine to celebrate the thoughts that make
> The life of souls, the truths for whose sweet sake
> We to ourselves and to our God are dear.
> Of Nature's inner shrine thou art the priest,
> Where most she works when we preceive her least."[9]

Such, then, was Wordsworth in the sight of Hartley Coleridge,—a poet possessed of calm serenity that could be communicated to his readers, a poet teaching joy and the spirit of love, a poet who found his way to the inmost recesses of man's

[9] I, 19. In connection with the last two lines, Hartley prints in a note two from Wordsworth's sonnet "It is a beauteous evening":

> "And worshipp'st at the Temple's inner shrine,
> God being with thee when we know it not."

Hartley's notes to the poems of the first volume (those originally published in 1833) often show by their quotations when he is particularly conscious of Wordsworth. The poems in the second volume, being mostly posthumous, unfortunately lack the convenience of such quotations.

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heart and was the priest of nature. At various periods of his life too, Hartley had been thrown with this man so intimately that they cherished a real affection for each other. Besides, this friend was in his eyes a greater poet than any other of the period, greater than his own father, for he was one of the master poets of all literature. In view of all these circumstances, then, one cannot but suppose that Hartley Coleridge, even though only ordinarily impressionable, would be influenced by Wordsworth in his work. Indeed, the probability is so great that we may be justified in attributing to actual influence not only any close resemblances we may find but also those remoter similarities which we should otherwise consider mere chance resemblances.

Hartley Coleridge's usual style is moderately simple and unassuming. I open the volume at random;

> "How many tears have dropp'd since thou wert born,
> Some on the cradle, some upon the grave!
> Yet having thee, thy father, not forlorn,
> Felt he had something yet of God to crave." (II, 137)

This is not an individual style and is not so close to that of any other author that we can at once point out its source. We should note, however, that it resembles the style of Wordsworth rather more than that of S. T. Coleridge, for it lacks an ornateness frequently found in the latter's work. Hartley Coleridge, on the whole, is less exquisite in style than his father and does not usually resemble him. He is nearer Wordsworth's simplicity.

If, however, instead of selecting a page at random, we search carefully, we come upon passages which really have much of the Wordsworthian ring. For example, Hartley occasionally approaches the style of some of Wordsworth's grander verses, even though it be at a respectful distance. In *Why is There War on Earth?*, the poet says that man must destroy his selfish spirit before he can feel

> "His spirit enfranchised,—general as the light
> Diffused through ether in its purity,
> And by the various sympathies of earth
> Blent and dissected into various hues
> That all are light, as a good man's good works." (II, 152

Again, a poem "*On Seeing Three Young Ladies on Grasmere Lake*" though it is written in couplets and not in blank verse, possesses in many lines a similar Wordsworthian note:

> "Oh! when it [the oar] stopped, the boat, and damsels three
> Charming the calm air with their triple glee,
> While all the shadows on the lake projected,
> Moved little as the mountains they reflected;
> It seemed a thing ordained for aye to stay
> Just where it was and sleep from day to day." (II, 212)

The other sort of style which is most characteristic of Wordsworth is the extremely simple style,[10] and this Hartley Coleridge exhibits more clearly than the grand one. Numerous examples can be adduced,—for instance, some stanzas from *The Blind Man's Address to his Love:*

> "Thy hand is very soft I know—
> They tell me it is white;
> But it is not like the falling snow,
> Because it does not bite.
>
> For cold and biting are the flakes,
> The melting flakes of snow,
> When the blinding snow-storm overtakes
> The blind men as they go." (II, 208)

But even better examples of this sort of Wordsworthian style are found in *The Reply:*

> "The very hills, they are not now
> The hills which once they were;
> They change as we are changed, or how
> Could we the burden bear?
>
> . . . .
>
> She pass'd away, like morning dew,
> Before the sun was high;
> So brief her time, she scarcely knew
> The meaning of a sigh."

This last stanza with its poignant simplicity, its restrained pathos, unquestionably bears the mark of Wordsworth (I, 105-106).

Hartley Coleridge may well have been originally impelled in the direction of the sonnet, his favorite verse form, by Wordsworth's great achievements, with the result that he

[10] I refer to the style of such poems as *We are Seven*.

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later discovered it to be particularly suited to his ability. The assumption is rendered probable by the fact that of the three sonnets (I, 5, 6, 7) which, according to Hartley's note, are his first attempts at this species of composition, the first two touch upon Wordsworthian ideas. In addition, apropos of one of these, he quotes some lines from Wordsworth's *Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle.* Hartley's sonnets, taken all together, are probably closer to Wordsworth than are the rest of his works, for few of them are utterly unlike the older poet in every way. On the other hand, they have not the grand roll of Wordsworth's best productions; instead, their forte is delicacy. Nevertheless, two or three sonnets can be found which sound extraordinarily like the great man. Anyone, for instance, would feel sure that the following verses came from Wordsworth's own pen:

On a Calm Day Towards the Close of the Year

"There never was an hour of purer peace!
Methinks old Time, in mere mortality,
Gives up the ghost, contented not to be,
And all the pulses of great Nature cease.
Whate'er betokens hope, life, or increase,
The gladsome expectation, or the dread
Of chance and change upon tomorrow fed,
Await the expiration of their lease
In dumb dull apathy. Not on the tree
Stirs the brown leaf; or, if detached, it drops,
So very slow it wavers to the ground
One might suppose that central gravity,
Prime law of nature, were about to stop;
Ne'er died a year with spirit so profound." (II, 75).

The style of Hartley Coleridge, then, is in general of a simplicity that is akin to Wordsworth's though there is not a marked similarity and the younger man is surely not trying to copy the elder. Frequently, however, we find passages in the grand style, passages in the extremely simple style, or sonnets wherein the resemblance is considerably closer, with occasional parts which mirror Wordsworth's manner perfectly. To be sure, the other Lake Poets, Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Southey, with whom Hartley was thrown into close relations, may well have done their part in simplifying his style. But Wordsworth, whom he admired most of the three, stands for a

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general simplicity of style more notably and more consistently than the other two and, besides, exemplifies better than his fellows the extremely simple style and the grand style, and is more proficient in the sonnet. In view of these facts, it appears certain that Wordsworth played the greatest part in the formation of the younger poet's manner of expression.

Style, of course, is but half the story, and the lesser half, for resemblances in substance are more important. The question thus arises which of Wordsworth's favorite ideas and interests, if any, are to be found in the work of Hartley Coleridge.

In the first place, like Wordsworth, the younger poet is extremely fond of children. Indeed, he dotes on them and, as one might expect, is delighted with their sweetness and innocence. But he bears a resemblance to Wordsworth in looking deeper to discover the real significance of the child; he finds its eyes "instinct with all its destinies" (II, 43); he calls it the "purest abstract of humanity" (II, 117); he frequently proclaims that God is with it.[11] Again in *To Jeannette, Six Weeks Old*, he begins in a manner most serious and weighty, recalling Wordsworth's gravity:

> "Our birth and death alike are mysteries,
> And thou, sweet babe, are a mysterious thing,
> In mute simplicity of passive being,
> A co essential symbol of the life
> Which God hath made a witness of himself." (II, 151).

In addition to having at times Wordsworth's philosophical attitude toward children, Hartley Coleridge exhibits the Wordsworthian doctrine of a life before birth. In a sonnet on *The First Birthday* (I, 23), he speaks of the infant, "the banish'd spirit in its new exile," being comforted by "the hospitalities of earth" and in a note prints lines 77-84 of Wordsworth's *Intimations of Immortality*[12] which treat the same subject. Again, in a *Fragment*, we find the same idea expressed.

> "The infant smiling in its sleep must dream
> Of something past, before the vexing beam
> Of daylight smote the unaccustom'd eye."

[11] II, 119; II, 127; II, 129.

[12] Hartley's admiration for this poem is shown by his declaration: "Wordsworth's Ode on Immortality is decidedly the finest in any language." *Essays and Marginalia*, II, 101.

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And later in the same poem,

> "The child, through every maze of wakening lore,
> Hunts the huge shadow of what was before." (I, 106-107).

This is obviously close to *Intimations of Immortality.* Strangely enough, however, Hartley Coleridge mentions but apparently rejects the same idea in a sonnet *To an Infant* (II, 117), wherein he declares that God would never exile a loyal spirit from Paradise and put it in this world. Whether or not this is to be understood as a mere graceful fancy, it would lead us to believe that he took the doctrine less seriously than Wordsworth did and, perhaps, entertained it principally because it appealed to his sentiments.

In two poems, Hartley Coleridge touches upon the beneficent effect of children upon adults, which Wordsworth has mentioned at times. In *The God-Child* (II, 120) after describing the significance of baptism and his feeling at being god-father, he ends with the lines,

> "Would I might give thee back, my little one,
> But half the good that I have got from thee."

Similarly, in *To K. H. I. the Infant Grandchild of a Blind Grandfather* (II, 123-4) he says,

> "And thus sweet maid! thy voice, so blithe and clear,
> Pours all the spring on thy good grandsire's ear,
> Filling his kind heart with a new delight,
> Which Homer may in ancient days have known,
> Till love and joy create an inward sight,
> And blindness shapes a fair world of its own."

One interesting piece entitled *The Solace of Song* (II, 226-7) illustrates Wordsworth's doctrine that "the child is father to the man." Just as in his famous little poem "My heart leaps up" Wordsworth says that he has always felt joy at the sight of the rainbow in childhood and manhood and hopes to continue thus in old age, so Hartley Coleridge tells in separate stanzas how he received happiness from song as an infant, a boy, a youth, and a man,—

> "And should I live to be an old,
> An old forgotten thing,
> Yet never may my heart be cold
> When holy maidens sing.
> Holy, holy, may the Psalm
> My very latest sense embalm!"

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It may seem unlikely to some readers that there is any influence from "My heart leaps up" on Hartley's poem, but this possibility becomes considerably strengthened when we note that Hartley is particularly fond of Wordsworth's poem, as is proved by his quoting from it twice in his essays. (I, 306 and 317, but in separate essays).

Hartley Coleridge's poems on children are by no means mere copies of those by Wordsworth, but we cannot deny the decided influence of the greater on the lesser poet. Aside from a common simplicity of style, Hartley shows at times a philosophical attitude toward babyhood and reproduces several of Wordsworth's views about children, particularly the cardinal doctrine of life before birth.

Another important view of Wordsworth's which is distinctly mirrored in Hartley Coleridge is that about the extreme importance of memory. Time and again, Wordsworth indicates that the recollection of beautiful objects will cause him great happiness and even spiritual benefit. Hartley touches on the same belief some six times, and of these six instances, I shall quote the two best. In *A Medley*, speaking of "little joys" and "passing gleams of restless mirth" he says:

> "Never, never, count their worth,
> By the time of their enduring —
> They are garners in a dearth.
> Pleasant thoughts for age securing —
> Rich deposits, firm ensuring,
> Bliss, if bliss below may be,
> And a joy for memory." (I, 119).

An even better instance of this doctrine expressed in lines which have a perfect Wordsworthian ring, is found in some verses *Written at Belle-vue, Ambleside* (II, 161-2). The beautiful landscape

> "Is yet the same, the same beloved scene,
> Which neither time nor change shall wipe away
> From the capacious memory of the soul.
> Oh blessed faculty of inward sight,
> Safe from disease and mortal accident—!"

In case the poet becomes blind,

> "Yet will those fields, those lowly heaving hills,
> That roving river, that pure inland lake,

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> And those neat dwellings that assure my heart
> That not alone I love and linger here,
> Abide the heir-looms of my inner life."

To be sure, Hartley Coleridge does not mention this role of memory so often as Wordsworth, but though less interested in it, he clearly holds this belief, which constituted another bond between him and the greater poet.

No account of Wordsworthian influence of course can be complete without an examination of poems on nature. If we consider Hartley Coleridge's work on this subject, we note every now and then descriptions of nature that possess a largeness and calmness of spirit which recall many in the elder poet. Sometimes these passages comprise only two lines, but at other times we find some ten lines which have this mood. A perfect example of this spirit and some of the most completely Wordsworthian verses ever written by Hartley Coleridge occur at the beginning of the sonnet *Written in a Season of Public Disturbance* (II, 45):

> "Calm is the sky: the trees are very calm.
> The mountains seem as they would melt away,
> So soft their outline mingles with the day.
> Surely no sound less holy than a psalm
> Should interrupt the stillness and the balm
> Of such a morn, whose grave monastic grey
> Clothes the meek east in garment meek to pray
> With sweet humility, without a qualm."

The mood of this is close to that of Wordsworth's sonnet *Composed upon Westminster Bridge* in the wide prospect contemplated and the resulting spiritual peace.

We find in Hartley Coleridge not only a perception of the calm beauty of landscape but a feeling that nature has a real influence on man. In one of the first three sonnets written by him occur the lines:

> "Our love was nature; and the peace that floated
> On the white mist, and dwelt upon the hills,
> To sweet accord subdued our wayward wills." (I, 5)

The idea is akin to Wordsworth, and we are convinced that it is the result of actual influence when Hartley cites in a note apropos of these very lines a passage from Wordsworth's *Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle*:

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> "Love had he found in huts, where poor men lie,
> His daily teachers had been woods and rills,
> The silence that is in the starry sky,
> The peace that sleeps upon the dewy hills."

Similarly, in another sonnet of Hartley's, we again hear of the influence of nature on man:

> "Oft have I view'd that lake so beautiful,
> And felt its quiet power, benign to lull
> The inward being to a soft repose." (II, 41).

This thought, in harmony with Wordsworth's views, is then completed by the lines,

> "But thou, sweet maid, with ready mirth dost fill
> The wide survey of water, wood, and hill.
> I feel a pulse of pleasure newly born,
> And scarce believe that 'man was made to mourn' ".

In fact, the whole conception of a man's being more influenced by the beauty of nature through the presence of a young person resembles the passage in Wordsworth's *Michael* where the old shepherd receives a new delight in the beauty of nature when he is accompanied by his beloved son Luke (194-203). Another passage of Hartley's showing a rather Wordsworthian reverence for nature and bearing a marked resemblance in details to a particular sonnet of this poet is the following lines from *Leonard and Susan:*

> "Good it were
> To be a Persian, and adore the sun
> At morn and eve—or deem the changeful moon
> Imperial arbitress of fickle fate,
> To hail the day-dawn as a visible God,
> Or, trembling, think the terrible vast sea
> A living Godhead in a wrathful mood,
> Rather than dwell within the gaol of sense,
> To see no God in all the beauteous world—
> To feel no god in man." (I, 77)

Here, it seems to me is an echo of Wordsworth's famous sonnet "The world is too much with us," wherein after complaining how little we are influenced by Nature's beauties, such as the "sea that bares her bosom to the moon," he bursts out:

> "Great God! I'd rather be
> A Pagan suckled in a creed outworn;
> So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
> Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn;
> Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea;
> Or hear old Triton blow his wreathed horn."

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It is probable, then, that Hartley Coleridge received from Wordsworth the doctrine that nature had a beneficent effect on mankind. This view, however, is not nearly so prominent in his verse as in Wordsworth's. It was the latter's mainstay in life and he is constantly referring to it whereas in Hartley it was a minor conception occurring only now and then in his poetry.

Of all Hartley Coleridge's poems on nature, however, those on flowers, taken as a group, seem the nearest Wordsworth. In *The Celandine and the Daisy*, the latter's two poems on the celandine are specifically mentioned in the line

> "For 'tis one mightier poet's joy and theme." (II, 99)

In addition, this poem and most of the others have a simplicity and a sympathetic attitude that recall Wordsworth. The one which suggests him most intimately, however, is *The Gentianella*, wherein Hartley Coleridge shows personal affection for the flower and addresses it directly, as Wordsworth is apt to do, using the simplest style:

> "Strange it is, that never ditty
> Ever told thee thou wert pretty
>
> . . . .
>
> Poets seek in fields and trees
> Quaint conceits and similes
>
> . . . .
>
> Lovely votary of the sun
> Never wishing to be won
> By a vain and mortal lover,
> Shrinking closely into cover
> When thy true love hath departed,
> Patient, pure, and simple hearted." (II, 101-2)

The beneficent effect of flowers on human beings is not prominent, as in Wordsworth, though it appears in the lines addressed to the cowslip in the poem called *The Cowslip and the Lark:*

> "I wish thee sometimes in a long road-side
> My solitary dream to purify." (II, 95)

Furthermore, Hartley notes the humility of certain flowers and loves them the better for this quality, as does Wordsworth. Examples are found in *The Lily of the Valley* (II, 103) and *The Snowdrop* (II, 100), where he speaks of the flower's "meek

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head." In a word, then, Hartley Coleridge in his flower poems, resembles Wordsworth in many ways,—in a simple style, in an affectionate attitude, in using direct address, in a fondness for meek flowers, and once in a belief that a person may derive moral profit from flowers. Thus though he cannot be said to imitate the flower poems of Wordsworth closely, it is clear that he is conscious of them and feels their influence.

On the whole, then, we see definitely that Hartley Coleridge in his nature poems resembles Wordsworth in many ways. But the likeness is not a result of slavish copying. Indeed in some respects Hartley's treatment of nature differs from that of the older man. He cares rather more for the little things, I think, and rather less for the big ones than does Wordsworth. But what is of greater importance, his treatment of details in natural descriptions is gentler and stresses beauty whereas Wordsworth's is, in comparison, more austere and stresses not so much the lovely appearance of the object contemplated as its significance to the poet. In spite of these differences, however, we may feel sure that Hartley, in his reverence for the greater man's nature poetry, drank in many conceptions from it and, although keeping much of his individuality, underwent considerable influence.

Still another point in which Hartley Coleridge resembles Wordsworth is the habit of finding significance in things apparently trivial. This characteristic of course is well defined in the greater poet and is exemplified in such poems as *The Reverie of Poor Susan*, *Lucy Gray*, *Simon Lee*, and *Michael*. Hartley Coleridge's most pretentious work, a tale named *Leonard and Susan* (I, 66-92) is of much this nature. The hero and heroine of the tale were playmates in infancy. Leonard as a baby clapped his hands together when Susan was in sight. They practised on the same words, and the first ones that Leonard mastered were "Sister Susan." Later he manifested his affection by showing her the strawberries and birds' nests he discovered in the woods. On growing up, they became betrothed, but a hotly contested election ruined Leonard's father and made the two families so hostile that the young people were not allowed to marry. They continued faithful, however, and when Leonard's fortunes at length rose through the help of a wealthy kinsman, Susan's father again looked

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upon him favorably as a suitor. The joy, however, was too great for the grief-stricken Susan, and she died in Leonard's arms.

> "He saw her shrouded relics laid to rest
> In his ancestral sepulchre. That done,
> He was a wanderer long in foreign lands:
> But when the greenness of his agony
> Was sere with age, the hoary man return'd;
> And after some few years in virtue spent,
> He died." (I, 92)

Plainly the tale is in Wordsworth's manner. Blank verse is used, and the style is simple and wholly without ornament. Furthermore, as is evident from my short account of the plot, the subject matter shows a fondness on the part of Hartley for the unpretentious. The characters, to be sure, are of higher social status than the peasants whom Wordsworth preferred for his tales, but both they and the events through which they pass are simple and totally lacking in that ornament or romance so dear to the average poet. In spite of the simplicity of incident, however, the tale stresses a moral idea,—namely, a devoted love from childhood to death in spite of misfortune deepening into hopeless tragedy. Thus, though somewhat more romantic than the average Wordsworthian tale in treating of love between the sexes, it is quite Wordsworthian in glorifying moral values found among simple surroundings. Thus one can feel almost sure that Hartley Coleridge, though not imitating Wordsworth directly, was inspired by his example. We might indeed go farther and say that a particular poem of Wordsworth's gave him the initial impulse,—namely, *Vaudracour and Julia*. Though this of course is one of the less characteristic of Wordsworth's tales, it nevertheless has his traits and, furthermore, in general outline, is much like *Leonard and Susan*. The titles are similar; the poems are both tales of love beginning in infancy; in both, the social status of the characters is above that of most of Wordsworth's personages; the lovers in both are faithful to each other in spite of parental disapprobation; and in both the lady dies and the lover leads a stricken life. Finally the fact that *Vaudracour and Julia*, though written about 1804, was printed only in 1820 after Hartley Coleridge had become a

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man and so apt to take interest in new publications of Wordsworth, makes the possibility of special influence more probable.

In addition to *Leonard and Susan* and one or two other poems of Hartley's that have some story element, several of his purely lyrical compositions show the same perception of significance in apparently trivial things. In a sonnet on Homer, for instance (I, 144), he praises the Greek poet for being master "of human truths" and remarks that his verse

> "Swell'd with the gladness of the battle's glee—
> And yet could glorify infirmity,
> When Priam wept, or shame-struck Helen pined."

In other words by praising Homer for seeing the significance of such little touches of human character, Hartley Coleridge shows that he sees them himself. It is interesting to note that this sonnet has another link binding it to Wordsworth in the phrase "mighty orb of song" here applied to Homer and in Wordsworth's *Excursion* (I, 249) to Milton.[13] Again, in another sonnet, Hartley Coleridge defends an aged, dying peasant from the charge of being a worthless clod, giving as his reason that the man has an unharmed soul:

> "And thus, for eighty years, good man, in thee
> The seed has slept, sepulchred in simplicity." (II, 29)

Still another poem celebrating the moral worth of lowly things is that on *Wytheburn Chapel and Hostel*. The chapel is praised in really Wordsworthian manner:

> "Humble it is and meek and very low,
>   And speaks its purpose by a single bell;
> But God Himself, and He alone, can know
>   If spiry temples please Him half so well." (II, 378)

The fondness for humble things and the tendency to dwell upon their moral value are by no means so prominent in Hartley Coleridge as in Wordsworth, for the moral element in general is not so strong in him. Furthermore, the same interest in lowly objects is found to some extent in Southey and S. T. Coleridge, who may have helped to strengthen the quality

[13] Hartley Coleridge is careful to acknowledge this, like other quotations, by putting it in quotation marks.

in Hartley. But since Wordsworth was the greatest poet in his eyes and, what is much more important, since Wordsworth exemplifies this quality far more than his fellows, it was undoubtedly Wordsworth who was the chief source of the interest.

Hartley Coleridge usually does not look at woman in the same way that Wordsworth does. In his attitude there is more of that romance which is usual in poets, more of the sentiments of a lover or, rather, of a would-be lover, for he is always poignantly conscious of his unattractiveness in her eyes. In some few poems, however, he exhibits a typically Wordsworthian point of view. In *Isabel*, a lament for a girl who is dead, he writes:

> "That lovely form, that face so bright,
> That changeful image of delight,
> May it no more to waking sight,
> Or spiritual ken, in very truth appear?" (I, 105)

In *To Somebody*, though there is much of the Hartley Coleridge spirit in lamenting over his unrequited affection for a girl, there are stanzas that are very like Wordsworth in celebrating her sweet contentment:

> "Her being's law is gentle bliss,
> Her purpose, and her duty;
> And quiet joy her loveliness,
> And gay delight her beauty." (I, 56)

Again in a *Song*, we catch the Wordsworthian note plainly:

> "She is not fair to outward view
> As many maidens be,
> Her loveliness I never knew
> Until she smil'd on me;
> Oh! then I saw her eye was bright,
> A well of love, a spring of light." (I, 65)

In other words, Hartley Coleridge, though unlike Wordsworth usually in his treatment of woman, often displays a simple, unromantic appreciation of her character, a realization of the supreme importance of her purity and her sweet happiness,—views that are both characteristic of Wordsworth and so betray his influence.

Finally Hartley at times expresses that spirit of calm joy that he himself considers one of Wordsworth's characteristics.

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In *A Task ad Libitum* (I, 41-3), a poem mentioning various possible subjects for verse, he praises the simple joy of home:

> "So the humbler spirit
> Hears in the daily round of household things
> A low sweet melody, inaudible
> To the gross sense of worldlings,"

a passage in connection with which he cites in a note the line from *Tintern Abbey:*

> "The still, sad music of humanity"

showing that he is conscious of Wordsworth. The same poem of Hartley runs on later:

> "The gentler joys, the calm sequester'd hours
> Of wedded life: the babble sweet of babes,
> That unknown tongue, which mothers best expound,
> Which works such witchery on a parent's heart,
> Turning grave manhood into childishness—"

Again in *A Medley*, a poem containing numerous touches of Wordsworth, Hartley Coleridge specifies the attitude he wishes to have in life, an attitude displaying calm, sweet joy in nature:

> "Nay—mine be still,
> The happy, happy faith—
> That in deep silence hymning saith—
> That every little rill,
> And every small bird, trilling joyfully—
> Tells a sweet tale of hope, and love, and peace,
> Bidding to cease
> The heart's sharp pangs, aye throbbing woefully." (I, 118)

Thus we see that Hartley Coleridge appreciated calm, sweet joy,— a joy which, as he recognized, was exemplified in Wordsworth and which he at times mirrors himself. It would seem, too, that the influence of Wordsworth very probably was the source of such passages in his work. They are not, however, his dominant note. Hartley Coleridge, like his father, was weak of will and hopelessly inefficient in all practical matters. His life was a mere drifting to and fro. He appreciated beautiful things and was loved by his fellows, it is true, but he was unable to earn his own living, he spent his time in aimless wanderings through the Lake Country, and he had to be

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watched over by others like a being doomed to perpetual childhood. He felt these shortcomings poignantly and forever sorrowed over being unlike other men and unfit to be a husband and father. These plaintive cries, these wistful longings of the soul for affection, are the inmost expression of Hartley's nature. But against this background of sadness there stand out just so much more clearly these few passages of peaceful, serene joy that are probably inspired by Wordsworth.

Hartley Coleridge, we then note, owed something to the father whom he reverenced greatly. From him he obtained his poetic talent, genuine, beautiful, sensitive. From him also, he inherited the feebleness of will which we have just touched on and the resulting grief over his own inefficiency. Aside from these, however, Hartley seems to owe little to S. T. Coleridge.

On the other hand, we have noticed a marked resemblance to Wordsworth in many ways,—a resemblance which is the result of actual influence. Hartley's style, in general, is of the simple variety, and it approaches at times the grand style of Wordsworth or, even more closely, the naive innocence of his extremely simple style. Moreover, Hartley feels the greatest interest in children mirroring many of the older man's ideas; and his views on the role of memory are similar. In his nature poems also, he has pictures of calm peacefulness like Wordsworth's; he at times expresses a belief in the influence of nature upon man; and he frequently suggests the greater poet closely in his flower poems. In addition, he is often interested in the moral significance of trivial things, he appreciates the calm sweetness of woman, and he at times exhibits a Wordsworthian peaceful joy. In other words the influence of the master upon him is very marked.

But we must not assume that Hartley Coleridge copies Wordsworth slavishly; in many respects he is very different from the greater poet. He says of his own career.

> "From May of life to Autumn have I trod
> The earth, not quite unconscious of my God;
> But apter far to recognise his power
> In sweet perfection of a pencill'd flower,
> A kitten's gambols, or a birdie's nest,
> A baby sleeping on its mother's breast,
> Than in the fearful passages of life." (II, 165)

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These lines are quite true. Hartley Coleridge is a man of smaller caliber than Wordsworth in every way. He has not the latter's originality of ideas nor does he care so much for ideas; he takes less interest in large things, whether landscapes, public affairs, or the human soul; he falls far short of Wordsworth in attaining grandeur of manner. Furthermore, Hartley has a personality of his own, not very pronounced, to be sure, but plaintive and winning. On his improvident, elfin journey through the world, he notes its subtle beauties, he appreciates little touches of character in his fellow travellers, and he expresses exquisitely a wistful yearning which is but too common to humanity.

Thus Hartley Coleridge is not a bloodless copy of another man, but has a note of his own, real though not strong. Every author, however, undergoes influences. Even those of the most resolute originality would write differently but for the existence of their predecessors, and those of less powerful talent and less robust personality derive numberless ideas and methods from other writers. Among these lesser men is numbered Hartley Coleridge. Though a man of real genius, he unmistakably inherited the traits of two elder poets. His powers—both his talent for poetry and his faltering, sorrowing disposition—he received from his father, Samuel Taylor Coleridge; his interests—his love of simplicity, of nature, of childhood, and of lowly life—he derived from his spiritual father, Wordsworth.

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ROMANISCHER EINFLUSS AUF DAS WESTGERMANISCHE

Nach den Kennzeichen einer bestimmten Sprachgruppe gefragt, müssen wir vorläufig meist eine Reihe völlig unzusammenhängender Einzelheiten angeben. Mit dem Bestreben, einen organischen Zusammenhang zwischen den verschiedenen Kennzeichen einer Sprachgruppe nachzuweisen, soll hier ein Anfang gemacht werden beim Westgermanischen. und zwar soll der Nachweis geliefert werden, dass fast alle wesentlichen Neuerungen, die das Westgermanische in *Lautlehre* und *Flexion* abweichend vom Gotonordischen vollzogen hat, zu erklären sind durch das Bestreben, solche Konsonantengruppen zu vereinfachen, die für den Lateiner schwer auszusprechen waren, dass also mit anderen Worten das Westgermanische seine Eigenart durch romanische Beeinflussung in einer bestimmten Richtung erhalten hat. Wenn ich von *wesentlichen* Eigentümlichkeiten spreche, will ich damit keineswegs das Recht beanspruchen, dies oder jenes als unwesentlich beiseite zu schieben, das etwa nicht passen sollte, sondern das Wesentliche durch eine Formel scharf abgrenzen. Es handelt sich um all die Punkte, in denen das Westgermanische sich nicht nur in einem etwas früheren oder späteren Stadium der Entwicklung befindet, sondern dauernd eigene Wege geht. Aus dem Rahmen der Untersuchung fallen also die ganzen vokalischen Auslautsgesetze; denn dabei handelt es sich augenscheinlich um eine auch im Nordischen vorhandene Entwicklung, die im Westgermanischen höchstens etwas früher vor sich gegangen ist. Mir ist bei den vokalischen Auslautsgesetzen des Westgermanischen nichts bekannt, das sich nicht früher oder später auch im Nordischen zeigte. Auch die verschiedene Behandlung auslautender Vokale nach langer und kurzer Stammsilbe finden wir im Nordischen wieder.

Nach dieser Einschränkung bleiben folgende nachweisbar dem Westgermanischen eigentümlichen Neuerungen:

I. Lautlehre[1]

[1] Bei dem Wandel ð zu d in allen Stellungen, der dem Westgermanischen vielleicht eigen ist, ist Alter und Verbreitung schwer festzustellen

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a) Die westgermanische Konsonantengemination.
b) Der Wandel von ǯw zu ǯ.
c) Das Auftreten von Sprossvokalen vor l und r;
d) Apokope des auslautenden z;

II. Flexion

a) Ersatz der 2. Pers. sing. ind. praet. der starken Verba durch eine Optativform[2] auf i;
b) bei den Verwandtschaftsnamen auf r; die Bevorzugung der "starken" Kasus, bei denen idg. der Stamm oder das stammbildende Suffix betont war, vgl. z.B. gotisch dat. sing. fadr, aisl. nom. pl. feðr mit den entsprechenden ahd. Formen.
c) Die Flexion des Infinitivs, das sogen. Gerundium.

Es gilt nun zweierlei zu zeigen; 1) dass alle diese dem Westgermanischen eigenen Neuerungen eine Annäherung an die romanische Artikulation, eine Ausspracheerleichterung für den Lateiner bedeuteten, 2) und vor allem, dass nicht etwa willkürlich hier und da Laute und Formen der lateinischen Aussprache angenähert sind, sondern dass überall da, wo *besonders* unlateinische Konsonantengruppen vorlagen, Aenderungen eintraten.

Durch die westgermanische Konsonantengemination bei der die Konsonanten vor j, w, l, r (mangelhaft belegt vor m, n) verdoppelt wurden, ist zweifellos eine Lautkombination beseitigt worden, die dem Lateinischen fremd war. Das Schriftlateinische hatte silbenbildendes i, u in ca- pi- o, fa- ci- o, mi- nu- o, das Vulgärlatein hatte Doppelkonsonant + j, oder w: fak-kjo-aber die germanische Kombination sit- jan, lig- jan, ap- les, ak-res zeigt sich im Lateinischen auf keiner Stufe.[3] Der Zusammenhang swischen der westgermanischen Konsonantendehnung und der lateinischen Artikulation wird deutlicher, wenn wir bedenken, dass vor j und w dieselbe Gemination im Vulgärlatein stattgefunden, hat (vgl. Gröbers Grundriss I, 364). Vor l ist wenigstens im Jtalienischen

[2] Oder alte Aoristform?!

[3] Wegen der schriftlateinischen und germanischen Silbentrennung vgl. die Metrik. Auch wenn man im Germanischen eine Silbentrennung: "li-gjan, si-tjan" annehmen wollte, wäre auch diese dem Lateinischen fremd, wenigstens auf keiner Stufe bei ihm nachweisbar. Wegen der lateinischen Silbentrennung vor cons. +l, r vgl. die Behandlung der vorhergehenden Vokale als in offener Silbe in den romanischen Sprachen.

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Konsonantendehnung erhalten. Vor r findet sich diese zufällige weitgehende Uebereinstimmung nicht; aber auch hier liegt insofern zweifellos eine Annäherung an die lateinische Artikulation vor, als die dem Lateinischen fremde Combination p-r t-r, usw. durch die in Verbalkompositis nicht seltene ppr, ttr ersetzt wurde. Warum gerade in diesem Punkte die tiefgreifendste Aenderung erfolgte, während manches andere, das scheinbar dem Romanen weit grössere Schwierigkeiten bieten musste, unangetastet blieb, darüber im zweiten Teil.

Dass durch den Wandel von *ĉw* zu *ĉ* eine dem Lateinischen fremde Konsonantengruppe beseitigt wurde, ist klar, ebenso, dass durch das Auftreten der Sprossvokale in ahd. afful, ahhar, ags. aecer, aeppel statt aisl. akr, gotisch akrs usw. eine für den Romanen, der r und l als Sonanten nicht kannte, schwierige Lautverbindung fiel. Es bleibt die Apokope von z. Natürlich musste dies, an konsonantische Stämme angehängt, namentlich nachdem die vokalischen Auslautsgesetze gewirkt hatten, häufig schwierige Lautgruppen bilden, vgl. gotisch mahts, wulþs. Dass es dann auch nach Vokaken fiel, erklärt sich leicht daraus, dass es fast nur als Flexionselement im Auslaut stand und also analogischer Behandlung ausgesetzt war (Vgl. übrigens den frühzeitigen Schwund des auslautenden s im Vulgärlatein. Gröbers Grundriss I, 363.)

Auch dass das Schwinden der Formen auf t in der 2. Pers. sing. ind. praet. die Entfernung von schwierigen Konsonantengruppen, (ha*lpt*, wa*rpt*) zur Folge hatte, ist selbstverständlich; auch die oben erwähnte westgermanische Eigentümlichkeit bei der Flexion der Verwandtschaftsnamen auf r half Ausspracheschwierigkeiten für den Lateiner beseitigen; sie wirkte parallel mit der Einführung von Sprossvokalen auf phonetischem Gebiet.

Auch in der speziell westgermanischen Flexion des Infinitivs *kann* man romanischen Einfluss erblicken; jedoch möchte ich davon aus folgenden Gründen absehen:

1) Es ist zweifelhaft, in welchem Umfang das Gerundium als Flexion des Infinitivs im *Vulgär*latein noch bestand.

2) Diese Uebereinstimmung des Westgermanischen mit dem Lateinischen fällt aus dem Rahmen der Vereinfachungen unlateinischer Konsonantengruppen heraus, in dem sich alle anderen dem Westgermanischen eigenen Neuerungen halten.

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Es ist also zuzugeben, dass bei *einer* Eigentümlichkeit des Westgermanischen eine Annäherung an das Romanische *nicht nachweisbar* ist.

Nun kann aber eingewandt werden: wenn wirklich das Westgermanische seine Eigenart der Neigung verdankt, unlateinische Konsonantengruppen zu beseitigen, warum hat es dann bei verhältnismässig kleinen Abweichungen von der lateinischen Artikulation, so bei der Silbentrennung, dem fremden Einfluss nachgegeben, während so unaussprechliche Lautgruppen wie þw, hl stehen geblieben sind? Wir kommen damit auf den zweiten, schwierigeren und wichtigeren Teil der Beweisführung, nämlich auf den Nachweis, dass die Anpassungen an die lateinische Artikulation nicht willkürlich hier und da erfolgt sind, sondern immer da am stärksten, wo für den Lateiner die grösste Schwierigkeit vorlag, dass also bei den westgermanischen Neuerungen etwas typisch Romanisierendes nachweisbar ist. Dieser Nachweis stösst zunächst auf das Hindernis, dass Ausspracheschwierigkeiten nicht leicht in ihrer Stärke zu fixieren sind. Vor allem müssen wir den Irrtum vermeiden, das, was in der Tat in einer Sprache nicht ausgesprochen wird, darum auch für unaussprechlich zu halten. Der Deutsche kennt z.b. die Anlautsverbindungen sl, sm, sn, tw nicht, und doch bereiten sie ihm in fremden Wörtern nicht die mindesten Schwierigkeiten. Wenn dem Lateinischen Auslautsgruppen wie rp oder lp fremd sind, dann beweist das nicht, dass sie für den Lateiner besonders schwer auszusprechen gewesen wären, sondern hat einen sozusagen zufälligen Grund: im Lateinischen trat der Stamm fast nie ohne Endung zutage, und in Endungen kam p nicht vor. An sich nimmt das Latein an zweifacher Konsonanz im Auslaut durchaus keinen Anstoss (vult, hinc, fert, est). Zur Abschätzung von Ausspracheschwierigkeiten kann uns eine Betrachtung der Lautsubstitution helfen, wie sie in modernen Sprachen durch lernende Ausländer vorgenommen wird. Sie ergibt zweierlei. Einerseits ist die Neigung zur Lautsubstitution umso grösser, je unmerklicher der Unterschied zwischen eigener und fremder Artikulation ist. So wird der Deutsche, der schon längst die ihm völlig fremden französischen Nasallaute korrekt spricht, vielfach noch die Klangfarbe der Vokale nicht richtig wiedergeben. Einer der unmerklichsten Unterschiede nun, der dem

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nicht phonetisch Geschulten am schwersten zum Bewusstsein kommt, liegt in der Silbentrennung. Bei dem Polen, der beim Deutschsprechen die offenkundigen polnischen Eigentümlichkeiten längst überwunden hat, verursacht die undeutliche Silbentrennung in Mō-te, Lă-te, statt Mot-te, Lat-te, noch einen eigentümlichen, fremdartigen "Akzent." So erklärt es sich, dass gerade mit Bezug auf die Konsonantengemination, die ja phonetisch gesprochen nur eine Verlegung der Silbengrenze *in* den Konsonanten ist, im Westgermanischen die umfangreichste Neuerung erfolgt ist. Andererseits zeigt die Erfahrung des Sprachunterrichts, dass für den Ausländer besondere Schwierigkeiten entstehen bei Kombinationen mit unbekannten Lauten, zu denen es in der eigenen Sprache kein Analogon gibt. Das deutsche sch z.B. lernt der Holländer ziemlich leicht, auch das schw, schm noch einigermassen, weil er dazu im Holländischen die Analoga zw, sm hat; das schr dagegen bietet ihm die grössten Schwierigkeiten, weil es eine Anlautsgruppe sr im Holländischen nicht gibt.

Für das Westgermanische ist es nun charakteristisch, dass *die* Konsonantengruppen vermieden werden, zu denen das Latein keine Analoga hatte. Und zwar verstehe ich unter Analogon eine Lautgruppe, die mit der fraglichen einen Laut ganz gemeinsam hat, zu den andern aber einen nächstverwandten, der sich von ihm *entweder nur* durch die Artikulationsbasis *oder nur* durch die Artikulationsart, und zwar nur in einem Punkte unterscheidet. Analoga zu pl wären also z.B. einerseits kl, tl, andererseits fl, pl. Dabei gilt lateinisch c als nächstverwandt zu germanisch h und lateinisch b zu germanisch w, sodass also cr, cl Analoga zu hr, hl und bl, br solche zu wl, wr sind. Nach dieser Formel boten dem Lateiner folgende westgermanische Anlautsgruppen keine besonderen Schwierigkeiten.: pl, bl, fl, kl, gl oder ǵl; pr, br, fr, tr, dr, kr, gr, ǵr; st, sp, sk; wl, wr; hl, hr. Zu hn bestand wenigstens im Griechischen das Analogon kn, zu þw und tw: sŭ und qŭ. Dw bot keine Schwierigkeiten, wenn das u in duābus usw. vulgärlateinisch unsilbisch war;—Dass die Anlautsgruppen sl, sm, sn im Vulgärlatein nicht unbekannt waren, scheint mir aus folgendem hervorzugehen. Die Gruppe x+cons wurde vulgärlateinisch zu s+kons vereinfacht. Da statt der lateinischen Verbalkomposita mit e romanisch solche mit ex auftreten,

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musste also in diesen Verben die Anlautsgruppe esl, esn, esn vorkommen. Nun ist es bekannt, dass die Gruppe s+kons vulgärlateinisch nach konsonantischem Auslaut einen ĭ—Vorschlag (woraus später ĕ) erhielt, und dass da, wo wir im Jtalienischen dieser ĭ (e)—Vorschlag wieder schwand, auch das anlautende e der Komposita mit ex fiel (vgl. it. *s*cavare usw.), dass also der lateinische Anlaut s+kons und ursprünglich ex+kons in den Verbalkompositen vulgärlateinisch gleichbehandelt wurden. Wir haben also allen Grund, anzunehmen, dass im Vulgärlatein in Verbalkompositen ***nach konsonantischem Auslaut*** die Anlautsgruppen sl, sm, sn bestanden. Im Anlaut bot sich also dem germanisch sprechenden Römer nicht der stärkste Anstoss.

Im Inlaut war dem lateinischen zunächst die germanische Silbentrennung p-j, t-w, k-r usw. fremd. Da es dazu kein Analogon hatte, und der unmerkliche Charakter des Unterschiedes zwischen eigener und fremder Artikulation die Lautsubstitution begünstigte, erfolgte hier der Ersatz durch das vulgärlateinische ppj, ttw, kkr (in Kompositen) u.dgl. Wodurch sollte nun aber ǵr ersetzt werden; denn das nächste Analogon ggw fehlte im Lateinischen, in dem gŭ nur nach Konsonanten (sanguis, arguo) vorkam? Hier lag eine besondere Schwierigkeit vor; und in der Tat sehen wir denn auch, dass ǵr im Westgermanischen zu ǵ vereinfacht worden ist.— Eine weitere besondere Schwierigkeit boten im Inlaut die Verbindungen mit sonantischen l oder r, und auch hier hat sich das Westgermanische teils durch Einführung von Sprossvokalen, teils durch Neuerungen in der Flexion der lateinischen Artikulation angepasst.—An anderen inlautenden Konsonantengruppen, zu denen das Latein keine Analoga hatte, kommen etwa noch hn, pn oder andere Nasalverbindungen in Betracht, ohne dass hier das Westgermanische eine Erleichterung vollzogen hat. Jedoch ist zu bedenken, dass 1) das Griechische hier Analoga oder auch völlig übereinstimmende Lautgruppen bot, dass 2) das Westgermanische verglichen mit dem Gotonordischen die Inchoativbildungen mit n einschränkt, indem es sie nicht wie jenes auch von Adjektiven (fullnan) ableitet. Immerhin bleiben im Westgermanischen hier und da Worte mit Konsonantengruppen, zu denen weder das Latein noch das Griechische Analoga hatte (z.B. ae. druncnian). Aber

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schliesslich war es von vornherein nicht zu erwarten, dass die Beseitigung der vielgestaltigen Ausspracheschwierigkeiten sich mathematisch genau nach unserer Formel, die schliesslich nur ein roher Versuch zu ungefährer Fixierung ist, vollziehen würde.

Im Auslaut ist unser Kriterium überhaupt nicht anwendbar, da wie gesagt, die meisten germanisch auslautenden Konsonantenverbindungen im Latein *zufällig* fehlen. Wir wissen nur, dass dieses an zweifacher Konsonanz im Auslaut keinen Anstoss nahm, dass dagegen dreifache Konsonanz wie in falx zu den seltenen Ausnahmen gehört. Diese dreifache Konsonanz war nun auch im Germanischen selten, ausser da, wo ein Konsonant als Suffix diente. Deren gab es zwei: z namentlich im Nom. sing. der Substantive, t in der 2. Pers. sing. ind. praet., und beide sind im Westgermanischen beseitigt.

Nachdemwir so das Bestehen einer weitgehenden Uebereinstimmung zwischen den eigentümlich westgermanischen Neuerungen in Lautlehre und Flexion einerseits und den Punkten, in denen das Germanische dem Lateiner besondere Ausspracheschwierigkeiten bieten musste, konstatiert haben, muss die Ursache dieser Uebereinstimmung festgestellt werden. An Zufall zu glauben, scheint mir nicht möglich. Die Möglichkeiten des Zufalls sind auf diesem Gebiet sehr beschränkt. Bei den zahlreichen Neuerungen etwa, die das Deutsche im letzten Jahrtausend vollzogen hat, wird man kaum ein Zehntel finden, das sich mit einiger Deutlichkeit als Annäherung an den Lautstand wirklich fremder Sprachen, etwa des Italienischen oder Russischen, auffassen liesse. Jn unserem Falle können wir aber fast *alle* Neuerungen als Annäherung an die lateinische Artikulation auffassen, und obendrein umgekehrt feststellen, dass fast überall da, wo nach einer bestimmten Formel ein besonders starker Anlass zur Anpassung vorlag, diese auch stattgefunden hat. Auch im modernen Norddeutsch finden wir wohl Eigentümlichkeiten, bei denen die Beziehung zum Niederdeutschen nicht ohne weiteres deutlich ist, so die Neigung zu geschlossener Aussprache des langen ä; und doch wird schwerlich jemand behaupten wollen, dass nun auch der scharfe Unterschied, den das Norddeutsche zwischen stimmhaften und stimmlosen Lauten macht, die Neigung, g als Spirans zu sprechen, mir und mich zu verwechseln, und viele

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andere Dinge, nun auch nur rein zufällig ans Niederdeutsche erinnern, dass also das Norddeutsche seine Eigenart ganz selbständig, ohne Anlehnung ans Niederdeutsche, ausgebildet hätte.

Jch kann darum nicht umhin, einen ursächlichen Zusammenhang anzunehmen. Es ist m.E. kein durchschlagender Gegengrund, dass der ethnologische romanische Einschlag bei den Germanen gering war. Bei sprachlichen Beeinflussungen kommt es nicht auf die zahlenmässige Stärke der beeinflussenden Volksgruppe an, sondern auf ihre kulturelle Ueberlegenheit. Ein deutliches Beispiel dafür findet man bei den ostelbischen niedersächsischen Mundarten, die trotz historisch nachweisbaren stärksten und langdauernden Zusammenlebens mit Wenden nur verschwindend geringen slavischen Einfluss zeigen, und sich von den westelbischen nicht durch wendischen, sondern durch niederfränkischen Einschlag scheiden. Beim Wortschatz ist überall die Sprache der Herrschenden oder kulturell Ueberlegenen die gebende, und wir haben keinen Grund anzunehmen, dass es auf phonetischem Gebiet anders ist. Es wird in den Jahrhunderten nach Christi Geburt bei den Westgermanen für fein gegolten haben, den Akzent germanisch sprechender Römer anzunehmen.

Eine andere Möglichkeit muss ich allerdings gelten lassen. Obgleich namentlich die Konsonantengemmination mir etwas typisch Romanisierendes zu haben scheint, ist es doch nicht ausgeschlossen, dass es sich ganz oder teilweise nicht um lateinischen, sondern um keltischen Einfluss handelt; das Keltische ähnelte in seinem Verhalten gegenüber Konsonantengruppen vielfach dem Italischen. Diese Frage entzieht sich meiner Beurteilung. In diesem Sinne bitte ich die vorstehenden Ausführungen nicht als endgültige Antwort sondern als Stellung einer Alternative aufzufassen.

Heerenveen, Holland. H. Koppelmann

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REVIEWS AND NOTES

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH: HIS DOCTRINE AND ART IN THEIR HISTORICAL RELATIONS. By Arthur Beatty. University of Wisconsin Studies. Madison. 1922. 284 pages.

This is a valuable book. For the small number of persons who are specially devoted to the study of Wordsworth it is an epoch-making book. It may even, through them, if they come to understand it and accept its conclusions, affect the great mass of those who read Wordsworth chiefly for pleasure and without professing any particular concern about his theories of poetry or the stages of his personal development. It is a product of genuine scholarship. The author not only knows the poetry and the prose writings of Wordsworth, but has subjected them to a fresh and original scrutiny in a new light, studying them in connection with an immense body of philosophic literature, which he appears actually to have read. Many critics who talk freely about the influence of Locke, Hartley, and Hume upon the course of English thought and the contents of English poetry have evidently not perused the voluminous and closely reasoned treatises of these philosophers, and have merely swallowed an epitome of the principal teachings involved in the *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, the *Observations on Man, his Frame, his Duty, and his Expectations*, and the *Treatise of Human Nature*. Mr. Beatty appears to have taken his task more conscientiously and to have fitted himself to speak with authority.

It would be a pity if so much erudition, labour, and insight were to be thrown away; and there is great likelihood that they will have been thrown away unless the persons who are particularly concerned with Wordsworth, and who ought to read Professor Beatty's book, overcome two or three difficulties that threaten its success. For one of these obstacles he is not responsible: that is, the widespread opinion entertained by superficially educated people and fostered, strange to say, by Matthew Arnold in his famous essay on Wordsworth, that poetry will not bear the weight of much philosophical thought, indeed that poetry is an improper medium altogether for the transmission of systematic views. We have only to remember Lucretius and Dante and Milton and Goethe to see this opinion fly off to the limbo of freshmen's suppositions. For another obstacle to his book's getting a fair hearing Professor Beatty is himself responsible, and we may as well deal with it at

once before going on to describe the work and give it that praise which it so amply merits. The fault is this, and it is one that mars many an academic production: on a literary and philosophic subject capable of being understood by all decently equipped readers and offering many opportunities for enjoyment, Professor Beatty has chosen to write a formidable looking dissertation, terribly "scientific," with its array of "scholarly apparatus," bristling with footnotes, the sentences frequently ill constructed, and all thrust at us with a rather truculent air, as much as to say: "There, confound you, are the facts; don't expect me to make the thing attractive or easy; this is not and does not pretend to be a work of art." If Charles Darwin was willing to publish *The Origin of Species* without a footnote (my copy at least has none), I cannot see why Mr. Beatty should think it necessary to expose the mechanism in his treatment of a subject which is after all not scientific but literary. A little pleasant discursiveness is not out of place in a treatise on poetry, as Aristotle, Horace, and Sir Philip Sidney have pretty well demonstrated.

Notwithstanding this defect of method, it will be necessary for all serious students of Wordsworth to read Mr. Beatty's suggestive and richly documented work unless they are willing still to overlook, as we have all more or less overlooked in the past, the background of psychological doctrines upon which he painted most of his pictures of human life composed between 1798 and 1815. Mr. Beatty very properly emphasizes "the importance of chronology as a guide to the clear understanding of Wordsworth." It is indeed of prime importance, and in spite of the poet's own example, there can be no justification for any other than a chronological order in publishing his poems. More than is the case with any other of our greatest poets, except perhaps Milton, it is necessary to read his works in connection with a minute study of his life if we wish to know what they mean. No one who does not perceive and appreciate, for example, the fact that Wordsworth was a changed man after 1802 and especially after 1804, can understand the products of his mind.

Leaving aside his unproved assertion that the poet "revolted" against Godwin and Rousseau, one must admit that Professor Beatty demonstrates his main propositions, which are that we find in Wordsworth a "vocabulary involving the exact use of terms which are largely philosophical, such as could have been mastered only by a rather intimate knowledge of the [British?] philosophies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries," and that in substance also the poetry and prose of Wordsworth are philosophic, in that they are "an analysis of the human mind and an examination of the validity of the knowledge on which men act and form moral and social judgments and institutions." While this is well stated and amply

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illustrated, Mr. Beatty seems to violate the chronological principle by failing to observe that *Guilt and Sorrow*, composed between 1791 and 1794, previous to Wordsworth's supposed "revolt" against Rousseau and Godwin, is marked by most of the qualities that are to be found in the poems that were composed in 1798 and the two or three succeeding years. Only thus is the critic enabled to say that "by 1798 Wordsworth was in possession of a theory and method in poetry with which he was utterly unacquainted in 1795."

Discounting a few over-statements of this kind, we must accept Mr. Beatty's opinion that Wordsworth did indeed become the exponent of a particular philosophical theory, which bears the repulsive and almost unpronounceable name "associationism." "The principle of associationism," he says, "is directed against the notion that there are innate ideas, or powers, such as the moral sense, beauty, sublimity, and so on, and in defense of the theory that all these powers, or ideas, are not simple and original, but are very complex and built up out of the simpler elements of the mind, all coming ultimately from experience." There are some passages in Wordsworth's prose, quoted by Mr. Beatty, in which this psychological doctrine is definitely professed. It is also adopted in *The Prelude* and illustrated in several other poems, particularly *We are Seven* and *Anecdote for Fathers*, where the supposed inability of children to rise above concrete facts observed through their senses is insisted upon. And when one has read all these selections, thus massed together, one is tempted to agree with Matthew Arnold that they do not contain enough poetic beauty, which means, in the main, sensuous beauty, to float so much merely abstract language. Fortunately Wordsworth's artistic sense taught him to distribute his doctrinal passages at fairly wide intervals. He was perhaps trying to avoid the appearance of didacticism when he introduced the last thirty-two lines of *Simon Lee*, the only lines of that poem which really count, with sixty-four lines of narration that have little excuse for existence except that they serve to save the piece from appearing to be what it really is, a lesson upon the evil of social inequality.

Next in importance to his discussion of Wordsworth's use of the association psychology is Mr. Beatty's chapter on the Three Ages of Man. He states what careful readers of the poet must have perceived, though none of them have ever formulated it so precisely; namely, that he habitually thought of human life as developing through three periods, in each of which those faculties predominated that were awake at the time according to the laws of the association theory,—in early childhood pure sensation, in youth feeling, in maturity reflection. This scheme may be observed in *Tintern Abbey* most expressly outlined and underlies many another poem. It may

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be questioned whether Wordsworth did not make too systematic a use of these distinctions. If three ages, why not four, or five, or six, we may well ask. And are all children alike, and all youths alike, and all grown persons alike? The idea is so formal and so contrary to the infinite variableness of nature that there must be something wrong with it. But Professor Beatty is perfectly correct in asserting that Wordsworth entertained it, and now I am afraid I shall never read any of his narrative poems without being conscious of it.

Professor Beatty's chapter on Poetic Diction seems only remotely related to the general course of his argument. The obvious reason why Wordsworth chose subjects from common life and used the language of plain people is that any other course would have been inconsistent with his political doctrine of human equality. Mr. Beatty does not often enough remember that Wordsworth was a democrat and a Revolutionist. Whether we think of them as emanating from Rousseau or as originating in Wordsworth himself or as being a part of the intellectual atmosphere of the age, it is quite possible to account for many of his ideas without assuming that he had direct recourse to the system or systems of Locke, Hartley, and Hume. No doubt the British philosophers had furnished suggestions which political theorists had eagerly snapped up; but they themselves were no longer needed, and by the time Wordsworth was twenty years old all Europe was echoing to the cries of "Back to Nature" and "Study the Child." It has been Mr. Beatty's endeavour to show that Wordsworth traced these new fashions of social thought to their sources, studied these sources himself, and applied them with awakened and very alert consciousness in his poetry and prose. The first and third of these tasks Wordsworth undoubtedly performed, and Mr. Beatty has done good service in proving that this is the case. He has not so fully succeeded in demonstrating that the poet really read copiously in the voluminous and exceedingly difficult works of the British philosophers. It is still possible to assume that he derived his knowledge of their views largely through the conversation of Coleridge. So far as subject-matter is concerned, therefore, it seems to me that some deduction from the value of Mr. Beatty's book must be made because he does not give sufficient weight to Wordsworth's political convictions as accounting for his choice of poetical material and methods, nor appreciate the share of Coleridge in that famous literary partnership. Nevertheless, this is a book which will give Wordsworthians much to think about, perhaps to quarrel over, and will through them affect future readers of the poet. It is a credit to the author and to his university.

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DEUTSCHE SYNTAX. EINE GESCHICHTLICHE DARSTELLUNG. Band I. Die Wortklassen und Wortformen. A. Nomen. Pronomen. Von Otto Behaghel. Heidelberg 1923. Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung. XI 740 Pages.

Under the modest title of Deutsche Syntax an important work has just appeared that should attract wide attention. Not only the author's name but also the time of the appearance of the book arouses our interest. In 1920 Herman Paul finished his Deutsche Grammatik, a work of six volumes, two of which are devoted to syntax. It takes some courage to write a Syntax just after Paul has published one. But that is not all. Sütterlin has for some time been working on a German Grammar, a large portion of which is devoted to syntax. This will also be a large book. This great activity in the field of grammatical studies is easily explained by the simple fact that we are at the close of a remarkable period of language study. Many linguistic periodicals have for many years been presenting to the public the work of a large throng of investigators. This period is marked by many brilliant discoveries and countless minor ones, some of them worthless of themselves but valuable when brought into relation with others. There has sprung up in a number of important minds a desire to draw general conclusions from the vast array of facts that have come to light in these investigations. It is our good fortune that Paul, Behaghel, and Sütterlin felt called to do this work of formulation. The first two have for a long time been prominent in the preceding period of investigation. We have confidence in their power. In Sütterlin we have learned to respect the high quality of his work and expect good things from the large undertaking in which he is now engaged.

Behaghel informs us that his book will appear in three large volumes. The first on nouns, adjectives, and pronouns, a book of 740 pages, has just appeared. The second on the verb and adverb is in the hands of the printer. The third on the sentence and sentence groups is under way. The reviewer has read the first volume carefully and desires to call attention to some of its salient features.

The marked feature in this volume is the vast store of facts and their orderly arrangement in grammatical categories, where the development of form, function, and meaning is treated historically in a thoro-going scientific fashion that must be of great service to student and scholar. Behaghel not only gives us his own views on the many phases of the subjects that he treats but also references to the extensive technical literature on these topics. At the head of every article, even the smallest, he gives references to books, dissertations, and

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the various periodicals, so that the student has before him all the available light on the subjects he is studying. In every article he can find within a narrow compass the development from the eighth century to the present time. To make the German development plainer and to bring it into relations with the general principles of language growth examples are everywhere cited from Gothic and other Indo-European languages, wherever this is helpful. A more practical book can scarcely be imagined, and besides it is a good book, full of the ripe knowledge of a mature scholar.

We now turn from praise to censure. Behaghel has a way of analyzing speech into its smallest elements. He defends his method against attacks that have been made upon it. He justly remarks that it is not his fault that speech is a complex organization. The present reviewer agrees with him fully, and greatly admires his fine analyses. And yet there is something wrong with these analyses! We cannot convey a good idea of an animal by dismembering it and stacking in orderly fashion all its parts neatly labeled. It would be more effective to first present the animal alive and active in its native haunts. In language work it is not sufficient to analyse carefully. Many grammatical categories have developed out of a single idea and are only different shades of this idea. Back of all linguistic phenomena is a mind at work. A grammatical treatise must show the working of the mind as the face of a watch reveals the activity that is going on within. We never tire in following Paul thru his heaps of dry facts because we know that the moment will come when a sudden flash will light up the darkness. And Brugmann is like unto him. How much we all owe to these two! But Behaghel in his passion to analyze does not always first show us the original idea from which all his categories have sprung. To explain concretely what the reviewer has in mind he desires to call attention to Behaghel's treatment of the genitive, pages 478-610. One hundred and thirty two pages on the genitive without telling us what it is! One would naturally think that that should be the first thing to do. Of course, there are not many people who know what the genitive is, but that is what we expect our great scholars to do. They should tell us what we don't know. The genitive is so old that it will be impossible to detect its oldest concrete meaning, but in the oldest documents that have come down to us there is a common element in all its many uses - the conception o "sphere." This common element is still found in Old German and Old English. It can even be found in current German and English: *Of their army* a large part was slain. In Old English we find the simple genitive here, but tho we now use the prepositional form the force hasn't changed. The original meaning was "sphere": In the sphere of the army

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a large part was slain. Originally the genitive modified the verb *was slain.* We now often feel it as a modifier of the noun *part* and hence we can also say "A large part of the army was slain." We now say "John is now the dog's master," but we don't mean that John belongs to the dog even tho we say he is the dog's master. The original conception is still helpful: John is master in the sphere of the dog, just as we say "Smith is chief of police," i.e. chief in the sphere of police. The theory that the central idea of the genitive was "sphere" explains the entire development of the genitive. The genitive was first used with verbs, later it was felt as standing in relation to some other noun. Of course, the genitive was even in the oldest known records often used as a modifier of another noun, so that many scholars, among them Behaghel, believe that the adnominal use of the genitive is the original one. To-day it is surely the common one. A lifelong study leads the reviewer to firmly believe that the genitive was originally a modifier of the verb and had the general meaning of "sphere." Brugmann in his last and maturest years held this theory. On the other hand, Behaghel on the basis of a dissertation by Hugo Ehrlich comes to the conclusion that the original use was the adnominal. He does not even mention Brugmann and his weighty arguments. He does not even seem to feel that this is a very important question. He treats it like thousands of other details that are disposed of by a dissertation. He does not at all feel it necessary to know what the genitive is before writing a treatise on it. This is where the reviewer quarrels with Behaghel. We must know what a thing is before we write a treatise on it. We *must* endeavor to penetrate into the life of the construction. We may never discover the original concrete meaning, but we must from the facts known to us construct some plausible theory to explain the facts in our possession. This theory will serve at least as a working basis until some later investigator discovers a better theory. Reason must not abdicate the throne and leave the realm of fact in chaos.

Behaghel has failed to help us more than once where he was the very man to do the work. He has thrown out a good deal of light in his time and we expect him to essay a solution where others have failed. He often takes his leadership too lightly. On page 674 he clearly sees his duty but he shirks it. He begins his article on the accusative with the statement that we do not know what the accusative means, and then gives us a fifty four page treatise on it. It was clearly his duty to first offer some plausible theory of the general nature of this case. He might at least have said that the accusative was once used to express a goal. Originally the goal was often concrete. Even to-day we can say "He went *home*," where the

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accusative is a concrete goal. The goal is often abstract: Go *lie* down! Here the goal of the going is to *lie* down. We do not feel that *lie* is an accusative, but originally it was and the construction was common. We still quite commonly say: "He built a *house*," where the goal of the activity is a *house*. Thus we might go on and show how the idea of goal is still the central meaning of the accusative or the meaning from which the present one can be traced. Originally language was very simple, a few concrete signs by which the mind expressed itself. Language is still simple, else we should soon become hopelessly entangled in our efforts to convey our thought. It is the duty of the scholar to discover in the complexity of speech its inherent simplicity. The categories of the genitive and accusative are many, and yet within each case, tho many, they are one.

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BRUNS, FRIEDRICH: MODERN THOUGHT IN THE GERMAN LYRIC POETS FROM GOETHE TO DEHMEL. University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 13. Madison 1921. 103pp.

Studies in the influence of philosophical tenets on the German drama—especially on Hebbel and Grillparzer—are numerous and varied. But so far we have been without a systematic treatment of the effect of philosophic thought on the lyric poetry of Germany since the days when Kant and Fichte began to loom into significance. Yet even mere wayfaring students of German literature were at least dimly aware of the dependence of most of the great lyrists on Kant and his successors. Hence any attempt to fill this gap should be hospitably received.

In a "Foreword" the author tells us that his discussion is limited "to three closely interrelated problems: the conception of deity, the question of the freedom of the will, and the valuation of life" (p. 5), and in the "Introduction" he proceeds to sketch the attitude of the waning eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries in Germany towards these concepts. Leibniz, Herder, Goethe, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, and Schelling pass in rapid review and the change from a mechanistic, deistic view of the world with its farreaching implications to a new interpretation is briefly but suggestively outlined and the peaks of the movement from theism to humanism—presaging the neo-theistic humanism of Dehmel—touched in passing. Everywhere the author reveals praiseworthy familiarity with his subject. Nevertheless, the absence of any

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reference to Shaftesbury—one of the most potent forces in the creation of optimism in eighteenth century Germany—must seem at least surprising. The "Introduction" closes with a glimpse of the change from this rosy view of life—which found its most dithyrambic expression in Schiller's "Lied an die Freude"—through Schopenhauer's pessimism to the new affirmation of life voiced by Nietzsche and Dehmel.

The chapter which follows this introduction is devoted to Goethe. The author carefully unravels the threads which make up the complex woof of Goethe's philosophy, and shows how his scientific concept of the universe enables him to braid faith in individual liberty with profound appreciation of man's dependence on nature, and a joyous affirmation of life with keen sensitiveness to its brutalities. Goethe's whole theory of life, Professor Bruns very properly reminds us, is marked by a predilection for contrasts (p. 22). We may add that shallow critics of Goethe (I am thinking especially of Edouard Rod) have been all too prone to forget that the man who could write "Man mag so gerne das Leben aus dem Tode betrachten, und zwar nicht von der Nachtseite, sondern von der ewigen Tagseite her, wo der Tod immer vom Leben verschlungen wird" (in a letter to Nees von Esenbeck, 1825) is at the same time the author of the lines: "Kennte der Jüngling die Welt genau, Er würde im ersten Jahre grau." (Sketches for Faust II.) Incidentally, since Simmel's great book on Goethe is so little known in this country, and as Professor Bruns makes no reference to it, I cannot refrain from mentioning it here as a source of inspiration to all who wish to make themselves acquainted with Goethe the thinker.

The chapter on Romanticism opens with a few words on the new orientation in philosophical thought at the close of the eighteenth century. But we look in vain for any hint of the importance of Hemsterhuis, although this writer proved for Germany one of the liberators from the gyves of Rationalism. Ferdinand Bulle's "Franziskus Hemstersuis und der deutsche Irrationalismus des achzehnten Jahrhunderts" (Jena 1911) contains valuable material on this subject. Paragraphs on Novalis and Hölderlin bring into relief the contrast between the pantheism of these two poets and their love of life (Lebensbejahung), and Goethe's. Although in some respects akin to modern writers like Novalis and Dehmel, these great Romanticists betray an other-worldliness which is neither Goethe's nor ours, and an affinity with mysticism which altogether sets their thought apart from that of the Sage of Weimar. It is no easy task to define Novalis' and Hölderlin's conception of the world and of man's place in it. Professor Bruns deserves credit for the skill displayed in his choice of characteristic passages.

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A few words on the disillusionment which followed the French Revolution and the age of Napoleon and on the effect of Metternich's reactionary policy introduce a discussion of the poets of "Weltschmerz": Platen, Lenau, Heine. In speaking of Platen, something might have been said of his attitude towards Italy, since it subtly mirrors his pessimistic view of life and finds exquisite expression in his verse. For while Goethe sees in Italy great natural and historical forces at work the study of which increases his grasp on the universe, glimpses everywhere new life rising from decay, and delights in the complex appeal of Rome, Platen is incurious of all positive forces, resolutely turns his back on Rome and Florence, and revels in the morbid charm of Venice which he hymns in melodious rhymes. Lenau is even more consistently negative than Platen, and indeed, Professor Bruns might have shown, is *the* poet of negation in German literature. There are more and finer aspects of his pessimism than appear on these pages. Lenau has a greater passion for autumn as the season of decay and is happier and more original in describing it than perhaps any other poet, German or foreign. To him the North-American Indian, in whom the Rousseauian age saw the emblem of manly serenity, is the representative of a doomed race and an appealing victim of the inexorable cruelty of life ("Der Indianerzug," "Die drei Indianer"). To him, again, the Wandering Jew appears, not as he does to Hamerling, as one privileged to watch a great multitude of human endeavors, but as the most accursed of creatures—because the most longlived ("Ahasver, der ewige Jude," "Der ewige Jude").—In Heine, Professor Bruns goes on to show, a vitriolic hatred of life is curiously entwined with a powerful capacity for sensuous and sensual enjoyment. He constitutes in a sense the transition between the poets of "Weltschmerz" and the representatives of "realism and the new faith in life"—Keller and Hebbel—who form the subject of the next chapter.

More should have been made of Feuerbach's philosophy as an exponent of the revulsion from elegiacal discouragement. (For an able presentation of his influence see Alb. Lévy: "La philosophie de Feuerbach et son influence sur la littérature allemande," Paris 1904). The increase in manliness, the ability to face the tragic elements of human existence and to integrate them with a positive view of life, which appear in Keller and Hebbel, and the latter's method of combining obedience to "necessity" with faith in individual initiative Professor Bruns clearly and convincingly describes without, however, strikingly new illuminations.

Far richer in unfamiliar material, because dealing with neglected poets, is the next chapter, headed "Pessimism." A new type of discouragement made possible by Schopenhauer

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(although his great book had fallen from the press as early as 1818), by familiarity with new scientific discoveries, by the materialism resulting from the new industrial upheaval, finds its reflex in the seventies and eighties in the verse of Hieronymus Lorm, Griesebach, Prinz Emil von Schönaich-Carolath, and Hermann Conradi. Nothing in the lyric poetry of Germany during these years gave promise of "the new optimism" which became vocal towards the end of the century and which is treated in the last and perhaps the best chapter of the book.

Before turning to Nietzsche and Dehmel who best voice this new vitality, Professor Bruns reminds us that even during the period of blackest pessimism and materialism the heroic impulse was by no means dead. As proof he adduces especially the "Novellen" of C. F. Meyer. He might have called attention to the efflorescence of "Renaissancism" during this period. The interest in the Italian Renaissance of which C. F. Meyer is the finest spokesman in German letters, as is Walter Pater in England, reflects one of the most interesting undercurrents of protest against the shrill vulgarities of an industrial age. We are only beginning to understand its importance and charm. A more detailed study of its far-flung ramifications would throw much light into dark places. Important hints on the subject may be found in F. F. Baumgarten: "Renaissance-empfindung und Stilkunst" (2nd ed. Munich, 1920, pp. 25ff). Nietzsche is known in this country only as a philosopher and Dehmel has received virtually no attention among us (except in Ludwig Lewisohn's admirable essay "The Spirit of Modern German Literature," N. Y. 1916, pp. 75ff.) Hence this concluding chapter should prove useful to all teachers of German literature. The new humanism and the new affirmation of life which without blinking evil and death, transcends them, the strain of mysticism which cannot be wholly disassociated from such a philosophy—all of which appears in the many quotations spread before us—make us feel how much nearer a Nietzsche and a Dehmel are to us than a Lenau or a Heine. And yet, many readers will doubtless add, we to-day, disillusioned and staggering under a leaden sense of spiritual failure, feel a spacious difference between ourselves and even the authors of "Zarathustra" and "Zwei Menschen." For to us their fine faith in the future and the improvability of the race already begins to have about it a touch of innocence. The world is ready for a more searching, though—let us hope—a not less intrepid vision.

So then may this little book make its way into the hands of many students of modern German poetry, who will be sure to find it informing and stimulating. I say this, although one important point must be singled out for censure. The treatment throughout lacks amplitude and generosity, thereby

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frequently obscuring the author's thought and preventing his scholarship from penetrating to the audience.

In conclusion, the hope should be expressed that some one may soon undertake a companion study on the treatment of social problems by German lyrical poets from Goethe to Dehmel: by Goethe, Chamisso, Heine, Freiligrath, Holz, Hart, Loens, von Reder, Dehmel, and others. Such a study would not only complement the one before us, but would shed new light on familiar portraits.

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A BOOK OF DANISH VERSE. Translated by S. Foster Damon and Robert Hillyer. *The American-Scandinavian Foundation*, New York, 1922. Pp. 179.

PER HALLSTRÖM: SELECTED SHORT STORIES. Translated from the Swedish by F. J. Fielden. *The American-Scandinavian Foundation.* N. Y., 1922. Pp. 293.

With these two attractive little volumes, which have recently come to our hand, the American-Scandinavian Foundation continues its series of translations of classics from Scandinavian literature. It is not the purpose here to review these, but merely on the basis of a careful examination of portions of the volumes to give my opinion briefly of how the translators have acquitted themselves of the task. Translations of Scandinavian verse have now and then been done very well, as Payne's rendering of Björnson's *Arnljot Gjelline*, and almost everything that William Morton Payne did.[1] But more often it has been anything but well done, and one grieves over the wasted effort, but especially over the wrong done the author in putting out such a work. Of Danish poetry very little has been made accessible in English, so that the volume by Damon and Hillyer should find hearty welcome among those who do not read Danish. It is merely a selection of a little of the wealth of like things there is in Danish literature; perhaps the volume may also inspire someone with the desire to learn the Danish language. I hasten to say, that the rendering of the selected poems is, throughout, good, and often really fine; I have read them with genuine delight and satisfaction, even though I may have here and there, come upon occasional verses or verse-groups which seem not quite adequate in the English. Fairly representative will be the opening verses of Oehlenschlæger's *Guldhornene*, "The Golden Horns." I quote the original at the right:

[1] Orbeck's translation of Ibsen's *Olaf Liljekrans* is excellent, much better than that of *Catiline* in the same volume. (Foundation's Classics, 1921).

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They pry in pages
Of ancient sages,
They search in the glooms
Of mounded tombs,
On swords and shields
In ruined fields,
On Runic stones
Among crumbled bones. P. 14.

De higer, og søger
I gamle Bøger
I oplukte Høie
Med speidende Oie
Paa Sværd og Skjolde
I muldne Volde,
Paa Runestene
Blandt smuldnede Bene.

The word 'Ruined' in line six is the only thing which is not excellent here. Fine is also the following stanza: p, 20:

Glimpses from the days of yore
Sparkle down the aisles of time;
Strangely they appear once more,
Riddles shining through the grime.

Tvende Glimt fra Oldtidsdage
Funkler i de nye Tider;
Selsomt vendte de tilbage,
Gaadefuldt paa røde Sider

And especially the closing stanza of the poem:

The hour strikes; the gods have given;
Now the gods have taken back;
Storms crash; the clouds are riven;
The relics vanish in the black.

Himlen sortner, Storme brage,
Visse Time. du er kommen,
Hvad de gav, de tog tilbage,
Evig bortsvandt Helligdommen.

I would also cite the following stanza, p. 16:

Hrymfaxe the black
Snorts, and plunges
Into the tide.
Delling flings back
The bolts of dawn.
The gate swings wide.
Skinfaxe lunges
Up from the dark
Of heavenly arc.

Hrymfaxe, den sorte
Puster og dukker,
Og i Havet sig begraver.
Morgenens Porte
Delling oplukker;
Og Skinfaxe traver
I straalende Lue
Paa Himlens Bue.

Here, however, the added verse might have been avoided. Rather unsatisfactory is the following, p. 16:

And the winds breathe her
Over the day,
The maid who dances
To the fields away.

Og med svævende Fjed
En Mø hendandser
Til Marken afsted.

Also the frequent use of anapaestic feet is sometimes too much of a departure from the original, as in verse-group 2: 'A fugitive glance' 'Of the past enchants' 'The inquisitive mind'; and so, p. 15, 'De øvre Regioner' 'Toner,' is changed to: A voice through the skies' 'Profoundly sighs.'

Of most successful renderings I may finally be permitted to quote the third (and last) stanza of Ingeman's *Evening Song*:

Messengers of the sun will toss
Afar that banner of light,
Guiding life and the dawn across
The whispering sea of night.
Sun and life renew their powers
Behind Death's promontory,
And the sun comes back to the eastern towers
Of Paradise, in glory. (The translation is by R. S. Hillyer).

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The "Meeting with Bacchus" by Ludvig Bødtcher, with its rollocking rhythm, has been well reproduced, and will be enjoyed by the reader (pp. 86-98). The selections of the volume are confined to Oehlenschlaeger and after; in addition to several poems from each of the poets named, there are included also, from among his most immediate successors: Hauch, Grundtvig, P. Møller, Chr, Winther, Aarestrup, H. C. Andersen, and Paludan-Müller; then J. P. Jacobsen, Holger Drachman, and Viggo Stuckenberg. From among living poets there are: Ludvig Holstein, Jeppe Aakjær, Sophus Claussen, and Johannes V. Jensen. The poems from Jensen includes *At Memphis Station.* I am tempted to quote about two-thirds of this poem, even though I, thereby, will be able to give our second volume merely a mention. Jensen is known somewhat to American readers as one of the most prominent of living novelists of the North. I am sure this poem will be read with a great deal of interest by students of the most recent American poetry. I add that, it was written ca. twenty years ago.

At Memphis Station

Half-awake and half-dozing,
in an inward seawind of danaid dreams,
I stand and gnash my teeth
at Memphis Station, Tennessee.
It is raining.

The night is so barren, extinguished,
and the rain scourges the earth
with a dark, idiotic energy.
Everything is soggy and impassible.

Why are we held up, hour upon hour?
Why should my destiny be stopped here?
Have I fled rain and soul-corrosion
in Denmark, India, and Japan,
to be rain-bound, to rot, in Memphis,
Tennessee, U. S. A.

And now it dawns. Drearily light oozes
down over this damp jail.
The day uncovers mercilessly
the frigid rails and all the black mud,
the waiting-room with the slot-machine,
orange peels, cigar- and match-stumps.
The day grins through with spewing roof-gutters,
and the infinite palings of rain
rain, say I, from heaven and to earth.
How deaf the world is, and immovable!
How banal the Creator!

. . . .

. . . See how the engine,
. . . stands calmly and seethes;
shrouding itself in smoke, it is patient.
Light your pipe on a fasting heart,
. . . and swallow your sorrow.

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Yet go and stay in Memphis.
Your life, after all, is nothing but
a sickening drift of rain, and your fate
was always to be belated
in some miserable waiting-room or other—
Stay in Memphis, Tennessee.

For within one of these bill-shouting houses,
happiness awaits you, happiness,
if you can only gulp down your impatience—
and here there is sleeping a buxom young girl
with one ear lost in her hair;
she will come to encounter you
some fine day on the street,
like a wave of fragrance,
looking as though she knew you.

Is it not spring?
Does the rain not fall richly?
Is there not the sound of an amorous murmur,
a long, subdued conversation of love
mouth to mouth
between the rain and the earth?

. . . . . .

And now see, see how the Mississippi
in its bed of flooded forest
wakes against the day!
See how the titanic river revels in its twisting.
How royally it dashes through its bends, and swings the rafts
of trees and torn planks in its whirls!

. . . . . .

Pull yourself together, irreconcilable man!
Will you never forget that you have been promised Eternity?
Will you grudge the earth its due, your poor gratitude?
What would you do, with your heart of love?

Pull yourself together, and stay in Memphis;
announce yourself in the market as a citizen;
go in an insure yourself among the others;
pay your premium of vulgarity,
so that they can know they are safe, as regards you,
and you will not be fired out of the club.
Court the damosel with roses and gold rings,
and begin your saw-mill, like other people.
Yank on your rubbers regularly . . .
Look about you, smoke your sapient pipe
in sphinx-deserted Memphis . . .

Ah, there comes that miserable freight-train
which has kept us waiting six hours.
It rolls in slowly—with smashed sides;
it pipes weakly; the cars limp on three wheels;
But in the tender, among the coals,
lie four still forms
covered with bloody coats.

Then our huge express-locomotive snorts;
advances a little; stops, sighing deeply;
and stands crouched for the leap. The track is clear.

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And we travel onward
through the flooded forest
under the rain's gaping sluices.

The translation is by S. Foster Damon.

Uniform with the above volume in binding and printing is that of the short stories from Per Hallström. The translator was formerly Scholar of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, but is now Lecturer at the University of Lund, Sweden. I can only take the space here to recommend this volume heartily to lovers of Swedish literature, and to students of the short story. Hallström is perhaps the greatest of the writers of this form of story in Sweden to-day, and the translation is unusually well done. There is a very interesting Introduction on the life and the meaning of Hallström.

George T. Flom

Urbana, May 13, 1923.

SENECA AND ELIZABETHAN TRAGEDY. By F. L. Lucas. Cambridge University Press. 1922. Pp. 133.

This book, intended by its author *neque indoctissimis neque doctissimis*, contains five chapters dealing respectively with The Drama before Seneca, Seneca the Man (would that we might be delivered from this threadbare mannerism in titles!), The Tragedies of Seneca, Darkness and Dawn (from Seneca to the Elizabethan period), and Seneca in the Elizabethans. It is in the first three that the author seems most at home; the last two cover a large field in too cursory a way, and at times degenerate into a dull catalogue of titles.

The attitude of Mr. Lucas toward his subject may be gathered from two of his characterizations. On p. 46 he writes: "Seneca with his high brain-power and the low vitality of prolonged ill-health, with his clever, subtle mind and his lack of solid common-sense, with his amiable, but not passionate temperament, is perhaps after all not so hard to understand. He desired more than most to do the right thing; but he hated more than most the unpleasant things, especially unpleasantness with other people. In a perfectly desperate position, with only one path before him, he could tread it finely; but it was a desperate position indeed when that agile brain could not find a way round and justify to itself the same. Less clever he would have proved a great deal more edifying." And again (p. 52): "his life was marred because he did not know how to make—in the opposite to Dante's sense—'great refusals' . . . Seneca failed because he never saw when he must fling compromise to the winds." With these judgments Mr. Lucas's account of Seneca is in substantial accord, but there is a certain cocksureness in his statements which seems unwise

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in the case of a character as complex and at times as puzzling as that of Seneca. The exposition also suffers from an over-journalistic and often staccato style and an undue striving after epigram, suggesting the criticism which the author himself quotes from Macaulay, who said that continued reading of Seneca is like 'dining off anchovy sauce.'

Some details in treatment are at least open to question. When Mr. Lucas contrasts, to the disadvantage of Greece, the greater affection felt and expressed by the native of Italy for his motherland and the soil of his birth he seems, under the influence of Virgil's *Georgics*, to forget the *Oedipus at Colonus;* that Gallio "was also to be immortalised, in the Acts of the Apostles, for an insouciance caring about nothing" is not the impression of the character of that worthy which I derive from *Acts* 18, 17; the spuriousness of the *Hercules Oetaeus* (or the bulk of it), which Mr. Lucas baldly expresses as certain, several recent and detailed studies have denied (cf. Ackermann in *Rhein. Mus.* 67 (1912), 425ff.; Pease in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 49 (1918), 3ff.; Münscher in *Philologus*, 16 Supplbd. 1 (1922), 110ff.; *id.*, in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, 192 (1922), 196f.), and the authenticity of the *Octavia* has at least been sufficiently often asserted (cf. Flinck, *De Octaviae Praetextae Auctore* (1919); Pease in *Classical Journal*, 15 (1920), 388ff.; Münscher in *Philologus*, 16 Supplbd. 1 (1922), 126ff.—though he recants in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, 192 (1922), 198ff.) to justify a less dogmatic statement of its spuriousness than that on pp. 60f.

In conclusion it may be said that the first part of the book gives a vivid picture of Seneca and his times which should prove interesting to the general reader, even though, like a modern journalist, Mr. Lucas lingers over the evil and overlooks or minimizes the good. The more professional reader, for whom the latter part might be expected to have a particular appeal, will hardly find in it much material not already more systematically and fully treated by Cunliffe in his *Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*, to which our author is repeatedly and manifestly indebted.

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FRITZ STRICH, DEUTSCHE KLASSIK UND ROMANTIK ODER VOLLENDUNG UND UNENDLICHKEIT. EIN VERGLEICH. Meyer und Jessen Verlag, München, 1922. 256 Seiten.

In diesem seinem jüngsten und jedenfalls bedeutendsten Werke versucht Strich, dessen Verdienste um die deutsche Literaturgeschichte wohl nicht mehr hervorgehoben werden

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brauchen, vermittels eines erschöpfenden Vergleichs eine tiefsinnige Unterscheidung zwischen deutscher Klassik und Romantik nach deren wesentlichen Merkmalen zu begründen. Ausgangspunkt ist für den Verfasser die Feststellung, dass der Mensch vom Willen zu einer zweifachen Ewigkeit, der der Vollendung und der der Unendlichkeit beseelt sei, und dass diese beiden Auffassungen, die Grundideen aller Kunst, die innere Polarität des Geistes bilden, die zwar verglichen werden, doch nicht an einander gemessen noch bewertet werden können. Um die Wende des 18. and 19. Jahrhunderts, als die deutsche Literatur sich am Schneidewege befand, wo Klassik und Romantik sich kreuzten und dann zwei verschiedene Pfade einschlugen, trat nach Strich diese ewige Polarität zum ersten Male deutlich zutage. Vollendung, unwandelbare Ruhe, Zeitlosigkeit, Klarheit gelten als Kennzeichen der Klassik; Unendlichkeit, Bewegung, Verwandlung, Dunkel als Merkmale der Romantik. Jene Gattung stellt den Realismus dar, diese den Idealismus, d.h., den wahren Idealismus, nicht etwa den der Schiller'schen Dichtung, der in Wirklichkeit als Realismus bezeichnet werden muss, weil Schillers Ideal stets in der Schönheit oder der erhabenen Tat zur Realität wird, sondern einen Idealismus, dessen Ideal nie Realität werden kann, weil es stets unerreichbar bleibt und eine Dichtungsart zeitigt, die, ewig im Werden begriffen, eine "progressive Universalpoesie" ist. Doch wenn Goethe das höchste Gesetz, das er in seinen Werken forderte, in der Natur verwirklicht sah und somit einen *natürlichen* Realismus vertrat, so war das bei Schiller nicht der Fall. Sein Realismus verwirklicht sich erst in seinen Werken, ist also ein frei geschaffener, oder nach Strich ein *magischer* Realismus. In ähnlicher Weise ergibt sich eine zweifache Romantik, deren zwei Strömungen gleichfalls in einander münden, die natürliche, die man bei Tieck und Wackenroder findet, und jene, die, wie etwa bei Novalis, das romantische Moment der Schöpfung zur Magie erheben will. Von einem anderen Gesichtspunkte aus betrachtet, zerfällt schliesslich noch die Romantik in eine *christliche* und eine *dionysische*, erstere die gewöhnliche Gattung, die den Weg der christlichen Erlösung geht und mithin etwas Jenseitiges, Ueberirdisches in sich trägt, letztere eine etwas seltenere Strömung, die man vorzugsweise bei Hölderlin und Kleist findet und die, ihrem Charakter nach diesseitig und unterirdisch, den Weg der dionysischen Erlösung einschlägt. Es ist das Bestreben der Romantik, sich des unendlichen Lebens zu bemächtigen, was aber nur möglich ist, wenn die Formen des Raumes und der Zeit—die nämlichen Formen, in denen die Klassik ihre Ewigkeit verwirklichte—zerbrechen. Darin liegt schlechterdings der Gegensatz, den der Verfasser uns durch seinen Vergleich vor die Augen führen will.

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An der Hand dieser Grundbegriffe bestrebt sich nun Strich, gleichsam durch eine Zergliederung und Gegenüberstellung der Klassik und der Romantik bis auf deren kleinste Fasern, wobei man sich oft fast in einem Sezierzimmer wähnt, die wichtigsten Kennzeichen dieser beiden Gattungen ein für allemal festzustellen. Seine Untersuchung zerfällt in die folgenden Teile: Der Mensch, Der Gegenstand, Die Sprache, Rythmus und Reim, Die innere Form, Tragik und Komik und schliesslich Die Synthese.

Der Abschnitt über die klassische und romantische Auffassung des Menschen bietet ein äusserst klares Bild von dem wesentlichen Unterschiede. Während der klassische Mensch sich selber Mass ist, versucht der Romantiker die menschlichen Grenzen zu zerbrechen. Jener läutert seine eigene Individualität zur reinsten Menschheit, dieser ist wie ein Instrument, auf dem ein höheres Wesen spielt. Die Klassik, die ein Urbild für alles hat, ringt um die Erkenntnis der ewigen Kunstgesetze; die Romantik, die einer ohne Urbild schaffenden Kraft huldigt, will gesetzlos sein. Die Klassik hat ein zeitloses Menschentum im Auge und hängt deshalb am idyllischen Zustande; die Romantik aber besitzt ein unendliches Zeitgefühl und hält das Idyll für banal und unpoetisch. Die Klassik bestrebt das Gleichmass, die Entwickelung einer von Anbeginn geprägten Form, die Romantik eine form-, mass- und gesetzlose schöpferische Entwickelung (man vgl. die Charaktere des Herzogs im Tasso und des Ofterdingen). Jene regelt das Lebem nach der Uhr, während für diese die Uhr als der Inbegriff der Banalität gilt. Der Klassiker predigt die Entsagung, der Romantiker *will nicht* entsagen. Er gibt sich der Sehnsucht hin, sei es der des Titans, die die Grenzen zwischen Menschen und Gott zerbrechen will, sei es der Sehnsucht dessen, der sich ohne Kampf unendlich zu seinem Gott erhebt. Die blaue Blume, d.h., die Unendlichkeit, ist das *Ziel* dieses Sehnens, und die romantische Wanderlust entstammt dieser unendlichen Sehnsucht in die Ferne, der Erinnerung. Die letzte Konsequenz dieses romantischen Zuges ist die Sehnsucht nach dem Tode. Für jene Romantiker, die sich dem Katholizismus zuneigten, war die Kirche ein Mittel zur Wachhaltung ihrer Sehnsucht.

In seinem Abschnitt über den "Gegenstand" führt Strich den Vergleich zwischen Klassik und Romantik in demselben Sinne weiter aus. Während die Klassiker, namentlich Goethe, gegenständlich waren, zerschlug der romantische Idealismus die gegenständliche Welt. Was Mythologie anbelangt, so neigte die Romantik sich eher dem Mysterium zu. An der verschiedenartigen Naturbetrachtung der beiden literarischen Gattungen, nicht minder an deren Auffassung der Geschichte, lässt sich der wesentliche Unterschied besonders deutlich

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erkennen. Auch ist die Wahl des Stoffes von Bedeutung, doch weit wichtiger noch die Art der Behandlung, d.h., die Form.

Besonders gut gelungen sind Strich die beiden Kapitel über Sprache und Rythmus und Reim. Er liefert hier einen wichtigen Beitrag zu der bisher sehr vernachlässigten Geschichte des deutschen Stils und wirft in der Behandlung dieses Neugebiets manches Licht auf die stilistischen Eigentümlichkeiten der Klassiker und Romantiker. Geschickt gewählte Zitate, die der Verfasser einander gegenüberstellt, wie z.B. Wallensteins Monolog im 2. Aufzug, 3. Auftritt des Todes und die Rede des Johannes aus dem 1. Aufzug, 1. Szene der Familie Schroffenstein (Fünf Wochen sind's . . .) tragen viel dazu bei, den Text zu veranschaulichen. Auch die durch die verschiedene Auffassung des Zeitgefühls bedingten Unterschiede in der inneren Form, die Eigenart der klassischen Form (als Vielheit und Einheit zugleich), im Gegensatz zu der romantischen, die immer etwas von der musikalischen Form der Variation besitzt, die Geschlossenheit der Klassik und die Offenheit, die unendliche, rein musikalische Bewegung der Romantik, werden treffend bezeichnet und durch Beispiele dargetan. Während die Klassiker sich an der plastischen Kunst orientierten, fand die Romantik in der Musik ihre Erlösung von den Begrenzungen des Raumes und des Wortes und von der klassischen Geschlossenheit. Nicht weniger deutlich tritt der grosse Gegensatz zwischen Klassik und Romantik in deren verschiedenartiger Behandlung von Tragik und Komik auf.

Im Schlusskapitel über die Synthese endlich weist Strich auf den Willen zur Synthese, den Verschmelzungstrieb, den Drang nach Harmonie hin, der beide Richtungen, Klassik sowohl als Romantik, beseelt. Goethe spielt dabei eine bedeutende Rolle. Sein Westöstlicher Divan z. B. weist unleugbare romantische Elemente auf. Unerreichbar aber, wie diese Synthese war, hat sie doch zu der "neuen Klassik" eines Platen geführt, die Strich als einseitige Formvollendung ohne die klassische Entsagung bezeichnet, und schliesslich zum Jungen Deutschland, das einen neuen Stil entwickelte, der sich von der zeitlosen Klassik und auch von der unendlichen Romantik abkehrte, indem er eine Zeitpoesie schuf, die nur den Glauben an die Zeit, nicht an die Ewigkeit besass. Dieser Stil ist durch Modernität gekennzeichnet und gesellt sich zu der zeitlosen Vollendung der Klassik und der Unendlichkeit der Romantik als dritter typischer Stil. Indem Hebbel den Augenblick unter den Gesichtspunkt der zeitlosen und unendlichen Ewigkeit stellt, versucht er eine Synthese der drei Gattungen.

Strich verleiht seinem Werke dadurch etwas Authentisches, dass er sich fast ausschliesslich auf die Quellen, d. h., die Literaturwerke selbst, stützt. Das Buch hat keinen kritischen Apparat und bedarf seinem Wesen nach auch keines solchen.

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Ferner wirkt es wohltuend, dass der Verfasser sich jeder Polemik enthält.

In allen seinen einzelnen Teilen und Betrachtungen wird Strichs Werk wohl nicht vermögen, jeden Leser durchweg zu überzeugen. Dazu ist es viel zu reichhaltig und stellenweise viel zu sehr auf subjektive Gedankengänge über Aesthetik und Philosophie aufgebaut, die von der kunstgeschichtlichen Schule Heinrich Wölfflins, zu deren Lehren sich Strich bekennt, herrühren. So z. B. wenn er Schillers Wilhelm Tell das Drama der gebändigten Kraft nennt, mit der Begründung, die Idee der Freiheit im Drama sei missverstanden, da in Wirklichkeit diese Freiheit darin bestehe, dass das Volk den Trieb der Rache zügelt. Auch fällt es auf, dass mehrere seiner romantischen Kennzeichen (innerer Widerspruch, Titanentum, Sehnsucht zur Unendlichkeit) sich auch beim jungen Goethe finden lassen (man vgl. aber Strich, S. 80-81 und 244). Allein der Verfasser hat hier eine gediegene, gründlich durchdachte Schrift geliefert, die zum mindesten viel Klarheit schafft auf einem Gebiet, das jeden Literarhistoriker zum Nachdenken auffordern muss, aber bisher nur wenig berufene Bearbeiter gefunden hat. Selbst dem flüchtigsten Leser wird Strich zu mancher Aufklärung verhelfen, ihm wenigstens seinen in unzähligen Variationen wiederholten, zwar keineswegs neuen, aber noch nie so eingehend verfolgten Grundgedanken einprägen, dass die Klassik die Vollendung, die Romantik die Unendlichkeit darstelle. Dem Fachmann wie dem sorgfältigen Leser bietet er reiche Schätze dar.

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OSCAR WILDE: A RETROSPECT. By Ernst Bendz. Gothenburg: N. J. Gumpert. n. d. (Edition limited to 400 copies.) Pp. 123.

JOSEPH CONRAD: AN APPRECIATION. By Ernst Bendz. Gothenburg: N. J. Gumpert. 1923. (Edition limited to 500 copies.) Pp. 117.

This little study of Oscar Wilde, composed of five papers originally published elsewhere, does not pretend to offer new facts or theories or to arrive at any startling conclusions. It does afford a frank and judicial review of the controversy over Wilde as a personality, together with a scholarly and convincing estimate of his art as a writer. Happily, the judicial attitude springs from Mr. Bendz' solicitude for correct procedure, not from any unwillingness to make up his mind. His examination of Lord Alfred Douglas' testimony, for example, undertaken with an amusing air of caution and reserve, turns out to be, as Max Beerbohm might say, rather devastating.

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Mr. Bendz' position, reported in a word, is that of common sense. Accepting Frank Harris' work as the classic biography, he credits Wilde with the intellectual keenness and spiritual ardor of genius, though he will not call him a great man. Wilde was not a great man, but he was a superior artist, and, in spite of Whistler's *bon mot*, a rare symbol, the emblem of his age.

Mr. Bendz is attracted to literature most strongly on its aesthetic side, and, as the author of a dissertation on the influence of Pater and Arnold in the prose of Wilde, is on gratefully familiar ground in dealing with the somewhat vexed question of Wilde's originality. Here his findings are much to his subject's credit, and very disturbing to the notion of Wilde as a sort of literary Autolycus, or a mosaicist in borrowed conceits and phrases. Especially interesting is the analysis of *Salomé*, which greatly minimizes the author's debt to Flaubert and pays no small tribute to the freshness and boldness of his original purpose.

Mr. Bendz' dispassionate manner and his almost immoderate attraction to beauty and fitness of style are displayed in the Conrad study also. But here it is not merely a genius but a great man that he has to deal with, and he rises to his subject. This work is more than a labor of loyalty to a beautiful writer; it is a philosophic interpretation of a spiritual kinsman. We are made to see the peculiarities of Conrad's style and technique—his habits of meditation and reminiscence, his fondness for the discursive and the aphoristic, his tricks of doubling on his tracks in the telling of a story, and of bewilderingly shifting the angle of observation—not as so many isolated characteristics, but as integral aspects of his art, that may be traced to their bases in his personality. And finally we come in reading these pages to the sources of this great novelist's power in his unwavering fidelity to his own experience among his kind and with the immemorial forces of nature.

Like many of Conrad's other interpreters, Mr. Bendz is unwilling to define the overpowering sense of reality with which he invests his people and his scene without recourse to academic definitions of "realism" and "romanticism." This business, clearly discountenanced by Conrad himself, is a tedious and confusing one at best, but it may be said for Mr. Bendz that he allows the man to pass as a realist, without any such queer concept as the "romantic-realism," for example, that Hugh Walpole insists upon. The truth in this matter is very simply stated: the realism is in Conrad, the romance in the characters who attract him. Uncompromising to the point of downright cruelty in his pursuit of clarity and truth, he is irresistibly drawn to all manner of human frailty and illusion, loving especially those of his fellows who are the victims in a harsh and

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factual world of some morbid idealism, who act or who refrain from action, to paraphrase Mr. Bendz, under the compulsion of some fixed idea. For this, one doesn't need an old-fashioned name, or any name at all.

From a careful analysis of the most typical Conrad heroes, although he does not neglect the many fascinating figures who are not so typical, Mr. Bendz undertakes to draw and formulate the Conrad gospel of renunciation, and to fix in a phrase its ultimate ethical concept. The word that he comes to prefer is *responsibility*—man's necessity to conceive of himself as a moral being, and, in proportion to the fineness of his spiritual organization, to hold himself responsible for his thoughts and actions. This is the one thing that we have on earth "to trust to for our guidance and to ensure the dignity and safety of our lives." It is probable that most of Conrad's admirers will accept this austere gospel without question. But some perhaps will feel that in accounting for the soul of man it says too little of his invincible instinct for fraternity, and will demand of a critic that he tell us more about that "conviction of solidarity" which is so beautifully spoken of in *The Nigger of the Narcissus* and in which Mr. Wilson Follett has discovered the master's secret. Such will do well to take Mr. Bendz and Mr. Follett together. After reading their two little books, one comes without any great amount of introspection to understand why so many nights have been squandered in following the fantastic adventures of Heyst and Lingard and Lord Jim. And the kind of literary criticism that achieves in any measure such a result is bound to be a good kind.

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CHARLES SEALSFIELD. ETHNIC ELEMENTS AND NATIONAL PROBLEMS IN HIS WORKS. By B. A. Uhlendorf. (Reprinted from "Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter." Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois. Herausgegeben von Julius Goebel. Chicago 1920/21. Bd. 20/21 242 pp.)

Mit keiner schöneren Festgabe konnte in diesem Jahre das Gedächtnis Charles Sealsfields, der vor nunmehr hundert Jahren zum ersten Male den Boden unseres Landes betrat, geehrt werden, als mit einer Würdigung seiner kulturgeschichtlichen Darstellung Amerikas, wie sie Dr. B. A. Uhlendorf von der Illinois Universität in seiner verdienstvollen Abhandlung "Charles Sealsfield, Ethnic Elements and National Problems in his Works" unternommen hat. Nachdem vor mehr denn zwei Decennien A. B. Faust das Lebensbild des "Dichters der beiden Hemisphären" so anschaulich gezeichnet hat, ist es

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erfreulicherweise wiederum ein Literarhistoriker Amerikas, der sich mit regem Eifer und lebhaftem Interesse in die Werke des grossen deutschamerikanischen Romanschriftstellers vertieft und die darin geschilderten Charakterzüge der Union aus dem Anfange ihrer nationalen Entwickelung in seiner Abhandlung zu einem eindrucksvollen Gesamtbilde vereinigt hat. Mit Recht weist der Verfasser in der Einleitung zu seiner Studie darauf hin, dass es zwar an einer Sealsfield-Literatur, nicht fehlt, dass jedoch die naturgetreue und lichtvolle Zeichnung amerikanischer Lebensbilder in den Werken des Dichters, die diesem seine eigentliche literarische Bedeutung gibt, bisher noch nicht zum Gegenstande eingehender Darstellung gemacht worden ist. Diesem beschämenden Mangel abgeholfen und damit dem Altmeister deutschamerikanischer Erzählungskunst einen Teil der Dankesschuld abgetragen zu haben, die ihm die Literaturwissenschaft beider Länder schon lange schuldet, ist Uhlendorfs Verdienst.

Der Verf. vorliegender Abhandlung hat es sich zur Aufgabe gemacht zu zeigen, wie sich die nationalen Probleme und verschiedenen Volks- und Völkertypen, die im Aufbau des nordamerikanischen Staatenbundes in den zwanziger und dreissiger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts eine so wichtige Rolle spielten, in Sealsfields Werken widerspiegeln. Ein einleitendes Kapitel bringt zunächst einen klaren Überblick über die Persönlichkeit und die literarischen Erzeugnisse des Dichters. Besonders zu begrüssen ist es, dass U. hier den Anregungen Goebels in dessen Kritik des Faust'schen Buches gefolgt ist und Sealsfields Stellung im Zusammenhang mit dem Geistesleben seines Vaterlandes ausführlich dargelegt hat. Das Verhältnis des Dichters zu Cooper und Scott, seine Theorie des Volksromans, die offenbar von Menzel beeinflusst ist, seine Bedeutung als Vorkämpfer der Wirklichkeitsdichtung, seine Stellung zu Jung-Deutschland,—alle diese für das Verständnis und eine richtige Beurteilung unseres Schriftstellers und seiner Werke so wichtigen Fragen hat U. eingehend erörtert. Es sei schon hier bemerkt, dass der Verf. alle seine Ausführungen mit Citaten aus Sealsfields Werken belegt und ausserdem in zahlreichen Anmerkungen die Ansichten des Dichters aus Urteilen zeitgenössischer Autoren Amerikas und Deutschlands trefflich erläutert hat.

Im ersten Teile seiner Studie erörtert U. Sealsfields Darstellung der politischen, wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Verhältnisse der jungen Republik auf Grund seiner Werke. Im zweiten Teil behandelt er die völkischen Elemente und nationalen Besonderheiten, die dem Kulturleben Amerikas in jener Zeit sein eigenartiges Gepräge gaben und von unserem Dichter mit so feiner Beobachtungsgabe und meisterhafter Darstellungskunst geschildert sind. Diese Anordnung des Stoffes hätte

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m. E. auch im Titel des Werkes zum Ausdruck kommen sollen, der vielleicht richtiger lauten sollte: National Problems and Ethnic Elements, als umgekehrt. Zunächst werden wir im ersten Teil mit Sealsfields Ansichten über die Kolonisierung Nordamerikas durch die Briten, Franzosen und Holländer bekannt gemacht, deren nationale Individualität mit dem Geiste der neuen Heimat auf dem Boden der neuen Welt einen so heilsamen Verschmelzungprozess einging. Dann geht der Verf. näher auf Sealsfields Darstellung des Verhältnisses der Indianer zur weissen Bevölkerung Amerikas ein. Er zeigt uns, wie der Dichter im "Legitimen und die Republikaner" das grausame Geschick ergreifend zum Ausdruck bringt, dem die Eingebornen im Vorwärtsdringen der Kultur erbarmungslos zum Opfer fielen, wie er sich andererseits aber auch wohl bewusst war, dass sentimentale Rücksichten den Aufgaben der Civilisation keinen Damm entgegensetzen durften. In einem folgenden Abschnitt werden die grossen historischen Ereignisse und hervorragenden Staatsmänner der Union geschildert, wie Sealsfield sich über sie in seinen Werken ausgelassen hat. Von geschichtlichen Ereignissen werden besonders erwähnt: der Revolutionskrieg, der Ankauf Louisianas, der zweite Krieg mit England und der Kampf der Texaner für ihre Unabhängigkeit von Mexico. Als Staatsmänner werden uns Washington, Jefferson und Monroe vorgeführt. In diesem Zusammenhange hätte auch der glänzende Tribut eine Stelle finden sollen, den Sealsfield der hervorragenden Persönlichkeit und Staatskunst Washingtons zollt: "Ever the same at home, in the field, and in the cabinet, he imperceptibly gave to the nation the impress of his character and politics. A character more firm, more composed, and notwithstanding its simplicity, more dignified than this statesman's can hardly be imagined. There never existed a man who knew the true interest of his country better than Washington, or sought it in a simpler and wiser way." (The United States of North America as they are. Ch. I, p. 3).

Ein ausführliches Kapitel hat U. den Anschauungen Sealsfields über das Wesen amerikanischer Freiheit und Gleichheit gewidmet, so wie über die Grundlagen, auf denen sie beruhen und über den Segen, den sie gestiftet. Für Sealsfields Charakterisierung der Vaterlandsliebe der Amerikaner dürfte auch jene Stelle Beachtung verdienen, wo der Dichter betont, dass diese Liebe von schönen Träumen einer weltumfassenden Philanthropie nichts wissen will, sich aber dabei mit einer echten, echt in caritas generis humani wohl verträgt. (Pflanzerleben I Kap. VI. S. 289). Unter Gleichheit im amerikanischen Sinne versteht Sealsfield, wie der Verf. richtig bemerkt, die Gelegenheit, die sich jedem Bürger bietet, emporzukommen. Dass der Dichter dabei einer "natürlichen" Aristokratie im Gegensatz zur feudalen und dem Briefadel der alten Welt die

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Berechtigung auf dem Boden Amerikas wohl zuerkennt, geht aus einer von U. nicht erwähnten Stelle im "Virey und die Aristokraten" (Kap. X, S. 192) hervor, wo es heisst: "Wir sind in unserem glücklichen Lande absoluter Freiheit nicht solche blinde Götzendiener einer imaginären, ungezähmten Gleichheit, um die Vorteile, die eine würdige Geburt gewährt, zu verachten, oder in das Pöbelgeschrei einzustimmen, das Menschen deshalb verdammt, weil sie der Zufall bei dieser begünstigt hat," u. s. w. In diesem Zusammenhange verbreitet sich U. ferner über Sealsfields Darstellung des sozialen und geistigen Lebens in den Vereinigten Staaten in den ersten Jahrzehnten des vorigen Jahrhunderts. Dieses Thema ist so wichtig und umfassend, dass es wohl in einem besonderen Kapitel hätte behandelt werden sollen. Es wäre wünschenswert gewesen, dass der Verf. hier noch weiteres Material herangezogen hätte, besonderes aus dem Erstlingswerke des Schriftstellers "The United States of North America as they are." So vermisst man in U's Darstellung die kulturgeschichtlich ebenso interessanten wie wichtigen Ausführungen Sealsfields über das höhere Bildungswesen (a.o.O. Kap. IX) und das kirchliche Leben (Kap. XI), über das Erwerbsleben (Kap. XIII), über amerikanisches Familien- und Gesellschaftsleben (Kap. X.) über den verschiedenartigen Charakter des Stadt- und Landlebens (Kap. X, vgl. auch Morton oder die grosse Tour I. S. 98-99), und über den amerikanischen Pionier-Farmer, seine häusliches Leben und seine Beschäftigung, seinen Charakter und seine Lebensweise (Kap. XIV). Diese sozialen Verhältnisse, über die sich der Autor in seinen Werken eingehend ausgesprochen hat, boten in seiner Zeit eine Reihe wichtiger nationaler Probleme dar und hätten daher notwendigerweise hier besprochen werden müssen. Der Verf. weist dann darauf hin, welch' hohe Bewunderung der Dichter der Demokratie in unserem Lande entgegenbrachte, ohne doch ihre Gefahren zu verkennen. Diese sah er vor allem in einer sich deutlich bemerkbar machenden Tendenz alles Bildungsstreben auf ein demokratisches Niveau herabzudrücken. Wir werden ferner daran erinnert, welch grossen Einfluss auf die Gestaltung des geistigen Lebens der Dichter der Urnatur Amerikas beimass, in der die Gedankenwelt des eingewanderten Europäers eine so tiefgreifende Umwandlung erfuhr. Der Aufsatz Sealsfields über die Schäker, aus dem U. in diesem Zusammenhange citiert, ist nicht, wie angegeben, am 19. Januar 1828 im "Morgenblatt," sondern am 7. Januar 1828 im "Ausland" erschienen (vgl. Heller, Sealsfield-Funde, G. A. Annals N. S. IX S. 11).

Im letzten Kapitel des ersten Teils seines Werkes zeigt der Verf., dass Sealsfield, obwohl er im allgemeinen das Leben in Amerika in hellen Farben gemalt hat, dennoch schmerzlich manche Volksschäden erkannte, die er entweder auf englischen

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Einfluss oder auf das schnelle Wachstum der Republik zurückführte. Auf politischem Gebiete bedauerte er den Unfrieden im Kampf der Parteien und zunehmende Gesetzlosigkeit während Jacksons Amtsführung. In Wirtschaftsleben erblickte er eine ernste Gefahr in der unheilvollen Macht der Plutokratie und ihrer einseitigen Vertretung von Geldinteressen. In sozialer Hinsicht erschien ihm im Osten des Landes das Auftreten der Parvenus und Geldaristokraten ebenso verderblich, wie das bildungsfeindliche Streben einer herrschsüchtigen Arbeiterklasse (workies). Wir erfahren auch, wie in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens der Blick des Dichters sich trübte, wenn er ungünstige Nachrichten aus "seinem geliebten Amerika" erhielt und wie er mit Sorge in die Zukunft des Landes schaute, zu dessen Bürgern er sich mit Stolz rechnete.

Im zweiten Teile seines Werkes zeigt uns der Verf. Sealsfields Meisterschaft in der Darstellung der Bevölkerungen Nordamerikas und in der scharfen Zeichnung lebenskräftiger Charaktertypen und nationaler Eigenart. Wir hören, dass der Dichter die hohe Bedeutung der Grenz- und Siedlungsgebiete des Westens für die Entwicklung des amerikanischen Charakters und Kulturlebens mit klarem Blick erkannte. Dort sah und studierte er die mannigfachen kulturellen Kräfte, aus denen das nationale Leben sich entfaltete, sah, wie Liebe zur Freiheit das starke Band war, das alle die verschiedenen völkischen und sozialen Elemente zu einem grossen Ganzen vereinigte. Dort fand er den Geist, der das amerikanische Gemeinwesen ins Leben rief und zu so grosser Machtentfaltung brachte. An der Hand markanter Stellen aus Sealsfields Werken weist U. nach, wie hoch der Dichter das mühevolle Leben amerikanischer Pioniere in der Eroberung der Wildnis für die Civilisation einschätzte, von jenen Abenteurern und Verbrechern an, die zuerst den harten Boden aufrissen, in dem dann die fleissigen Ansiedler gepflanzt und den Grund gelegt haben zu dem mächtigen Staatenverbande, dessen künftige Weltmachstellung der Dichter mit prophetischem Blicke voraussah.

Von völkischen Elementen, die dem nationalen Leben Amerikas in der ersten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts sein besonderes Gepräge gaben und von Sealsfield so lebenswahr geschildert sind, werden zunächst die rauhen, verwegenen Kentuckier charakterisiert als deren edelster Vertreter Ralph Doughby, ein unverdorbenes Naturkind voll übersprudelnder Ausgelassenheit geschildert wird. Besonders ausführlich und treffend hat der Verf. ferner den Hinterwäldler in den südlichen Gegenden des Mississippi auf Grund der Erzählungen Sealsfields gezeichnet. In Nathan Strong lernen wir solch' echten Hinterwälder kennen. Seine Lebensgeschichte, seine Ansiedlung am Red River, seine Kämpfe mit den Spaniern, seine

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Beziehungen zur Kolonie, seine edle Persönlichkeit als Patriarch in seiner Waldgemeinde, das Leben dieser Gemeinde, ihre Sitten und Gesetze, ihr Verhältnis zum Staate,—aus allen diesen Schilderungen Sealsfields hat uns U. eines der eigenartigsten und urkräftigsten Lebensbilder aus der Ansiedlungszeit des Westens vor Augen geführt. Er hätte dabei auch noch auf jene interessante Stelle hinweisen können, in welcher der häusliche Geist im Familienleben des Ansiedlers im Urwald, seine religiöse Gesinnung, die Gemeinde- Singschule mit dem Typus des neuenglischen Schul- und Singmeisters so anschaulich beschrieben werden (Nathan, Squatterleben Kap. V. S. 342 ff, George Howards Brautfahrt I Kap. V. S. 190). Anderen Hinterwäldlern begegnen wir im Major Copeland in Georgia und später in Louisiana und im Alcalde in Texas. Auch über die Typen des amerikanischen Trappers und des Desperados in den Wildnissen des Westens hat U. ein reiches kulturgeschichtliches Material aus Sealsfields Romanen zusammengestellt.

In dem Kapitel über das französische Element und den amerikanischen Pflanzer in Louisiana wäre wohl eine stärkere kritische Stellungnahme des Verf.s zu Sealsfields Charakterisierung am Platze gewesen. Obwohl der Dichter das Genussleben und den leichtsinnigen Charakter der Creolen und demgegenüber den physisch und moralisch viel höher stehenden amerikanischen Plantagenbesitzer an sich durchaus richtig und realistisch gezeichnet hat, so dürfte doch der Gesamteindruck, den wir aus Sealsfields Schilderung jener Lebenskreise erhalten, kaum der Wirklichkeit entsprechen. Wir dürfen nicht vergessen, dass diese südliche Gesellschaft, voll Übermut und Lebenslust, voll Energie und Waghalsigkeit auf dem gefährlichen Boden der Negersklaverei sich aufbaute, der sie jeden Augenblick in die Tiefe zu ziehen drohte. Und wenn der Dichter in so lichten Farben das Bild des amerikanischen Pflanzers malt, der "auf seiner abgelegenen Pflanzung mitten in Urwäldern seine ganze Charakterstärke mit all ihren Hilfsmitteln entwickelt,—mit einem Worte selbständig dasteht" (Pflanzerleben I. S. 78-79) und er diese königliche Unabhängigkeit aus dem Genusse bürgerlicher Freiheit herleitet, so hat dem gegenüber kein geringerer Kenner amerikanischen Kulturlebens als Friedrich Kapp darauf hingewiesen, dass es "mit vielleicht einziger Ausnahme der römischen Patricier kaum in der Geschichte eine exclusivere, stolzere, herrschsüchtigere und politisch fähigere Aristokratie gegeben, als die südlichen Pflanzer" (Kapp, "Zur deutschen wissenschaftlichen Literatur über die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika" in der Histor. Zeitschrift von Sybel, Bd 31 S. 251.) Desgleichen sagt Professor Fr. J. Turner in seinem Buche "Rise of the New West" (p. 92): "Rude strength, a certain coarseness of life, and aggres-

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siveness characterized this society as it did the whole of the Mississippi Valley." Es dürfte somit kaum einem Zweifel unterliegen, dass die prächtigen Bilder des "Pflanzerlebens" etwas reichlich ideal gefärbt erscheinen.

Bezüglich der Anschauungen Sealsfields über die Sklaverei in den Vereinigten Staaten hat der Verf. mit Recht hervorgehoben, dass der Schriftsteller seine Ansichten über die unhaltbaren und verwerflichen Zustände in den Sklavenstaaten mit seiner Schilderung des Geistes amerikanischer Freiheit und Gleichheit zu vereinen sucht und darum die Lage der Negersklaven weniger dunkel malt, als sie wirklich war. Obwohl der Dichter die Sklaverei für ein Übel hielt und ihre Abschaffung ernstlich erhoffte, so erkannte er doch die Schwierigkeiten in der Lösung der Sklavenfrage und sah in einer freundlichen Behandlung des Negers, in seiner Erziehung und der Zuweisung von Landbesitz die geeignetsten Mittel, vorerst das harte Los der schwarzen Bevölkerung zu bessern.

Vom deutschen Einwanderer hat Sealsfield, wie U. nachweist, in seinen ersten Werken ein wenig schmeichelhaftes Bild entworfen, doch lautet in seinen späteren Romanen, besonders in den "Wahlverwandschaften" das Urteil des Schriftstellers wesentlich günstiger. Wie er den hervorragenden Anteil preist, den deutscher Fleiss an der Kolonisierung Amerikas gehabt hat, so stellt er uns in dem Oberst Isling in Pennsylvanien einen Deutschamerikaner vor, der unter Steuben für die Sache der Kolonien gekämpft hat, der herrlichen Entwicklung seines Adoptivlandes von Herzen sich freut, und wohlhabend und glücklich den Feierabend seines Lebens im Kreise der Seinen verlebt.

Der Verf. geht dann näher auf Sealsfields Zeichnung von Newyork - Neuengland - Charakteren ein. Auch hier hätten noch manche von dem feinsinnigen Beobachter angedeutete Züge zur Vervollständigung des Bildes herangezogen werden können. So hat uns der Dichter über die Newyorkerin der höheren Gesellschaft und über die Bostoner "Blaustrümpfe" manche kulturgeschichtlich wertvolle Angaben gemacht, die in U.s Untersuchung keine Berücksichtigung gefunden haben (vgl. "George Howards Brautfahrt" Kap. I S. 14 ff, "Wahlverwandschaften" III S. 53, "North and South," Mariquita Ch. II p. 107). Verf. hätte auch noch daran erinnern können, dass im Gegensatz zu dem im allgemeinen recht düster gezeichneten Charakter der Neuengländer Kapitän Murky im "Kajütenbuch" als ein Yankee erscheint, der das Herz auf dem rechten Fleck hat, in hohem Grade schweigsam, aber ritterlich und gütig gegen die Unterdrückten ist (vgl. Faust, "Charles Sealsfield" u.s.w. S. 126).

Im Schlusskapitel seines Werkes zeigt uns U. den amerikanischen Nationalcharakter, wie ihn Sealsfield in seinen

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Schriften anerkennend und vorteilhaft geschildert hat. Leider fehlen auch hier wieder manche Züge, deren Erwähnung für ein richtiges Verständnis der Gesamtauffasung des Dichters unbedingt erforderlich ist. So rühmt der Erzähler in "Nathan, der Squatter-Regulator" (Kap. IX, Squatterleben, S. 303) den "angebornen Takt, den der gemeinste Amerikaner in einem gewissen Grade besitzt, jene gleichmütig gentleman'sche Ruhe, die gelassen den Fremdling aussprechen lässt und erst nach dieser Aussprache das entsprechende Benehmen einrichtet, —ein wahrhaft und essentiel republikanischer Zug." In "The United States of North America as they are" (Ch. XVIII, p. 237) hören wir von dem "economical spirit of the Americans." "The American, in all his undertakings, goes at once to the main point; he looks at the principal end, and endeavors to obtain it in the cheapest way." In demselben Kapitel heisst es: "The American national character is certainly aspiring, energetic, shrewd and intelligent; but this character, though respectable, is not altogether amiable. It exhibits the unnatural picture of a cold philosophical youth, united with the worst vice of age—avarice." Von anderen dort geschilderten Charakterzügen, die von U. nicht angeführt sind, seien noch erwähnt: der gesunde Anschauungs- und Urteilssinn des Amerikaners, seine Intelligenz und Geschicklichkeit, sein lebendiges Interesse für öffentliche Gesundheitspflege. Im "Legitimen und die Republikaner" (III S. 146) wird Achtung vor der öffentlichen Meinung und vor der politischen und religiösen Überzeugung jedes einzelnen als eine hervorstechende Eigenschaft im amerikanischen Nationalcharakter betrachtet. In "Ralph Doughbys Brautfahrt" (Kap. I S. 50) erfahren wir, dass dem Amerikaner die, "Tugenden grosser, erhabener Empfindungen, rein menschlicher Regungen" in hohem Grade eigen sind. Wiederholt wird von dem Dichter darauf hingewiesen, dass der Amerikaner wohl geldgierig, aber dabei auch äusserst freigebig ist. So sehr er sein persönliches Interesse im Auge hat, so zögert er doch nie Gesundheit und alles, was ihm teuer ist, aufs Spiel zu setzen, wenn es gilt ein Ziel, das er sich einmal gesteckt hat, zu erreichen. Mit seinem erworbenen Reichtum fördert er ausserdem das Wohl seiner Familie, seines Wohnortes, seines Staates und seiner Kirche, und ist gern bereit für wohltätige Zwecke oder zur Hebung der Volksbildung im Lande die grössten Opfer zu bringen (vgl. "The United States of North America as they are" p. 234). Auch über den Charakter der Amerikanerin hat Sealsfield interessante Mitteilungen gemacht, die U. in seiner Untersuchung nicht verwertet hat. Erinnert sei nur an jene Stelle in "Nathan, der Squatter-Regulator" (Kap. VII, S. 207), wo der französische Graf Vignerolles in Bewunderung der ruhigen Besonnenheit und natürlichen Grazie, mit der die Gattin Nathans mit ihren

drei Töchtern die Honneurs der Tafel macht, erklärt: "Die Amerikanerin, auch der untersten Klassen, weiss in jede ihrer Bewegungen einen Adel, eine Würde zu legen, die unsere Damen von gleicher und selbst höherer Rangstufe nicht kennen. (Vgl. auch Nathan, Squatterleben, S. 342). Desgleichen hat schon Faust darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass die Dougaldine der "Wahlverwandschaften" die am sorgfältigsten charakterisierte Frauengestalt Sealsfields ist und alle Eigenschaften eines amerikanischen Mädchens zeigt. (Faust, a.a.O.S. 119, 122.)

Unsere vor allem eine erschöpfende Behandlung des Gegenstandes vermissenden Ausstellungen an dem Werke des Verf. s sollen darum den hervorragenden Wert seiner Darstellung in keiner Weise herabsetzen. Mit grossem Fleisse hat U. das Material für seine Ausführungen aus den Schriften des Dichters zusammengetragen, mit Treue und Objektivität Sealsfields Ansichten zum Ausdruck gebracht und aus dessen Beschreibungen und Erzählungen Lebens- und Charakterbilder herausgehoben und dargestellt, die zu den besten gehören, welche die kulturgeschichtliche Literatur über die Frühgeschichte unserer Republik besitzt. Besonders aber sind wir U. zu Dank verpflichtet, dass er in unserer noch immer von der Kriegsleidenschaft entzündeten Zeit in seinem Werke die Gestalt eines Deutschamerikaners enthüllt hat, der sich mit stolzer Freude zu den Idealen unserer Verfassung bekannte und den hehren Beruf in sich fühlte, Künder und Deuter dieser Ideale für seine deutschen Brüder jenseits des Meeres zu sein. Wenn U. s Abhandlung über Sealsfield zu einer Neubelebung des Interesses für die geistigen Schöpfungen des grossen Dichters führen und damit zur Wiederherstellung der freundschaftlichen kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Amerika beitragen würde, so wäre das der schönste Erfolg, der seiner wertvollen Arbeit zu teil werden könnte.

PAUL WEBER

Hastings-on-Hudson.

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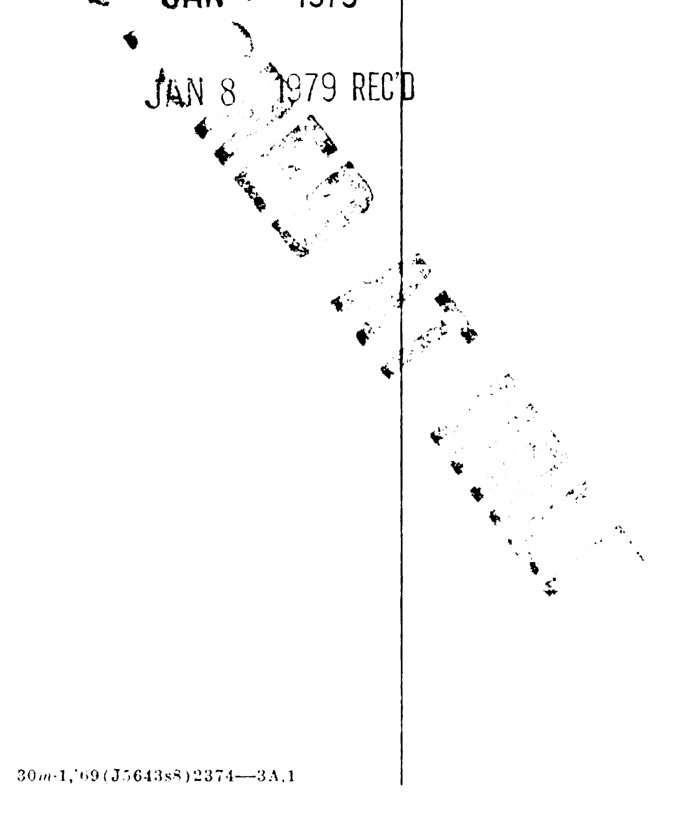

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